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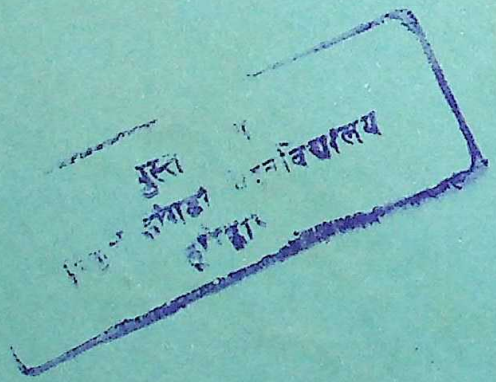
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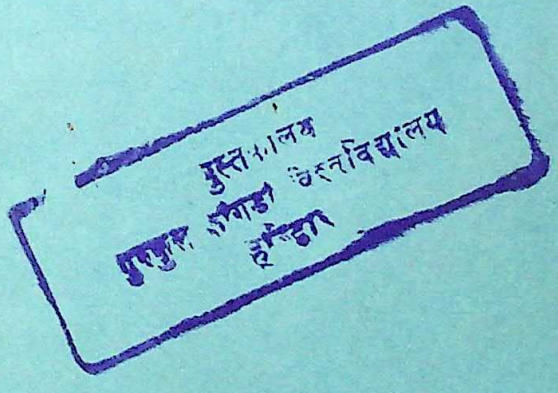
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The Gita

A SYNTHETIC INTERPRETATION

"तत्तु समन्वयात्"—(ब्रह्मसूत्र)।

By Sir BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, ph. d.

IN the following analysis, I have left undiscussed the views of the various commentators and the various schools of theology. Each commentator accepts those passages of the Gita which support his own preconceived dogma (सिद्धान्त), and distorts the meaning of the conflicting passages to harmonize them with his dogma. On the other hand, if one studies the Gita independently, one is hopelessly puzzled at first by internal contradictions of a serious character, as well as by irrelevancies and meaningless repetitions.

The question is :—Is all this contradiction, irrelevancy, prolixity real? Or is there a coherent and definite teaching in the Gita?

The various interpretations of the Gita's teaching as regards self-realization (साधन—मोक्ष साधन) proceed on three main lines :

I. One or other of three ways (मार्ग), either as sole or as optional, according to differences of temperament or status (अधिकारिभेद),

II. Eclecticism (समुच्चय) of disciplines (साधन),

III. Synthesis (समन्वय) of disciplines.

Now, take the sub-divisions under the the first head. One discipline may be regarded as the sole sufficing condition. This view has three variants :

(a) This discipline may be held to exclude other alternatives.

(b) One discipline is the sole sufficing condition; but the other disciplines may be preliminary, or helpful at first, though they may be given up in the end.

(c) Different single disciplines for persons of different temperament or status (अधिकार).

I will now consider (a), (b), (c) successively :

(a) One particular Way is at once necessary and sufficient, for liberation (मुक्ति). This way may be held to be (i) Knowledge (ज्ञान), (ii) Devotion (भक्ति), and (iii) Works (कर्म्म).

(i) Knowledge, *e. g.*, सांख्य प्रकृति पुरुष विवेकज्ञान or आत्मतत्त्व of the Vedanta. In other words, either knowledge of the difference between Nature (प्रकृति) and the Transcendent (पुरुष) as conceived in the Sankhya, or the doctrine of the Soul (आत्मन्) as in the Vedanta.

(ii) *Bhakti* (भक्ति) as Ekanti-Bhakti (एकान्तिभक्ति) or Prapattimarga (प्रपत्तिमार्ग). In

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other words, Devotion, Absolute Devotion, or the Way of Utter Self-surrender.

(iii) Karma (कर्म्म), *e. g.*, Nishkama-karma (निष्काम कर्म्म) with Phalatyaga (फलत्याग) and Kamya-Karma-Sannyasa (काम कर्म्मसन्न्यास). In other words, Works without desire, abjuring all fruit of activity.

Under (a) (i) Knowledge is necessary and sufficient; Works and Devotion may be considered to be either useless for spiritual ends (however useful for social ends or interest), or they may be regarded as harmful and, therefore, to be abjured by means of renunciation (सन्न्यास) or forsaking (प्रव्रज्या). Works would bring the illusion of independent agency (कर्तृत्व) and bondage, and Devotion may mean the worship (भजन) and propitiation (यजन) of gods (देवता).

Under (a) (ii) Devotion is the single condition. Knowledge may be regarded as useless or harmful to Devotion, *e. g.*, जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् (some adherents of Knowledge say that the World is without a maker or ruler).

Under (a) (iii) Works are necessary and sufficient; Knowledge and Devotion may be considered to be unnecessary;—Knowledge may lead to irreverence (अश्रद्धा), doubt or irresoluteness (बुद्धिभेद), or to mere inaction or renunciation;—Devotion may lead to inaction or weak sentimentality (क्लैब्य).

Now take (b).—On this view while one particular discipline is the actual and only necessary condition of Liberation, the other disciplines may be helpful in leading up to the one that is the sole condition of Liberation, *e. g.*, Shankara considers Knowledge to be the sole sufficing condition, but Works and Devotion may be helpful towards the four disciplines (साधन चतुष्टय,—शम, दम, etc.) which are conditions of Knowledge; though if and where Knowledge is reached without works or Devotion, Knowledge would be sufficient for Liberation; there is neither eclecticism nor synthesis in such case. Some of the followers of Chaitanya think in the same manner about the Way of Loving Devotion (**रागसाधन**).

Now take (c).—These are tolerant enough to recognize each of these exclusive Ways as necessary for individuals of a particular temperament or status, not for all, *e. g.*, the Way of Knowledge is the sole sufficing condition for some; the Way of Devotion for others, and the Way of Works for others still.

The first line of interpretation, I(a), stands for a sole exclusive path which may be either Knowledge, or Devotion, or Works. This is not consistent with the real meaning of the Gita, but is added here for the sake of theoretical completeness.

The second line of interpretation, I(b), would acknowledge one and one only of the paths as ultimate and sufficing, but the other two paths are helpful in the beginning, though they are not necessary, nor need be practised in the final stage. There are several distinct schools of thought, comprised under this head, some being followers of Knowledge, as Shankara, others of Devotion, as Chaitanya, etc.

The third line of interpretation, I(c), accepts different Ways for different temperaments—Knowledge for some, Devotion for others, Works for others still. This is here the basic idea; but ordinarily it is admitted that the other two lines of culture are helpful as subsidiary disciplines. This third line of interpretation in the end leads up to the next two divisions.

This alternative, (I), which regards each discipline separately, leads to the next division, Eclecticism, which regards all the disciplines collectively.

Now take (II).—The principle of Eclecticism:—these three Ways—Knowledge, Devotion, and Works, are independent of one another, but they all contribute independently to the disciplines required for Liberation. This is Eclectic discipline (**साधनसमुच्चय**), no synthesis (**समन्वय**). What we want is the cultivation of all these mental powers and functions (**वृत्ति**) Cognition, Emotion and Will. Complete culture has the culture of all these powers or faculties (**वृत्ति**) in view. Here the disciplines are different causes, contributing separately to one effect. Each discipline as cause or condition makes its own contribution to one common or joint effect. There are two varieties of this Eclecticism:—(a) and (b).

(a) Eclecticism statically conceived; say Eclecticism of Works, Knowledge and Devotion, triple (**कर्म्मभक्ति ज्ञान समुच्चय**). Or it may be an Eclecticism of Works and Devotion, or Knowledge and Devotion or Works and Knowledge.

This does not recognize stages but strives for perfect or complete culture by simultaneous

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cultivation of the independent faculties, Knowledge, Devotion and Works.

Some of the upholders of static Eclecticism (**समुच्चयवादी**), however, consider Knowledge Devotion and Works, not as entirely independent, but as related in the way of principal and auxiliary (**अङ्गप्रधान भाव**) ; e. g. , Works may be auxiliary (**अङ्ग**) and Knowledge or Devotion may be principal (**प्रधान**). Sometimes this relation is also loosely called organic relation (**अङ्गाङ्गीभाव**) or the relation of 'organ' to 'organism' or organic whole. The *Anga* is only a means, instrument, or auxiliary; the *Pradhan* is the principal. Thus Works as means (अङ्ग) may be subordinated to Knowledge or Devotion as a means to an end or as an auxiliary to a principal. But the auxiliary here is as necessary as the principal. This relation of 'organ' to 'organism' (अङ्ग प्रधान भाव) or 'means' to an 'end' is more usual in the next form of Eclecticism, *viz.*, graduated Eclecticism (क्रमसमुच्चय).

(b) Graduated Eclecticism by successive stages (भूमिका) :—

We start from Works, say ;—then in the next stage we have Knowledge through 'action' without 'desire' and the resulting purity of heart (चित्त शुद्धि) or purity of nature (सत्त्व शुद्धि). And this knowledge is supplemented with Devotion, Contemplation (ध्यान) and Worship of the Supreme Being (परमेश्वराराधन). And this Devotion, so supplemented (समुच्चित्य) with Knowledge, leads to Liberation. This is the Eclecticism of Works, Knowledge and Devotion (कर्मज्ञान भक्ति समुच्चय). It may also be called graduated Eclecticism (क्रमिक समुच्चय) of Works, Knowledge and Devotion. Similarly we may start with Knowledge. This leads to Devotion and this Eclectic discipline of Knowledge and Devotion (ज्ञान भक्ति समुच्चय) supplemented with Works gives Liberation.

Or we may start with Devotion ; then Devotion leads to Works, and then Devotion and Works (भक्ति कर्म समुच्चय) become fulfilled (समुच्चित) with Knowledge, and this triple Eclecticism, graduated Eclecticism (समुच्चय, क्रम समुच्चय) leads to Liberation.

If a double Eclecticism, say of Knowledge and Devotion, leads to Liberation, then Works are only a means or auxiliary to Knowledge or Devotion. Similarly, if it is Eclecticism of Devotion and Works, then Knowledge is auxiliary (अङ्ग) to Devotion.

The *Angapradhanabhaba* or *Angangibhaba* relation of means to an end or auxiliary to principal between one function and another, is, as we have seen, usually accepted in graduated Eclecticism. This graduated Eclecticism leads on to the next view, that of Synthesis (**समन्वय**).

III. The principle of Synthesis (**समन्वय**) as distinguished both from single paths with or without distinction of temperament or status and from Eclecticism :—This is synthesis, and has always been felt to be the keynote of the Gita.

Synthesis as distinguished from Eclecticism : —Eclecticism implies separate, independent elements held together by some external bond. The bond may be the relation of principal and auxiliary, or it may be organic relation, in other words, the relation of organ to organism as in 'graduated Eclecticism'. But even if we call it loosely organic relation, it is an external bond of means to an end, where it is not merely that of auxiliary and principal.

But Synthesis implies two things :—

(i) the elements are not really independent, they are organically interconnected (**अङ्गाङ्गीभाव सम्बद्धः**); and each is at once organ (**अङ्गः**) and 'organism' or 'organic whole' (**अङ्गी**) to the other. Thus Works in the synthetic view (समन्वयव्याख्या) are an 'organ' (अङ्ग) of knowledge and also an organic whole **अङ्गी** to Knowledge. Similarly, Devotion is an 'organ' of Works and also an 'organic whole' to Works and so on.

This implies that Works cannot be taken apart from Knowledge nor Knowledge apart from Works. And so with Devotion. In other words, there is Knowledge in Works and Works in Knowledge. Again, there is Knowledge in Devotion and Devotion in Knowledge. There are Works in Devotion and Devotion or Faith (**श्रद्धा**) in Works.

(ii) Synthesis also implies that the elements are synthetized or unified (**समन्वित**) in and through an all-comprehending entity, one which relates. co-ordinates, unifies them all. Thus the synthesis of Works, Devotion and Knowledge is possible, if all these three elements are centred in the Self (**आत्मन्**) or referred to the single centre *Brahma* or *Paratman* (as in Brahma-yoga *vide*, chap. viii of the Gita).

Such is synthesis as contrasted with Eclecticism or supplementation.

Now, synthesis may be of the two following types: (a) Static and (b) Dynamic.

(a) Static Synthesis of Works, Knowledge

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and Devotion or synthesis of the three *Yogas* of Works, Knowledge and Devotion (कर्मयोग ज्ञानयोग and भक्तियोग) – Here Synthesis has to be attempted from the very first; there would be progress, no doubt, from imperfect to less imperfect synthesis: there may be different degrees of realization, but it is Synthesis of Works, Knowledge and Devotion from the beginning,—Works being realized in Knowledge and Devotion; Knowledge in Works and Devotion; Devotion in Works and Knowledge.

(b) 'Graduated Synthesis':—Synthesis of more and more elements by successive stages.

This, in my view, is the real teaching of the Gita, as established by a faithful exegetical analysis. I will take this 'Graduated Synthesis' (क्रम समन्वय) in the order in which it is expounded in the Gita;—(i) Chapters I to VI, (ii) Chapters VII to XII, (iii) Chapters XIII to XVIII forming three equal divisions.

(i) Chapters I to VI.

Thus, we may start with Works; this means an emphasis on Works for certain temperaments, though, of course, on the synthetic view, Knowledge and Devotion are implied in Works, and Works can not form any discipline without Knowledge and Devotion; only, for some temperaments emphasis at the beginning must be on Works. In the next stage, we add Knowledge. Thus, we have 'Synthesis of Works and Knowledge'—here the Knowledge element becomes explicit; Works are for the time being subordinated to Knowledge, and Devotion remains implicit. In the next stage, we have 'Synthesis' of all the three, Works, Knowledge and Devotion, when the Devotion element becomes explicit; and in the end all the elements become synthetized by way of Works in and through the Self or become centred in *Brahma*. This is *Atmayoga* or *Brahmayoga*, the consummation of the four disciplines (साधन चतुष्टय); and this is Liberation in this life (जीवन्मुक्ति).

More elaborate exposition of the above:—

The first six chapters elaborate this synthesis (समन्वय) with Works (कर्म) as the basis and starting point. But the first stadium of Works, *viz.*, unquestioning obedience to the social Karmic code, had been long passed by Arjuna. His critical attitude marks the stage of transition from Works to Knowledge (प्रज्ञावाद,—the doctrine of evaluation in terms of Knowledge). The transition from objectivity to subjective morality begins with a Nay, or the rejection of the conventional code of Works, a rejection prompted in Arjuna's case by the sentiment of compassion. Thus the Gita teaching takes up the progressive synthesis of Works and Knowledge at this transitional point. Here, after making a double appeal to the philosophy of the Absolute and to the world's code of honour, both with a view to rescuing Arjuna from the grip of aboule (आबल्य), weakness of the will brought on by an access of sentimentality, Krishna turns to the true doctrine of works, which is that of Works harmonized with *Yoga* (बुद्धियोग, योगे बुद्धि) in other words *karmayoga*, which implies synthesis of Works with Buddhi (ज्ञान, Knowledge), Works synthetized with Knowledge (ज्ञानसमन्वित कम).

This mode of realization (योग) has for its goal the state of the Quiescent One (स्थितधी), the crown and consummation of this synthesis of Works and Knowledge.

But the mind of the disciple or learner (साधक) at this stage is harassed with doubt—would it not be better to choose the path of Knowledge, differentiating Knowledge, Knowledge as taught in the Sankhya (ज्ञान, विवेक), सांख्यज्ञान, and aim at the goal of Inaction (अकर्म) or Actionlessness (नैष्कर्म) in preference to the path of Works? No,—in the case of Arjuna whose proper sphere (अधिकार) is works, Krishna teaches the path of War.

The symbol of Works is sacrifice (यज्ञ), which is not only our duty to the gods but is also symbolical of the sacrifice of the Creator (प्रजापति) at Creation, and is also the support and stay (प्रतिष्ठान) of *Brahma*.

Krishna admits that for one who delights in the Self (आत्मरतः) there is no works. He has no object in doing or not doing (नतस्य कृतेनार्थः नाकृतेन). But Arjuna he teaches to work with detachment (असङ्गः)—the knower (विद्वान्) may work for the conservation of the world (लोकसंग्रहः), as Krishna himself was working. There is no bondage (कर्म्मबन्ध) in such works, and in choosing works, the duty of one's own station in life (स्वधर्म), even if lower, is binding in preference to the duty of any other station (परधर्म्म).

But Arjuna fears that the path of Works is beset with sin. Krishna tells him that Works, indeed, are the source of sin, and Works must be conquered by the control of

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the senses (इन्द्रियनियमन), and by Knowledge of the Self that transcends the Understanding (बुद्धेःपरम्बुध्वा).

Then follows a short digression which shows how the discipline of Works is helped and rendered easier by Devotion to the Lord and also by following him as the Exemplar (ममवर्त्मानुवर्त्तन्ते). Even one who desires Liberation (मुमुक्षु) can follow the path of Works.

Then Krishna teaches what is 'action' (कर्म्म) and what is 'inaction' (अकर्म्म). He teaches 'action' in 'inaction' and 'inaction' in 'action'.

In the fourth chapter he then describes the united One (युक्त) whose doing is non-doing,—one without opposites (द्वन्द्वातीत), one without attachment (गतसङ्ग), the liberated one (मुक्त). His mind rests in Knowledge and yet he works but only for sacrifice—and that only with detachment, renunciation and the giving up of the all works done with desire (काम्य कर्म्म).

This 'sacrifice' is not necessarily external sacrifice, it may be any form of spiritual sacrifice, *e. g.*, Pranayagna, Tapas, Yoga, Jnana or Brahmajnana. All these forms of Works lead ultimately to Liberation, but spiritual sacrifice (ज्ञानयज्ञ) is a higher stage than material sacrifice (द्रव्यमययज्ञ). For, as Krishna points out, all Works are fulfilled in and through sacrifice (ज्ञानयज्ञ), and it is the fire of sacrifice that burns up the bondage of Works. It is in the vessel of Knowledge that one can cross the ocean of *samsara* (world).

This is the doctrine of the synthesis of Works and Knowledge which Krishna teaches explicitly—the doctrine of works surrendered in the spirit of 'Yoga' (योगसन्न्यस्तकर्म्म).

To Arjuna this synthesis of 'Yoga' and 'Knowledge' of Works and Renunciation appears puzzling. He considers Knowledge after the Sankhya (सांख्यज्ञान) and the spirit of Works (कर्म्मयोग) as contradictory. Krishna teaches him that the two are not different, and that they lead to the same ultimate goal. The worker (कर्म्मी) who is without duality (निर्द्वन्द्व) is also a renouncer (सन्न्यासी, नित्य सन्न्यासी). If one becomes consummate in Works,—he attains all the results (or inner spirit) of knowledge and *vice versa*. That is to say, synthesis may start with Works or with Knowledge,—the ultimate realization is the same.

We have seen that Works in the end are fulfilled in Knowledge and we shall find that the Knowledge of the Self (आत्मज्ञान) is also fulfilled in Works, (Chapter V) and even one who delights in the Soul (आत्मरति) works with the spontaneity of Nature, though he is free from law (विधि). Then Krishna, further characterizes the One who is united (युक्तात्मा), who experiences union in *Brahmayoga* or *Brahmanirvana* as the consummate state on the path of the Synthesis of Works and Knowledge.

But now this opens up the experience of Devotion,—of communion with the Supreme Person (सर्व्वलोकमहेश्वरः) who is the friend of all beings (सर्व्वभूत सुहृत).

Krishna then describes the Yogarudha (योगारूढ़), but this characterization relates more especially to his inner self-discipline, more so than the two previous characterizations which also comprehend the Yogi's relation to the world and his fellow being. The highest realization, Krishna teaches, is that of the Supreme Person, the Lord (भगवान्) in all beings and of all beings in the Lord (भगवान्, मयि) which leads to the sense of the unity of all creatures with the Self.

Thus the synthesis of Devotion with Works and Knowledge is accomplished. And this first division ends with the exaltation of the devotee (भक्त) among all yogis (*Vide* श्रद्धावान् भजते यो मां etc.)

This first division centres the synthesis round Works, the second round Devotion and the third round Knowledge.

(ii) Chapters VII—XII ;—

Now take one who starts with Devotion as the basis, though both Knowledge and Works are implied in Devotion on the synthetic view ; only there is emphasis on Devotion for certain temperaments. But Knowledge of the god (देवता), the object of Devotion, is necessary for Devotion. So we pass on from Devotion to Knowledge—Knowledge of the Supreme Self or the Lord of all creation, *i.e.*, who is in relation to the World ; and this Knowledge, synthetized with Devotion, cognizes the object of Devotion in forms of the concrete or manifest Universe ;—first *Prakriti* (the Universe), and then *Vibhutis* (special manifestation), and finally *Visvarupa* (the manifest Universal). This leads to synthesis of Devotion and Knowledge. The concretizing and the universalizing element, in the concrete Universal.

Then in the next stadium (भूमिका) Works are added by way of synthesis to this

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unification of Knowledge and Devotion (ज्ञान-समन्वित भक्ति) *e. g.* (मत् कर्म्मपरमो भवत्) *vide chapter XII.*

This is followed by a characterization of the devotee at this final stage which necessarily repeats much of the previous characterizations of the Sthitadhi (the Quiescent One) and the Yogi who follows Karma (Karma yogi) in the first six chapters.

For, the final goal is much the same in the synthetic view. Thus we get the complete synthetic discipline (**समन्वय साधन**); but on this line all elements and stages have a Bhakti cast or note (or devotional tinge), and the synthesis is centred by way of Devotion in Me (**मयि, भगवान्**) or the Supreme Self just as, on the line of Works all the elements and stages are oriented towards Works and the complete synthesis is centred in the Self or Brahma (**ब्रह्म योग**), the Brahma who is the support and centre of sacrifice (**प्रतिष्ठित in यज्ञ**).

Thus the second six chapters describe synthesis with Devotion as the basis and centre of reference.

(iii) Chapters XIII—XVIII

Now take one who desires philosophical analysis, Knowledge, at the outset, for we have seen that Devotion necessarily implies Knowledge. This Knowledge is directed towards the discrimination of the Kshetra ('body' or 'organism') from the Kshetrajna (knower of the kshetra, the Universal Soul (**क्षेत्र क्षेत्रज्ञ विवेक ज्ञान**), and not towards the discrimination of Purusha from Prakriti, as in the Sankhya (**पुरुष प्रकृति विवेकज्ञान**) *vide* chapter XIII, where the line of Knowledge begins (**ज्ञानयोग**).

Now comes Knowledge—the highest Knowledge **ज्ञानम्, ज्ञानमुत्तमम्**. This Knowledge proceeds by analysis of the qualities or modes (**गुण**) and by discrimination of of that which transcends all qualities (**गुणातीत**) from the qualities or modes themselves (**गुणान् अतीत्य गुणानतिवर्त्तते** *chapter XIV* slokas 20-21). This Knowledge (**ज्ञान**) leads to the condition of that which transcends all qualities (**गुणातीत**) *chapter XIV*, slokas 24-25).

But in the very next slokas, 26-27, it is stated, parenthetically as it were, that the Devotion which never lapses (**अव्यभिचार भक्ति**) also leads to the Brahma which is above all qualities (**गुणातीत ब्रह्मभूय** state).

Knowledge thus leads to the Knowledge of the three Purushas, Kshara, Akshara and Purusottama **वैश्वानर**, the Perishable, the Imperishable and the Transcendent One (*sloka 18*, Chapter 15).

The knower of Purusottama (**पुरुषोत्तम**) is knower of everything (**सर्व्ववित्**)—and this Knowledge is equivalent to worship in all modes and forms (**सर्व्वभावेन भजनम्**). This is the secret doctrine (**गुह्यशास्त्र**); he is the knower (**बुद्धिमान्**) who knows or understands this. He is consummate in Works (**कृतकृत्यः**).

Now after this emphasis on the discipline of Knowledge (**ज्ञानसाधन**) so far, begins Synthesis with Works. First by discrimination of various forms of Works, meaning ethical activities, not Works as enjoined in the Vedas (**वैदिक कर्म्म**) as such.

Now follows the discrimination between the godly and the ungodly (**दैवासुर सम्पत् बिभागः**) Chapter XVI. For the two orders of creation (**सर्ग**), Daiva and Asura (**दैव, आसुर**), are the Good and the Evil. This Good and Evil are to be taken in a moral sense, as apart from Vaidic works (**वैदिक कर्म्म**). The way of the Knower follows the godly virtues (**दैवसम्पद्**), but there are lost souls (**नष्टात्मनः**). who are sources of evil to the world (**जगतोऽहिताः**).

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहरनीश्वरम।
अपरस्परसम्भूतं किमन्यत् कामहैतुकम्॥

(Chapter XVI, sloka 8).

[They (those lost souls) say that the world is untrue, ungrounded, and godless; not born of any dual relation, and sprung spontaneously (or, according to some, born for the fulfilment of desire)].

N. B. This is a denunciation of Buddhistic Atheism. These opponents follow the path of the demons (**असुराः**). The three-fold door of hell (**नरक**), Lust, Wrath and Avarice (**काम, क्रोध, लोभ**).

Now what about the relation of the Jnani, the follower of the path of Knowledge to Shastrik injunction (**शास्त्रविधि**)?

Krishna teaches that for laying down what is to be done and what not done (**कार्याकार्य व्यवस्थिति**), the knower (follower of Knowledge) must not abjure Shastrik injunctions for mere reasons of pleasure or desire.

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The abjuring of Shastrik injunction for reasons of pleasure or gratification (**कामकारण शास्त्रविधि उत्सर्ज्जन**) is evil. But the follower of Knowledge (**ज्ञानी**) can also proceed without Shastrik injunction (**शास्त्रविधि**) and the synthesis of Knowledge and Works is also possible if Works such as sacrifice, gift and austerity (**यज्ञ, ज्ञान, तप**) are done with the true spirit of reverence (**सात्त्विक श्रद्धा**) and also if spiritual sacrifice, spiritual gift and spiritual *tapas* (austerities), (**सात्त्विक यज्ञ, सात्त्विक दान, सात्त्विक तपः**), as explained below, are performed. But in case Shastrik injunction is not adopted as the guide, there must be distinction between good (**सत्**) and evil (**असत्**). The doer who follows the path of Knowledge (**ज्ञानिकर्म्मकृत्**) without Shastrik injunctions must follow the good and abjure evil. Thus in either way the synthesis of Knowledge and works is accomplished.

In Chapter XVIII the works of the Jnanayogi (the follower of Knowledge) are further characterized. We get here the true meaning of Renunciation (**सन्न्यास**) and Abjuration (**त्याग**), both necessary for the works of the follower of Knowledge. What we require is Renunciation, renunciation of Works done with desire (**काम्यकर्म्मसन्न्यास**), and abjuration also—the giving up of the fruit of all Works (**सर्व्वकर्म्मफलत्याग**).

Only spiritual sacrifice, spiritual gift and spiritual tapas (austerities,) may be done with spiritual faith (**सात्त्विक श्रद्धा**); such work is not born of desire, for there is no selfish desire or renunciation of any desired object (**संकल्प**) which is necessary for works born of desire and there is giving up of attachment (**सङ्गत्याग**) and giving up of all fruits of action and consequently doing of such Works is consistent with renunciation, renunciation of Works born of desire and abjuration.

Now in the works of the follower of Knowledge he must distinguish between the deed, the doer and the instrument of doing (**कर्म्मकर्त्ता** and **करण**) The Self is no doer or agent (**अकर्त्ता**); (**यस्यनाहं कृतोभाव बुद्धिर्यस्य न लिप्यते**) Sloka xvii (who is not actuated by the idea of the Ego).

He who aims at the synthesis of Knowledge and Works must according to Knowledge distinguish Works and Agent. Each is of three kinds according to the three modes (**गुण**); after knowing this he who aims at the synthesis of Knowledge and Works must be free from attachment (**मुक्तसङ्ग**) without attribution to Self (**अनहंवादी**), yet fraught with perseverance and enthusiasm (**धृत्युत्साह समन्वितः**); indifferent to success and unsuccess (**सिद्धयसिद्धि निर्विकारः**), and a pure selfless doer (**सात्त्विक कर्त्ता**) Sloka 27).

Finally Works after one's own nature or duties imposed on one by one's birth should not be given up; even if faulty, one's own natural sphere of work is not to be given up (**स दोष सहज कार्य्यं मा त्यजेत्**).

Thus he who aims at the synthesis of Knowledge and Works attains the fruition of *Naishkarmya* (quiescence, actionlessness, Sloka 49 Chap. XVIII). The order is indicated as follows:—**ज्ञानस्य या परा** etc. (Sloka 50); then (**शान्तब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते**) (Sloka 49-53.)

Then this state of being one with Brahma (**ब्रह्मभूयभाव**) is characterized.

Then briefly Devotion is added to Knowledge and Works.—For the one who is identified with Brahma (**ब्रह्मभूत**), attains supreme Devotion (**पराभक्ति**). By Devotion he knows (**अभिजानाति**); then he enters into Me truly (**ततो मां तत्त्वतो विशते**) and then attains by My Grace the eternal station (**मत्प्रसादात् शाश्वतं पदम्**) Slokas 55-56.

This synthesis of Devotion with Knowledge is here briefly touched upon,—because in the previous section on Devotion (**भक्तियोग**) (chapter vii to xii), the Synthesis with Devotion has been fully characterized.

We have thus arrived at three divisions (*viz.*, Chapters I-VI, Chapters VII-XII, and Chapters XIII-XVIII). The first division begins with Works and goes on to Knowledge and Devotion. The second division begins with Devotion and goes on to Knowledge and Works. The third division begins with Knowledge and goes on to Works and devotion. It is not intended that every one necessarily should pass through all the three sets of courses. It would suffice for any one individual to follow the course of discipline laid down in anyone of these divisions. This would be sufficient for the individual, though all the three courses are laid down as giving a complete syllabus. But it is a moot point whether any single individual may choose to go through the three courses successively. There is nothing in the Gita to prevent one and the same

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individual from undertaking the three courses successively.

The eighteenth Chapter ends with an application of this Gita teaching to Arjuna's situation.

The above is not only a Synthesis, synthetic interpretation, of the varied contents of the Gita, but also a synthesis of the various schools of interpretation themselves.

Causes of India's Industrial Inefficiency*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

THE outstanding feature of the industrial organization of India is its inefficiency which is responsible for the loss of about three-fourths of her natural, human and capital resources. This inefficiency has been brought about by a variety of direct and indirect causes, of which the most important are, racial characteristics, physical environment, poverty and disease, illiteracy and inexperience, religious inadaptability, social maladjustment, political subjugation and industrial backwardness.

1. Racial Characteristics

The cause of the industrial inefficiency of a nation must first be sought in the racial characteristics of its people. The racial traits are more or less permanent and can scarcely lend themselves to any remedial measures. Any difference in industrial efficiency due to racial features must be admitted and the remedy for inefficiency must be sought after.

The common origin of mankind is an established fact. All the human races are the descendants of the same primary group, which was dispersed from original habitat through internal and external forces, and which developed under various environmental influences, different characterisitics, such as colour, stature and other physical features. These features are too self-evident to need any discussion, but the important questions which arise are these: (1) Are there any differences in the innate mental qualities among the races? (2) Granting that there are differences, are some of the races, due to these differences, inferior to others? (3) Is the inter-mixture of races, especially of those having divergent physical features, as Africans and Europeans, detrimental to their progeny or to society as a whole? These are still open questions. Theories have been advanced by some and contradicted by others that all races are potentially equal in quality, and that race mixtures often lead to the development of vigorous new races.

As far as India is concerned, it might be said that it is a land of race mixture. Various races, such as the Kolarians, Mongolians, Iranians, Dravidians and Aryans, specially the last two, have contributed to the present composition of Indian population. In spite of the caste system and religious diversity, there has been a good deal of intermingling of these races and there is no such thing as a pure race in India, nor, in fact, in any part of the world. Since it cannot be proved that in innate mental qualities these races are inferior to one another or to other races of the world, the only way to prove their equality is by comparison of their achievements, past and present, with those of the other nations.

It must be mentioned, first of all, that due to the difference in physical features, all the races are not able to do the same kind of work with an equal degree of efficiency, but in this machine age these physical variations scarcely make any

* Cf. the present writer's articles on "Wastage of India's Man-power," "The Problem of India's Poverty" and "Wastage of India's Capital Resources" in the *Modern Review* for April 1927, October 1929 and April 1930 respectively. The writer apologizes for recapitulation of one or two paragraphs of the above articles.

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essential difference in industrial efficiency. If they do. India has races of divergent features, and, with the present facilities for transportation, these differences can be easily taken advantage of in organizing an efficient industrial system. In fact, this is being done in India even today. The jute industry of Bengal, the tea industry of Assam, and the coal, iron and steel industry of Bihar and Orissa, are only a few examples.

But the fundamental question still remains to be answered. In modern times industrial efficiency depends more upon mental abilities, such as skill, ingenuity and inventive genius, rather than upon physical characteristics. The past experience of India in theoretical sciences, such as algebra, trigonometry, geometry and astronomy, and applied sciences, such as medicine and architecture, show that India was one of the leading countries in ancient times. Like Europe, India has also passed through dark ages. Invasions, conquests, and foreign rules have attributed largely to the intellectual and moral degeneration of her people. Modern India is again showing her physical prowess and mental capacities. Neither in intellectual fields nor on the playgrounds have the Indians proved themselves inferior to other nations. While universities like those of Oxford and Cambridge, will bear testimony to the former, the playgrounds of Calcutta and Bombay, and the Olympic games of several European towns will bear testimony to the latter.[1]

As far as industrial efficiency is concerned, it might be said that the Indians have never had proper conditions in which they could prove their efficiency to the best advantage. Neither the coalfields of Bihar and Bengal nor the factories of Madras and Bombay offer a similarity of conditions for comparing the efficiency of the Indians with that of any other race.[2] The only places where the Indians have had equality of opportunity, to a limited extent, have been the farms and orchards of California, and the logging camps and lumber mills of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, where the Indians have proved that they were as good as, if not better than, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans, the Canadians and the Americans.[3]

2. Physical Environment

Physical environment has a great influence upon the human mind and human culture. Temperature, moisture, fertility, flora and fauna, and topography, not only affect the development of racial characteristics, as we have seen, but also determine, at least in the early stage of civilization, social attitude and social institutions, which directly or indirectly influence industrial efficiency.

It was the sub-tropical regions with temperate climate and fertile soil, which attracted primitive nomadic groups to settle down into communities, and eventually became cultural centres. The valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, for instance, became the cradles of civilization. While climate and food worked upon the physical features of man, geographical elements, such as mountains, oceans, rivers, deserts, prairies and forests, and physical forces, such as tempests, tornados and lightning, influenced his character and determined his attitude as evidenced in religion, poetry, legends, myths and other institutions, such as ceremonies, customs and manners. In a word, social traditions are greatly influenced by physical environment, especially in the early stage of their growth.

Physical elements have direct influence upon health and vigour, which are the basis of industrial efficiency. Heat and humidity, affecting the physiological functions of the body, cause premature old age and shorten life. Industrial skill, the achievement of which requires long preparation, especially in these days of scientific advancement and international competition, is wasted before full realization, thus causing much loss to the industrial efficiency of a nation. Second, the tropics, by encouraging the growth of various pathological organisms, bring about diseases, such as cholera, small-pox, malaria and hookworm, which cause premature death or sap the national vitality. Third, heat and humidity enervate the people and make the application of sustained and intensive energy both impossible and injurious. Fourth, the monotony of nature fails to invigorate man with the idea of change and causes him to lose ambition and inspiration, and initiative and alertness.

Nature has thus a threefold effect upon man, or rather upon his heredity, tradition and health, each of which is an element in his industrial efficiency. While the influence upon the first two is more or less indirect, that upon health is direct. The effect of heredity or racial characteristics upon industrial efficiency has already been discussed, and that of tradition will be discussed later

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on. It might be pointed out here that the tradition of a people is neither fixed nor permanent. It is always in a state of flux, although the process may be very slow. But this change can be accelerated by a social crisis and social will. Consider, for instance, nationalism, which was more or less unknown in India a generation ago, but which has become one of the most important social forces in modern times.

The effect of nature upon health is only too obvious to need discussion. It has been asserted by some that a true civilization can only grow in a temperate climate. All the industrial centres of modern times, such as London, Berlin, New York and Tokyo, according to them, are in the regions which are not visited by extreme heat and cold. In short, real civilization, according to this theory, can only develop in temperate regions. This theory, however, assumes that there should be only one type of civilization and that a civilization different from that of modern Europe will be necessarily inferior. It also denies the fact, that man, by acquiring knowledge in science and philosophy, can conquer nature and control many of its adverse effects.

Natural phenomena and laws, although more or less unchangeable, can be greatly modified by human intelligence. Pathologic micro-organism can be brought under human control and many diseases can be eliminated, as has already been done in Panama and Manila, and many other parts of the world. A workshop with an arid and hot atmosphere may be changed into a comfortable place by refrigeration and humidification. By change of working hours from the midday to early hours of the morning, and the late hours of the evening, a great deal of work can be accomplished with a fair amount of efficiency. The intensive work may be continued with periodical relaxations. Moreover, every region, with its climatic conditions and natural resources, determines the nature of industry by which the people can develop its own regional economy and its own particular industrial efficiency.

3. Poverty and Disease

One of the fundamental causes of India's industrial inefficiency is the ill-health of the people, to which has been ascribed the loss of one-fourth of the national energy. This national ill-heath has been brought about by two distinct factors, namely, extreme poverty or deficient nutrition on the one hand, and the lack of sanitary measures on the other.

The outstanding feature of India's economic life is the abject poverty of her people. The existence of poverty among the masses of India's population has been admitted even by the Government. "There is a vast amount," says the Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions in British India in 1927-28, "of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty, that is to say, of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence."[4] One of the most important indications of India's absolute poverty is the frequent outbreak of famine which visited India seven times from 1860-1861 to 1899-1900 and affected an area varying from 54,000 square miles to 475,000 square miles, and a population varying from 20 millions to 68 millions.[5] No widespread famine has been recorded in the first quarter of the present century, but the existence of scarcity in some part of the country or the other is a constant factor.[6]

While famine is one of the greatest calamities which can befall a people, its effect is more or less temporary. What is much more deleterious to both its physical and moral strength is perpetual starvation. The *per capita* food supply in India, as indicated by the yield of the principal crops, amounts to .83 million calories instead of 1.27 million calories as required by the human body.[7] The average annual total of grain available for food from 1900 to 1922 was only 48.7 million tons as compared with 81 million tons required for the population.[8] In other words, food production in India fell short of the requirement by more than one-third. That the Indian people are underfed is also proved by the fact that food supplied to a Madras prisoner amounts to 741 pounds a year as compared with 2,664 pounds consumed by an average American[9], and it is a well-known fact that the *per capita* amount of food consumed by the Indian masses falls far short of the prison ration. Moreover, the quality of food is much poorer in India than in the United States.

There exist divergent views as to whether there has been any amelioration in the conditions of the people in recent years. According to the official view there has been an appreciable improvement in the

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standard of living of Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century.[10] The increase in bank deposits, industrial investments and merchandise imports is most probably responsible for this conclusion. According to Indian authorities the contrary is the truth.[11] Some of the studies in the economic life of the villages seem to favour this view.

"An average year seems to leave the village," says Dr. Mann, "underfed, more in debt than ever, apparently less capable than ever of maintaining the present population and present methods of cultivation and real economic independence."[12]

The very fact that the average length of life for the past 40 years has been practically the same, as will be shown later on, also indicates there has scarcely been a material improvement in the conditions of the Indian masses[13].

Like starvation, prevalence of diseases in India is also an acknowledged fact. Epidemics like cholera, small-pox and influenza are always present in some part of the country or other. Tuberculosis is found in large industrial centres, especially in over-crowded slums. The prevalence of hookworm has been revealed by investigation, and it has been found that practically all the rural population in Madras and 70 per cent of the population in Bengal are infected with hookworm[14].

The most common and destructive disease is, however, malaria. In 1927-28, 15.57 out of 26.76 deaths per 10,000 of the population were ascribed to fevers, of which the most important was malaria[15]

"No part of India," says the Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions in India in 1927-28, "is free from this scourge and the number of days of work which are lost every year on this account must run into many millions The members of every class and occupation in India are affected, and not only the actual days lost are to be counted but the weakening effects of malaria on the human system must also be taken into consideration, for it saps the energy and reduces the efficiency of its victims."[16]

What is still worse is that malaria is steadily spreading in many parts of Bengal.

"Within living memory hundreds of villages have been decimated by malaria", says the Annual Report and Accounts of the Ross Institute and Hospital for Tropical Diseases in 1928, "thousands of acres of once prosperous and highly cultivated land have been abandoned; populous towns have been reduced to the status of miserable fever-stricken villages; stately mansions have as their sole inhabitants the wild pigs and leopards; and the jungle is creeping in to reign once more over a land from which it was driven thousands of years ago. The malaria of Bengal may well be described as a great tragedy."[17]

But malaria is not confined to Bengal alone. Several other provinces are also more or less infected with malaria germs, causing the death of 1,300,000 persons a year.

The immediate effect of starvation and disease is seen in the low vitality of the people. According to the census of 1921, about one-fifth of the children in British India die before the age of one year.[18] As compared with other countries, out of every 100 infants born alive, 19.4 die in the first year of their life in India as compared with 7.7 in England and Wales, 8.8 in France, and 10.8 in Germany.[19] It has been estimated that over 2 million children die every year in India in their infancy in addition to a large number of still-born. The number of children who die before reaching youth is considerable. Ten million children die between the ages of 10 and 15. In fact, scarcely 50 per cent of the children born ever reach even a youthful age. Says the All-India Conference of Medical Research Works, "the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50."[20] In 1921 the death-rate in India was 3.06 per cent as compared with 1.21 per cent in England and Wales, 1·48 per cent in Germany, and 1.77 per cent in France[21]. In other words, as compared with England and Wales, France and Germany, the death-rate is about twice as great and the average length of life is about only half as much in India.

That India has not improved in health in recent years is still better indicated by the fact that there has been no improvement in the average length of life among the people since 1881. From an average of 24.85 years the longevity fell down to 24.75 in 1921 as indicated by the table below :

Year	Men	Women	Total unweighted average	Variation Index No.
1881	24.5	25.2	24.85	100
1891	24.4	24.9	24.65	99.2
1901	24.7	25.1	24.90	100.2
1911	24.7	24.7	25.70	99.4
1921	24.3	24.7	24.75	99.6

On the other hand, there has been a decided increase in the average life in different countries in the West. It increased, for instance, from 42 years in 1885 to 47.8 years in 1910 in England and Wales, from 41.6 years and 37.5 years in 1880 to 46.7 years

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and 45.9 years in 1910 in France and Italy respectively, and from 37 years in 1875 to 45.4 years in 1910 in Germany. [22]

What is still more significant is that as a nation India is not only physically weak but is getting weaker, if not absolutely, at least relatively. This is clearly shown by the fact that whilst the death-rate has declined in almost all Western countries during the last generation, it has remained stationary or even slightly increased in India. While, for instance, from an average of 2.74 per cent in 1885-90 the death-rate increased to 3.06 per cent in 1921 in India, from 1881-90 to 1901-1910 it fell down from 1.93 to 1 54 per cent in England and Wales, from 2.21 to 1.94 per cent in France, from 2.51 to 1.87 per cent. in Germany and from 2.13 to 1.65 in Belgium. On account of disturbing conditions during the war it is difficult to make any comparison for the years 1911-1920, but the death-rate in 1921, after the establishment of peace, shows a still further decline, being 1.21 per cent in England and Wales, 1.35 per cent in Belgium, 1.48 in Germany and 1.77 per cent in France as shown in the table below :

Decline of Death-rate in various Countries[23]

Year	England & Wales	France	Germany	Belgium	India.
1881-1890	1.90	2.21	2.51	2.13	2.74 [24]
1901-1910	1.54	1.94	1.87	1.65	——
1921	1.21	1.77	1.48	1·35	3.06

The ultimate effect of ill-health arising from starvation and disease is social deterioration, of which industrial efficiency is only one of the aspects. The number of people who die from starvation and disease is large enough, but the number of those who suffer from insufficient nutrition and bad sanitation is much larger than those who succumb. They are left as lifelong victims either to succumb soon after or to carry on their life process in broken health and spirit to the detriment of the wealth and welfare of the nation.

It is scarcely to be expected that a nation with bad health and under-developed minds will be able to maintain its efficiency in this age of world-wide competition. Regarding malaria, the Report of the Ross Institute mentioned above says that its presence is a great handicap to economic efficiency.

"A malaria-handicapped industry," continues the Report, "will have little chance of survival against foreign competition."[25] Similarly injurious are the other diseases to the national efficiency, said the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1928, "malaria slays its thousands and ruins the economic efficiency of hundreds of others ; plague and cholera sweep the country from time to time ; hookworm disease, kala-azar and diseases arising from diet deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes."[26]

4. Illiteracy and Inexperience

Next to ill-health, ignorance as indicated by illiteracy and inexperience or lack of training is the most important cause of industrial inefficiency, causing, as has been noted before, the loss of about one-fourth of India's national energy.

It has already been pointed out that about 92 per cent of the total population of India are illiterate, and about the same proportion of the actual workers engaged in different productive processes, or more correctly the population between the ages of 15 and 60 is also illiterate. In comparison with the workers in advanced countries, Indian workers are the most illiterate. Thus, while the percentage of illiterate persons between 15 and 60 was .03 in Germany, 1.0 in Holland, 4.7 in France and 8.9 in Belgium in 1910, that in India was 92 as late as in 1921.[27]

One of the most appalling wastages of Indian intellectual faculties occurs from the lack of conservation and development of the mental faculty of India's vast childhood. The period of childhood is more or less indefinite, but it might be said to extend from 5 to 14 years inclusive. Now, in almost all civilized countries, there exists free and compulsory primary education for children, although the period of such education differs in different countries. Under her present political and economic conditions, if it be assumed that the period between 5 and 10 should form the period of compulsory primary education in India, the number of children eligible for primary education would amount to 47 millions, of whom only 6 millions were receiving primary education in 1921, and 41 million children remained without any provision for education.

In comparison with other countries, the number of children in primary schools in proportion to those of school-going age is the smallest in India. For instance, among five countries, namely, England and Wales, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland and Austria, for which statistics are available, the number of children attending primary schools as compared

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with those of school-going age varies from 92 per cent to 76 per cent as against 12 per cent in India[28].

In comparison with other countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, where compulsory education extends up to the age of 14 or more, there should be added to the above 47 million children in India, another 37 million children between 10 and 15, of whom only 1.6 millions were receiving secondary education in 1921. It is thus seen that out of 84 million children between 5 and 15, only 7.6 millions received primary and secondary education, and the mental faculty of the remaining 76.4 million children remained undeveloped.

The period of education including both general and technical instruction extends much farther than the age of fourteen in most of the countries and in this respect also the number of students in India is insignificant. Taking liberal education as a whole, including primary, secondary and superior education, the total number of persons receiving instruction was only 8.3 millions or 3.42 per cent of the total population in India as compared with 17 per cent in the United States, 16 per cent in Belgium, and 15 per cent in France.[29]

One of the most important methods of instruction in modern times is what is called adult education. Even in this rsspect India is far behind other nations. In 1926, for instance, there were only 11,227 institutions and 282,384 pupils all over the country.[30] The public press which is one of the most important means of imparting adult education is also very backward in India. In 1926-27, for instance, the total number of newspapers and periodicals amounted to 5,111 in India, as compared with 20,694 in the United States[31] with a population about one-third of that of India. Moreover, most of the newspapers and periodicals have a much larger circulation in the United States than in India.

The fundamental basis of industrial efficiency especially in modern times, is, however, technical education, in which India is still more backward than in general or liberal education. In 1925-26, there were only 9 engineering and surveying schools with 1,404 scholars, as compared with 10 fully equipped Technical High Schools, and 21,683 students in Germany. As regards the industrial education there were 396 schools with 20,848 scholars in the whole of India as compared with 13 municipal professional schools with 1,385 pupils and 370 private schools with 92,000 pupils in the city of Paris alone.[32]

As in the case of health, India has, within recent years, become more backward in knowledge, if not absolutely, at least relatively. In the first place, the old cultural systems, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, have almost broken down, partly due to the lack of faith in the old civilizations and partly to the inadequate means of propagating them as in the olden days. It is true that communication has increased and a larger body of information has been reaching the masses today than ever before. But this information has never evolved from the old cultural system nor has it been appropriated to the national culture by scientific methods.

In the second place, if there be any doubt as to the general education, there is no question as to the backwardness and deterioration of technical education, especially in arts and crafts, in which India once built up her world-wide reputation. The arts of making iron and steel, of building the magnificent edifices, and of manufacturing muslin are no longer to be found in any part of the country. Even cottage industries, in which were trained millions of India's artisan classes, have undergone deterioration. Modern industries, such as mines and factories, are comparatively few in number and do not help in the industrial education of the workers except to a very limited degree. . Out of over 2.5 million workers engaged in organized industries employing 20 persons or more in 1921, only 28 per cent were skilled workers.[33] The standard of skill even of such a small proportion of workers was very low. Except the cotton mills, most of the organized modern industries, such as jute mills, tea gardens and coal mines, are controlled and managed by Europeans.

During the period while India has been losing her knowledge of her own arts and crafts and has been unable to acquire the knowledge of modern science and technology, most of the other important countries have been making immense progress in modern systems of production and distribution. And it is this inability of India to keep abreast of other nations in exact science and industrial technique which is one of the fundamental causes of her industrial backwardness.

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5. Religious Inadaptibility.

Another important cause of India's industrial inefficiency is moral deterioration, which has been brought about by various factors, such as religious doctrine and philosophical attitude towards life. Religion in a broader sense includes not only the spiritual ideals which man attempts to realize for a life to come, but also all those moral and intellectual aims and aspirations which they want to achieve here on earth. The underlying conceptions and assumptions as well as the methods of realizing these ideals and aspirations have profound influence upon human behaviour and human success.

Whatever might be the metaphysical explanations and theological speculations, most of the religious beliefs and practices among the Hindus, who form by far the majority of the population, are nothing but pure and simple superstitions. Nor do they succeed in achieving their aims. Thus millions of people in India year after year worship with devotion *Lakshmi*, or goddess of wealth, *Saraswati* or goddess of learning, and *Durga* or goddess of power, yet India is today the most indigent, most illiterate and most helpless country on earth. However harmless in themselves these rituals and ceremonies may be, inasmuch as they divert the attention from the true means of success they lead to social and industrial deterioration.

One of the cardinal principles of Hindu religion is the belief in an Infinite Being, of which this visible world is only a manifestation[34]. It is the duty of every man to realize this entity either in this life or in the next by the practice of self-renunciation. Misery and sorrow arise from the lower desires of man; the way to real happiness lies in the elimination of those desires. This doctrine has great effect upon the social and industrial attitude of the people.

First, it has turned the mind away from the material to the spiritual, from the natural to the supernatural, from the real to the ideal, from the concrete to the abstract and from the outer to the inner aspects of life.

Second, while it has helped a very small minority to attain the highest types of manhood, it has also checked the mental growth of by far the majority by placing before them an ideal far too high for attainment by the average man. Thus while Hindu civilization has helped to glorify a few, it has tended to fossilize many.

Third, by over-emphasizing the happiness of the after-life and the attainment of this happiness through self-renunciation, it has tabooed most of the pleasures of the flesh, and has placed, as its goal the fewness rather than the multiplicity of wants, which is the most important incentive to economic activities and industrial development.

Fourth, by constantly directing the attention towards the inner struggle between desires and ideals, it has restricted the scope of the external struggle between man and nature, which stimulates man to conquer nature and acquire wealth.

Fifth, the doctrine of *Karma*, which is a part of the Hindu religion, has disintegrated into fatalism and has its worst effect upon the masses. The feeling that the sorrow and happiness in this life are largely determined by the deeds of a former life takes away a good part of the initiative for planning and developing any remedial measures in case of any catastrophe. The majority of the people are prone to resign themselves to the course of events. The doctrine has been responsible for not stimulating the people to turn failure to success, which is one of the essential elements in the acquisition of industrial efficiency.

6. Social Maladjustment.

While the teachings of religion have tended to make after-life and not this world the focus of attention, some of the social institutions, such as the caste system, the purdah system, child marriage, the joint-family system and private charity have also led to social deterioration and industrial inefficiency.

The caste system is one of the most outstanding causes of social stagnation and industrial inertia. It has created false pride and vainglory among a few and has led to the degradation and demoralization of the many. It has caused labour to lose its dignity and hindered the free movement of the people in the selection of industry and occupation. Most of the important industries have therefore been left to the so-called lower classes, who, being devoid of facilities for education and of recognition and support of the society have kept the industrial art where it was thousands of years ago, while the same industries in other countries have been developed by eminent chemists and engineers and commercialists with the help of the most up-to-date scientific discoveries and technical inventions.

Next to the caste system is the purdah or the seclusion of women, which has also retarded the industrial progress of the country. Like the caste system it is also a national calamity. Of course it is a Muhammadan custom and prevails mostly among the Muhammadan families. But a considerable portion of the Hindu population, especially in the North, has come under its influence. Any institution which interferes with women's freedom of action and deprives them of facilities for education acts as an impediment to their moral, intellectual and industrial development.

The purdah system, therefore, deprives India of the full utilization of the physical and mental resources of almost half of the social population in her industrial activities.

Child marriage is another stumbling-block to the growth of industrial efficiency in India. A large number of boys and girls, especially

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the latter, become married before their adolescence period is over. Although the age of marriage has been raised to 14 for girls and 18 for boys by the recent Act, even as late as 1921 there were under the age of 15 years over 3.6 million married boys and over 6.5 million married girls[35]. Early marriage deprives boys and girls of the fullest opportunities for the development of body and mind, including industrial education by which they could become more efficient members of industrial society. It curbs down and limits the spirit of adventure and enterprise of the boys, which are among the most stimulating factors of modern industrial progress, and compels the girls to bear the burden of gestation and lactation when they ought to be devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and efficiency. Moreover, child marriage encourages the joint-family system and often leads to immature and unwise parenthood to the detriment of the offspring as well as parents themselves, and helps over-population by prolonging the procreating period.

The joint-family system, by which several members of the family even after their marriage live together with their parents and other relations sharing in the common family budget is another social institution interfering with the growth of industrial efficiency. Although the system is gradually breaking down under social and economic forces, by far the majority of the Indian families still live in joint-families. It is not without its advantages but under the modern social conditions, it has already outlived its utilities, and has become detrimental to industrial progress. As noted before, it is the citadel of child marriage ; while it restricts the instinct of gain on the part of the earning members, it puts a premium on idleness and discourages initiative on the part of the dependants.

The institution of private charity which obtains as a part of both the Hindu and the Muhammadan social and religious organization is also responsible for encouraging idleness on the part of a considerable number of population. The noble aim and benevolent effect of the institution cannot be denied, and at a time when there was not yet any public institution for taking care of the old the defective and the helpless, it served a very useful purpose. It will have its utility until social insurance and public philanthropy take its place. But it has been greatly misused and it is not uncommon that under the garb of religion many able-bodied men and women take advantage of the credulous belief and benevolent superstition of the people, while many needy ones remain uncared for.

7. Political Subjugation.

One of the most important causes which have both directly and indirectly retarded the growth of industrial efficiency in India is her political subjugation. The loss of independence is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation. It not only brings about slavery and serfdom, but also leads to moral and intellectual degeneration, and thus affects industrial efficiency. It must be admitted at the outset that there is something fundamentally wrong with Hindu civilization which has not only made them submit to, but even sustain, foreign rule.

From the earliest times, India has been subjected to invasions and conquests. It was not, however, until the 13th century that India began to come under Muhammadan rule and to lose her independence. But the very fact that the Muhammadans came to make India their own home and the actual administration of the country was practically left to the Hindus, the evils of Muhammadan conquest was largely mitigated. It was with British conquest that India came under alien rule and a government from outside was inaugurated, which contributed to the social, political and industrial deterioration of the people.

The prime motive which led the British to come to India was to secure industrial and commercial advantages, to facilitate and perpetuate which they gradually conquered the country and established complete political control. British rule in India might be roughly divided into three periods ; namely, the rule under the East India Company (1757-1857), the rule under the Crown (1858-1920) and the beginning of Self-Government from 1921. These three periods have been dominated by three distinct economic policies, such as mercantilism, *laissez-faire* and modified protectionism.

At the time of the arrival of the British in India, the dominating policy of England and other Western countries was mercantilism by which they made their colonies and dependencies producers of raw materials and purchasers of finished products. This policy was actively pursued by the British in the

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first period and remained effective in the second period. With the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown, *laissez-faire* which had become the political philosophy or industrial policy of England also became the industrial policy of the British Government in India. It might seem paradoxical, but it is none the less true that both these apparently contradictory policies worked side by side in India during the period. While indigenous industrial enterprise was denied any support, British commercial, industrial and financial interests, which had already established virtual monopoly in the country often with the help of Government was left alone. It was not until the beginning of the last War that the Government of India realized the importance of adopting a new economic policy and of encouraging the development of indigenous enterprise. The foundation of this policy was laid down in the Government of India Act of 1919 and has been since then in the process of development. It is too early to judge its results in so short a time.

The economic policy of the Government followed until the beginning of the War has left a three-fold effect on the industrial life of the country: first, the "drain" of wealth, which has been estimated to be Rs. 60 crores a year without any corresponding return in any form[36]. In spite of the fact that there is a possibility of exaggeration and that a part of the drain is re-invested in India herself,[37] no country, however rich, can afford to pay to another country even half of such a sum for over 160 years without being depleted of a large part of its social capital and annual dividend;—second, decline of indigenous arts and crafts.[38] There is no question but that some of them would have died their natural death in the face of foreign competition, but a national Government would have improved and modernized at least a few. Third, retarded growth of modern industries. Commercial rivalry of the British industries and the virtual monopolistic control of most of India's key industries by the British have been detrimental to the growth of modern industrial enterprise in India. The former induced the British Government in India to create all the facilities for their imports into India, *e.g.*, the imposition of the excise duty on cotton manufactures, and the latter opposed the growth of rival indigenous industries, *e.g.*, the England and coastal shipping. The very fact that most of these modern industrial enterprises and public and quasi-public industries, such as railways, tramways, irrigation, gas and electricity works, were organized and managed by foreigners, deprived the indigenous people of all the chances of acquiring acknowledge and experience in modern industrial enterprise.

Equally deleterious has been the indirect effect of political subjugation upon industrial efficiency. The effect of ignorance, ill-health and poverty upon industrial efficiency has been already discussed. The most important effect of the loss of independence is, however, moral degradation. The exclusion from all military, and most of the civil and medical services, as a matter of fact, from all position of power and responsibility was a great detriment to the growth of national character. Moreover, the presence of a socially aloof ruling class with different social attitude and cultural ideal could not but help the growth of "inferiority-complex" or "slave-mentality" among the conquered people, who gradually came to doubt the soundness of their own civilization and thus lose self-confidence, initiative and enterprise qualities, upon which depends the industrial efficiency of a modern nation.

8. Industrial Backwardness

The immediate cause of the industrial inefficiency of India is, however, the backwardness of the industrial organization. From the earliest times until recently, India was, and to a large extent still is, a country of self-sufficing village economy. The village was the industrial unit, where the needs of food products and raw materials were supplied by the cultivators and those of manufactured goods by the artisans. The market was confined to the exchange of local products, and the demand for rare commodities was met by the fair which was held periodically within the reach of almost every village. There is no doubt that in recent years the number of agricultural products raised especially for the market, such as jute, cotton, oilseeds is increasing and that factory products, both of foreign and domestic origin, are increasingly finding their way into remote villages. But taking the country as a whole both the quantity and variety of such goods are rather insignificant in comparison with those locally produced and consumed.

This self-sufficing village economy has been one of the fundamental causes of India's

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industrial stagnation. It has limited the scope of division of labour and hindered the growth in the specialization of land, labour and capital, and has thus stood in the way of the growth of skill and ingenuity. The confinement of production to the needs of local consumption restricted the scope of competition and the improvement in the art and speed of production. Moreover, the lack of facilities for cultural contact, which often follows trade relations with the outside world, has retarded social progress which forms the background of industrial efficiency.

The failure to apply modern science and art to productive processes is one of the principal causes of agricultural backwardness. The fertility of soil has been in most cases exhausted through constant cultivation without fertilization. Farm-yard manure, which is the best and cheapest fertilizer, is almost universally burned and artificial fertilizers are too dear to be used by the majority of the cultivators. The lack of adequate knowledge in soil conservation and crop rotation leads to the fallowing of a considerable amount of arable land every year. Due to the ignorance of scientific breeding and feeding, the majority of Indian live-stock are unprofitable and wasteful for the production of labour, milk, meat and hide. Seeds and crops are scarcely selected for the increase in the quantity and quality of the yield and thereby of farm profit. Implements and tools are obsolete and antiquated, pests and parasites visit periodically, destroying crops and live-stock ; and by-products are scarcely utilized. The holdings are too small for the economic use of improved tools and implements and for the whole-time employment of the cultivator throughout the year. Even the small-holding is often sub-divided into smaller plots and scattered over a wide range.

Production has scarcely been adapted to the special needs of the market, nor has there appeared any regional division of production except that which has been forced by geographical necessities, such as jute in lower Bengal. Farming as a business is scarcely known to the average cultivator and his colossal illiteracy never enables him to count his cost. After paying high rate of interest and excessive rent often amounting to half or more of his profit the average cultivator has scarcely any means left to provide his family with the necessities of life, much less to save for agricultural improvement.

The artisan scarcely fares better than the cultivator. In fact, in most cases he is the worse of the two. For centuries neither his tools and implements nor his industrial art has undergone any improvement, nor has the State come to his aid. With antiquated tools and obsolete methods and unaided by society and the State, the Indian artisan has become weaker and weaker in competition with the workers in other parts of the world, who are equipped with the most up-to-date knowledge of science and with the latest achievements of mechanical invention, and are aided by intelligent society and the benevolent State. In the struggle for commercial supremacy, the Indian artisan is thus defeated by foreign competition in his own home market.

In recent years, several modern industries have been established, especially in relation to mining, planting, manufacturing and transporting. Of these industries, the most important are cotton and jute mills, tea gardens, coal-mines, and engineering workshops. The success of some of these industries has been due to monopoly. But in a vast country like India, modern organized industries are still insignificant in comparison with the old and unorganized ones.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the development of modern industries in India is that there is neither the favourable background nor the congenial atmosphere necessary to its normal and rapid expansion. Although phenomenal progress has been made in certain branches, there has not yet been developed either an all-round industrial system nor a combination of related industries with subsidiary and allied processes for the economic utilization of by-products and auxiliary materials. There are still lacking facilities for banking, transport, and marketing, industrial and commercial experience, and scientific and technical knowledge, which are essential for large-scale economic production. Account must also be taken of the age-long inertia of the old industrial system, the rigidity of ancient social institution and the colossal illiteracy and ignorance of the masses, all of which are impediments to the growth of both new economic consciousness and new industrial enterprise.

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[2] See the author's *Factory Labour in India*, pp. 107-124.

[3] See the author's *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 45-52.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[5] The area (in thousand square miles and the population in millions in brackets) were as follows: 54 (20) in 1860-61; 180 (48) in 1865-67; 296 (45) in 1868-1870; 54 (22) in 1873-74; 257 (59) in 1876-78; 307 (68) in 1896-97; and 475 (60) in 1899-1900. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. III. pp. 483-95.

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[22] Compiled and adapted from *Annuaire Statistique*, France 1923, p. 203. The average length of life is given for men and women separately; the figures given here are the unweighted averages of those figures.

[23] *Annuaire Statistique*, France, 1923, p. 200.

[24] For 1885-1890.

[25] *Op. cit.* p. 12

[26] *Op. cit.* p. 482.

[27] *Annuaire Statistique*, France; 1924, p. 214. Illiterate persons between 15 and 60 in various countries

Country	Year	Percentage of illiterate
Germany	1910	.03
Holland	1910	1.0
France	1910	4.7
Belgium	1910	8.9
India	1910	92.0

[28] Number of school-age children in Primary schools in certain countries.

Country	Year	School-age children number in thousand	Children in primary schools number in thousands	percentage of total
England & Wales	1920	5931	5199	87
Scotland	1920	780	681	87
Denmark	1921	450	414	92
Sweden	1921	920	708	76
Austria	1910	4819	4044	83
India	1921	47000	6000	12

(*Annuaire Statistique* France, 1922, p 213).

[29] *Education in certain countries.*
(the figures are in millions)

Country	Year	Primary	Secondary	Superior	No.	Total Percentage of total population
United States	1918	15.54	2.11	.25	17.90	17
France	1913	5.66	.13	.04	5.83	15
Belgium	1919	.96	.04	.01	1.01	16
India	1921	6.00	1.60	.70	8.30	3

Adapted from *Annuaire Statistique*, France, 1923, pp. 213-15; *The Indian Year Book*, 1923, p. 451.

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[31] *The World Almanac*, 1928, p. 262.

[32] *Statistical Abstract for British India*, and *Statesman's Yearbooks* for years indicated.

[33] Adapted. *Census of India*, 1921, Report 1, 292; 2: 277.

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Anglo-American Rivalry and the Future

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS. PH.D.

POLITICAL realists hold two distinct views regarding the future of Anglo-American relations. One group of statesmen believes that England and the United States are virtually in alliance and this tie is being strengthened through manifold ways. Many prominent Anglo-Saxon statesmen believe in and are working for an Anglo-American alliance which will control the financial resources, raw materials, markets and naval power of the world; and it will be in a position to sweep away all opposition before it. Recently, this view has been very clearly and emphatically expressed by Professor Georges Blondel of the School of Political Sciences of Paris, in an article published in *Le Capital*, the important financial journal published from the French capital. The other view is that Anglo-American rivalry in the world of commerce and finance is spreading in the political sphere; and the bitterness between these two Powers, contending for world supremacy is growing at a very rapid rate.

Many observers of American politics assert that under the present conditions in the U.S.A., there is no possibility of a formal Anglo-American alliance, approved by the U. S. Senate. The American people in general and politicians are unwilling to get into any form of "entangling alliance." The popular disapproval of any alliance is so strong in America, irrespective of party politics, that the American delegation in the London Naval Conference, had to refuse any consideration of the Mediterranean Non-aggression Pact proposed by France. The attitude of those who are opposed to any form of entangling alliance has been most significantally expressed in an editorial of the *Washington Post*:

"Much as Americans desire general reduction of navies, they are not willing to join a military alliance now on the promise that reduction will be undertaken in 1936.

"The United States is not responsible for wars that may break out abroad. It should not make itself responsible for preventing foreign wars. By assuming such responsibility it becomes morally obliged to make war if necessary to stamp out a foreign war.

"Who knows where the sympathies of the United States will lie in the next war? Who knows how or from which quarter war may come? Does the United States wish to assist France in putting down war in Morocco, or Great Britain in putting down the war that is impending in India? Are Americans ready to become allies of the great powers in fighting the Russian Soviet or the Chinese Nationalists? If the Soviet and Japan should clash, is it wise to be mortgaged in advance to join the Japanese?

"Every tradition of the United States warns Americans against entanglements with foreign nations. The scheme now being unfolded in London is abhorrent to American traditions and a menace to American freedom from freign wars. This scheme is subtly conceived and is to be plausibly presented, with the support of many Americans who would ignorantly sacrifice the Nation's vital interest and its future peace for the sake of "saving the face" of the negotiators in London.

"The hour is approaching when the representatives of the United States Government, in London and Washington, must decide whether they will stand on the solid rock of American independence or ruin themselves, as Woodrow Wilson ruined himself, in an attempt to entangle the United States in foreign politics."*

There is, however, enough pro-British sentiment in American political and governing circles to see to it that if ever Britain's existence is threatened by an attack from any of the European or Asiatic Powers, the American government may take the side of Britain against other nations menacing the Empire. Yet it must be understood that if Britain blocks the way of American financial and commercial expansion and adopts a policy of thwarting American supremacy (as Britain did against Germany) then there may be an Anglo-American conflict.

Mr. Ludwell Denny, the chief editorial writer of the United Press (one of the most powerful and possibly the largest American news service) after years of laborious research, on various phases of Anglo-American relations feels that a war between Great Britian and the United States is not unthinkable. It is certain that the people of the United States are not planning deliberately a war against Britain: nor is it true that the British and American governments are plotting

* *The Washington Post* (Washington, D. C.) March 10, 1930.

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wars. *Yet it is not true that war between Britain and America is unthinkable.* On the contrary "war between America and Britain is more probable than a war between America and any other Power. This does not mean that such a war is inevitable. *It does mean that the causes which have produced other wars, and specifically British wars, are active in virulent form in Anglo-American relations now.*" *

The people of Great Britian did not deliberately will a war against Germany, far less did the American people ; but the war against Germany (1914) became a "holy war." Similarly a conflict between Britain and America may arise. Those who deny the possiblity "ignore the basic economic causes of war, specifically they ignore the disquieting similarity between Anglo-American relations yesterday and Anglo-American relations today." The argument that "blood is thicker than water" and therefore the British and their American cousins will not fight, is childish and history of Anglo-American relations . . . . . the Revolutionary war, the war of 1812, etc . . . . disproves it."

It should not be ignored that while Mr. MacDonald was proclaiming before the world that "war between Great Britain and America is unthinkable and he was working to lay foundations of a lasting peace between these two nations", at the same time the Labour Government, like its predecessors, the Tories, was actively engaged in sending diplomatic and economic missions to South American countries, Canada and in Asia to recapture the lucrative markets which the British have lost to America during the last decade.

In a well-documented volume of more than four hundred pages Mr. Denny has discussed unbiassedly and dispassionately the growing tension between Britain and the United States in various activities. Anglo-American rivalry is world-wide and is not limited to any particular field. Mr. Denny shows that the British Empire is on the decline and the American Empire is rising. Great Britain is unsuccessfully fighting for her life. The United States has not only ousted British commercial and financial supremacy in various countries outside of the British Empire, but she is penetrating into the Dominions and displacing Britain. British industrial system is antiquated and it cannot compete with the United States with its marvellous industrial efficiency. British statesmen are struggling to hold their own and advocating the creation of a United States of the British Empire to combat the economic power of the United States. It is remarkable that responsible statesmen of all parties of Great Britain should agree on this project.

"Advocates range all the way from Lord Melchett, Lord Beaverbrook, Sir Harry McGowan, Lord Rothermere and the former Minister for Colonies, Mr. L. S. Amery, to the President of the British Trade Union Congress, Mr. Ben Tillett. The goal is an Empire Economic Unit, with free trade inside and tariff wall outside. The argument is that, while the United Kingdom is dependent, the Empire is virtually independent in food ; raw materials, industrial equipment, and as a mass home market ; therefore if handled as a unit, the United Kingdom's weakness of over-production and over-industrialization combined with the Dominion's under-population and agricultural production, can create a combined strength for the mutual benefit of all the members of the Empire." *

Lord Melchett (Sir Alfred Mond) in his very interesting work *Industry and Politics* discusses the "sacred duty" of all the members of the British Empire to come close together as an economic unit against all competitors. On general principle the idea of Imperial Economic Union and Imperial Tariff Preference is opposed to American demand for the Open Door. It seems that Great Britain is being successfully ousted from the Dominions by the United States and the following comparative percentages for the years 1913 and 1927 of the share of each in the growing imports of the Dominions, tell the story :

"Canada—United Kingdom fell from 21. 3 to 16.8, U. S. rose from 64.0 to 64.9 ; Australia—U. K. fell from 51.8 to 43.4. U. S. almost doubled from 13.7 to 24.6 ; New Zealand—U. K. fell from 59.7 to 47.9. U. S. almost doubled from 9.5 to 18.0 ; South Africa—U. K. fell from 50.1 to 42.8, U. S. almost doubled from 8.8 to 15.3. In every case Britain lost, we gained. In the percentage of shares of Dominion exports during the same period Britain has lost in every case and we have gained in every case :—Canada—U. K. fell from 49.0 to 33.4, U. S. rose from 37.9 to 38.9 : Australia—U.K. fell from 45.2 to 42.0, U. S. rose from 3.5 to 8.8 ; New Zealand—U. K. fell from 80.1 to 76.0, U. S. rose from 4.0 to 5.5 ; South Africa—U. K. fell from 91.9 to 65.2, U. S. rose from 0.8 to 2.2. The same thing has happened in India ; U. K. percentage of imports fell from 64.2 to 47.8, U. S. rose from 2.6 to 7.9 ; and of exports, U. K. fell from 23.5 to 21.0, U. S. rose from 8.9 to 11.2." †

There are various indications of increased British official opposition to American

* Denny, Ludwell : America Conquers Britain. Published by Alfred A. Knopf (New York and London). 1930, p. 3. Italics are mine.

* *Ibid.*, page 94.
† *Ibid.*, pages 112-113.

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commercial expansion in India. For instance Lord Meston who was a Governor of the United Provinces, as the Chairman of Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, received an intimation from the Government of Bengal to amend the constitution of the company, so that in future the holding of shares in the company by persons who were not British subjects would be limited to 20 per cent of the total number of issued shares, and that the directors would be British subjects.* This change was made that American finance would not be able to get control of the corporation. Such persons as Col. Wedgwood protested against the change ; but it was carried out. According to the *Bombay Chronicle*, Sir Frederick Sykes, the present Governor of Bombay in his recent speech before the Associated Chamber of Commerce of Bombay warned that "the Americans were planning a big invasion of this country (India) in the form of trade encroachment." †

British opposition to American trade in India is due to the fact that India is Britain's largest customer ; but whose retention as such depends on exploitation of the native population under a system maintained by military force.

Anglo-American commercial rivalry is very keen in Asia and South America; and in these regions American trade expansion has been tremendous. During the period of 1913-1927, "American total export has increased in value 136.8 per cent to the world as a whole, the increase to Europe has been only 75.9 per cent—compared for instance with an increase to Asia of 440 per cent and to South America of 297.2 per cent." §

Importance of Far Eastern and Latin American markets in the Anglo-American trade conflict is very far-reaching. "Those are the great undeveloped markets, large in population and rich in raw materials. They are still in the main agrarian or semi-industrialized countries open to dovelopment by foreign capital, foreign industrial machinery, and foreign finished products. They are ready to spend for foreign products the money they receive for their raw materials. It is in those regions that America has been most successful in running ahead of her British rival and all others."**

How Great Britain has been surpassed by America in Far Eastern trade can be realized from the following : "When the World War began the two countries (Britain and America) had equal shares of Japan's total imports at 16.8 per cent. But by 1927 Britian lost half of her proportion, while America's share had doubled, the figures being 7.0 per cent for Britain and 30.9 per cent for U. S. A. There has been the same trend, though less sharp, in goods taken from Japan. Britain's share of the total fell from 5.2 to 3.3 per cent in the period 1913-1927, while the American ratio rose from 29.2 to 41.9 per cent. . . . . Britain's share of China's foreign purchases in 1913 was 16.5 per cent compared with our (America's) 6.0 per cent ; but in 1926 the British per cent fell to 10.2 while ours rose to 16.4. In the same period the proportion of Japan and Formosa rose from 20.4 to 29.4 per cent. In that period the British increased their share of China's export from 4.1 to 6.5 per cent, Japan and Formosa from 16.3 to 24.5 per cent, while the United States made the largest relative gain with an increase from 9.3 to 17.4 per cent."*

It is interesting to note that British business men and even diplomats are engaged in anti-American propaganda for their own purposes. "Much of the agitation which has been directed against American goods in the River Plate region is, of course, not countenanced by the intelligent, far-sighted Argentine leaders, but is stimulated by our European rivals who are endeavouring to capitalize every aspect of anti-American feeling." † It cannot be denied that Anglo-American trade rivalry is as direct and sharp in the Dominions as elsewhere. Britain is losing—despite her Imperial Preference and anti-Yankee propaganda—while America is gaining. It is not so easy to dogmatize about the future. §

Anglo-American rivalry has spread in the field of foreign investment. Britain has now about twenty billion dollars in foreign investments ; and she is slowly increasing it. The United States—which before the World War was debtor nation to the extent of five billion dollars—has now become a creditor nation. American gross foreign investment is more than [illegible] billion dollars (excluding eleven billion dollars war debts).

* The *Morning Post* (London) January 11, 1930.
† The *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay) January 29, 1930.
§. Denny : America Conquers Britain, page 80.
** *Ibid.*, page 80.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
† *Ibid.*, 86.
§ *Ibid.*, page 84.

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During the period of 1914-28, American foreign investment has been to the extent of thirteen billion dollars. "The geographical distribution in round millions is : Europe $4,800 ; Canada $4,100 ; Latin America $5,500 ; Far East and elsewhere $1,200." * Although at the present time Great Britain's foreign investment is larger than that of the United States, it is quite apparent that the former will not be able to hold its dominant position. Because the United States has more surplus capital for foreign investment than Great Britain. It is very significant that American corporations and business interests have penetrated into Great Britain to such an extent that some of the British corporations are taking steps so that the Americans would not be able to secure control of important industries. In fact, various corporations such as British General Electric Company, Marconi and others have adopted measures that American shareholders will neither have vote nor representation on the Board of Directors. In short the British are adopting measures against American industrial expansion in every possible way.

Every student of international trade and economics knows that there is a keen rivalry between Great Britain and the United States on the control of raw materials such as rubber, oil, potash, copper, etc. British rubber monopoly led to such hard feeling between America and Great Britain that President Hoover as the Secretary of Commerce took a deliberate stand against British rubber policy ; and this forced the British to change their attitude. Rubber being a great essential to various modern industries the United States business men and Government have started out to secure adequate rubber supply under American control. Mr. Ford has already secured a large concession in Brazil and Mr. Firestone has started a very large rubber plantation in Liberia. It seems that America has broken British rubber monopoly.

Modern industries and modern navies and aircrafts are dependent upon oil ; and both Great Britain and the United States are trying hard to secure control over the oil resources of the world. This has led to acute rivalry. Before the World War, American oil magnates had advantage over those of Great Britain ; but as it stands today British Government itself has entered into corporations dealing in oil and the British have the major part of world's oil reserves in their control. Anglo-American rivalry has become serious and alarming. Mr. Denny sums up the situation in the following manner :

The oil problem of the United States is acute. Industry and the army and navy are dependent on adequate future reserves. The demand is increasing. The supply is decreasing. Domestic resources (of the United States) under a competitive and wasteful system are being rapidly exhausted .....American acquisition of foreign reserves is blocked in many places by Great Britain. The British have been more successful than Americans in grabbing foreign fields. The British Government virtually excludes Americans from productive areas of the Empire. The British are conserving their reserve, while helping to drain American pools. The situation produces a basic conflict between American and British companies and between the Washington and London governments. The conflict is intensified by British Government ownership and direction of a company which is reaching out for territories flanking the Panama Canal. Oil is also drawing the Washington Government into dangerous disputes with Latin American, European and Asiatic countries over property rights. But these manifold conflicts converge in the struggle between the United States and Britain over the world's limited petroleum reserve as determining weapon in their rivalry for commercial and naval supremacy. In retaliation for Great Britain's policy and position there is a growing demand that British companies be excluded from American fields. Already there are laws excluding foreign companies from American Government lands .....The record of American oil diplomacy during the last decade shows that the Conservation Board enunciated no new policy. Belligerent support of American oil companies abroad is conceived as a fundamental and continuing policy. The struggle continues. In Mexico and Central America our (American) supremacy is maintained against British opposition. The London Government through the Columbian concession plan, manœuvres for strategic position dominating the Panama Canal, but so far has been blocked. Hostile competition increases in Venezuela, with Americans leading. The Mosul Peace is favourable to us. The struggle in North Persia grows, with a Yankee named oil adviser to the Government and hatred flaming against the British. In Russia the British have lost to Standard for a while at least. The sales battle between Standard and allied British companies in India was part of attempted American penetration behind the Empire's lines from Suez to Singapore. The front extends around the world.

"At first it was chiefly commercial rivalry between companies. Later on the London Government was involved, then Washington. Now the British and American peoples are being aroused. The public has been in no mood to champion the cause of any oil company at home or abroad. But the sentiment is changing. The danger point will be reached when a near-shortage drives prices upwards, and American automobile owners are told the British have cornered most of the world supply. Mr. Hoover's anti-British campaign because

* *Ibid.*, page 132.

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of rubber monopoly shows how it is done. What will happen when the enraged force of public opinion is added to the commercial motives of the oil companies and the defence incentives of the Government? Washington will not compromise on this issue. The policy of Wilson, of Harding, of Coolidge is the policy of Hoover. For, as President Coolidge explained: It is even probable that the supremacy of nations may be determined by the possession of available petroleum and its products."*

In this connection one cannot ignore the fact that if the American oil companies would not have come to the rescue of the Allied and Associated Powers against Germany during the World war, then it would not have been possible for them to win the victory so easily. It is also a fact that the lack of oil resources on the part of Germany was one of the important causes of her defeat. However, the most significant thing is that the Standard Oil Company to fight the British monopoly, especially the Royal Dutch Shell, the Anglo-Persian and Burma Oil Combination, has sought the aid of the great German Dye Trust which has perfected the most valuable Bergius process for the commercial liquifaction of coal, to produce oil; and the Standard Oil of New Jersey has already become identified with the I. G. Farbenindustries (the German Dye Trust) in the commercial development of the latter company's hydrogenation process for the manufacture of petroleum products.

Battles for trade routes and control of means of communications—telegraphs, wireless and radio companies—is intense between Britain and the United States. The following extracts from an article entitled "The Menace to British Interests" published in the *Journal of the Royal Empire Society*, by Mr. Roland Belfort, director of Marconi subsidiaries, will give an idea of British attitude towards American competition:

"After all, when any nation, prosperous, ambitious, stirred by a nascent imperialism, resolves upon the pursuits of world power, what is the first consideration? Obviously the creation and development of the principal elements of power as understood in these competitive times: (1) An Army, (2) A navy, (3) A mercantile marine, (4) The control of an extensive system of world telegraphic communications—submarine, terrestrial, aerial and subterranean, (5) Control of such raw materials as cannot be produced within its own borders, (6) Diplomatic status commensurate with its territorial importance, its population and its natural and acquired resources.

"With admirable judgment the Americans are concentrating their efforts upon communications—the vital basis of all financial and trading operations. They now control about 90 thousand miles of the world's 330 thousand miles of ocean cable, plus vast radio and telephonic reseaux. Developments are being actively realized in the United States and many foreign countries. Alliances are being considered, destined to promote the consummation of their published programmes. *Very shortly their activities must produce a serious effect on British cabling and wireless revenues, profits and dividends.... Today the British and the Americans are again standing in battle array.*"*

Major General Hardbord, President of the Radio Corporation of America gives the American attitude towards British domination of communications. He writes:

"The new combined British communications interests will effect American relationships in every part of the world. There will hardly be a port or a principal city on the planet which will not be reached by British communications. American trade in every quarter of the globe cannot but be profoundly affected. The defence of the United States must reckon with the planetary domination of communications by the British." †

The above statements cannot be dismissed as mere chauvinism on the part of jingoes. "They are jingoistic interpretation of facts—but of facts none the less. That Britain and America are struggling for 'planetary domination of communications,' that they are facing each other 'in battle array,' that this conflict is a major part in the naval and military plans of both governments, are facts as undeniable as they are dangerous. §

There is Anglo-American Naval rivalry and this cannot be denied. Various naval conferences have been held to bring about a working agreement. So far there is no satisfactory solution, because the naval programmes of Britain and America are for their national defence which does not preclude an Anglo-American war. In this connection Anglo-American rivalry has branched into the field of merchant marines of these nations. The American Government has seen the importance of building up an American merchant marine as "naval reserve" and it has started to aid American companies with financial aid and legal protection of the coast-wise trade. By the Treaty of Versailles Great Britain thought to have destroyed the German navy and German merchant marine. But the Germans have come back with a new merchant marine which is cutting into British supremacy. It should not be overlooked that both the Nord Deutscher Lloyd and the Hamburg America

* *Ibid.*, pages 316-321.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 400-401.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

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Line are being substantially helped by American capital. More than 20 per cent of the stock of Nord German Lloyd is held by Americans. Mr. Denny has summarized the situation in the following manner :

"The United States is thus rebuilding a new German commercial fleet. This is a combination of American capital and German skill—similar to the combination in the chemical, automobile, aviation, electrical and other industries—to compete with the British. The effect is three-fold. First, it makes Britain's task of maintaining a profitable merchant marine naval reserve more difficult. Second, it enables American captial to profit in the trans-Atlantic trade with vessels of lower operating cost and stronger competitive power than American flag ships. Third, it retains the most lucrative coast-wise and Atlantic-Panama Canal-Pacific trade for American flag ships, which under the protective policy excluding foreign ships enables this country to build up a merchant naval reserve."*

From the above analysis of Anglo-American relations, one is inclined to think that unless the growing tension in economic spheres can be checked through consolidation of common interests an Anglo-American war is not only a possibility but inevitable. It may be argued by many American liberals and pacifists that the peoples of Great Britain and America would not stand for any such conflict. But the pacifists in general have no conception of realities of world politics and they are impractical ; and unless they become more practical they will have very little influence in preserving peace or averting war. In this materialistic age international relations are determined not by idealism but through national interests. Dominant and growingly more powerful America may act generously towards Great Britian ; but it is not conceivable that she will surrender her power and influence to any other nation. Therefore, if peace is to be preserved between Great Britain and America, British statesmen will have to visualize the new situation and have to accept American supremacy in world affairs. British statesmanship may win a greater victory through recognition of American supremacy and friendship. This can only be possible when they recognize the fact that to surrender to the inevitable is not humiliating.

* *Ibid.*, page 366.

Gold Exchange in Theory and Practice *

A REVIEW

By Dr. H. SINHA

THE author is better known as a historian than as an economist and we welcome him in his new rôle. Who ever knew that our financial year corresponds with the Budhist year? Who but the author of *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* could give such a detailed account of the currency systems in the Far East?

The first chapter is devoted to an exposition of Siamese currency and exchange after the closing of the mint in 1902. There is incorporated an interesting table of "critical values" of different silver coins, quaintly defined as those prices of silver "at which the intrinsic value of the coin equals its normal value." It would have been better to speak of the bullion value being equal to the exchange value. The importance of the exchange rate has been ignored. It is not quoted in the table, although the other data required such as the weight and fineness of the coins have been given. But the author has lucidly described the theory and practice of currency regulation in times of unprecedented rise in the price of silver far above the critical values. Thus all the three expedients,—raising the rate of exchange, diminishing the weight of the coin and reducing its fineness—are examined in detail. It is interesting to note that with the tical at 2s. 1d. and the rupee at 1s. 4d., at about the end of 1922, Siamese rice could not compete with Indian rice, a position reversed at the present time.

In the next chapter there is an equally clear account of the currency system of the Straits Settlements. Their Note Guarantee Fund is our Paper Currency Reserve. Their Depreciation Fund is made up of the net profit from invested reserves less the expenses of administration. The author then passes on to the Philippine system and shows clearly that currency theories cannot be disregarded with impunity. The realizations from the "Reverse Council Sales" in the Philippines, that is to say, the proceeds of the sale of exchange on New York were credited to the local banks and there was no contraction of currency, thus frustrating the object of imparting strength to the exchange rate. A similar blunder was made in India with the same disastrous results. In the Philippines, the evil was aggravated by investing the sale proceeds in long-term loans.

This is followed by an examination of the

* *A Comparative Study of the Gold Exchange Standard, During and After the War.* By Bijan Raj Chatterji, Ph.D. (London), D. Litt. (Punjab), The Book Co. Ltd., Calcutta. pp. 308.

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Dutch East Indies currency system. Dr. Chatterji has quoted Dr. Vissering to show that the basic principle of Gold Exchange Standard was in operation in the country long before 1877, when the system was officially inaugurated. For in 1845, when the Government stopped the minting of copper coins, they issued what were called "silver certificates." Silver was payable in exchange for them in Holland but not in the Colony, and they were declared unlimited legal tender, thus setting up a Silver Exchange Standard. The adoption of Gold Exchange Standard was mainly due to the farseeing policy of Dr. N. P. Van Den Berg, the able President of the Java Bank. It is interesting to recall that he criticized very severely the banking and currency system of India in two articles in 1884, reprinted in the form of a pamphlet on "The Money Market and Paper Currency of British India," pointing out the results achieved by his own bank. The next two chapters describe the currencies of British East Africa, the Argentine Republic and Brazil, and show that the problems were not the same in each case.

Dr. Chatterji then passes on to the Indian Currency System. He recalls familiar history but in picturesque language. Says he :

"Since the introduction of the Gold Exchange Standard in India, the Government had always tried to safe-guard against one danger, a depreciating rupee. To the other danger, that of the appreciating rupee, they had been almost as blind as the one-eyed deer in Æsop's fables. The danger now came, as in the fable, from the very direction in which no danger was apprehended."

The position after 1925 (when the thesis was completed) has been described in an Appendix in which the main recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission have been summarized.

In the next chapter the recent currency history of China—as chequered as her political history—has been lucidly described. In the first place, there was the administrative difficulty of preventing counterfeits to token coins, which are inherent in Gold Exchange Standard. Secondly, there was no expert of her own in China able to run a complicated currency system, nor in her existing political temper could she agree to requisition the service of a foreign expert. On the top of all, there were political disturbances, upsetting economic activities in all directions.

The subsequent chapter on Indo-Chinese currency system shows the complications brought about by superimposing the money of European commerce on the indigenous monetary system, which was theoretically sound but not workable with sufficient ease.

"It comprised coins of gold, silver, copper and zinc, which corresponded exactly with the systems of weight of Annam. The gold and silver coins had even the names of weights. But the Government did not claim to fix the relative values of gold and silver. The gold and silver coins were made in the Government mints, but individuals shared with the Prince [*i.e.*, the feudatory chief of Annam] the right of melting gold and silver bars and putting them into circulation."

In the following chapter is given an account of the currency systems of South Africa, New Zealand, Egypt and Japan, which had drifted into Gold Exchange Standard. In the next chapter, the tendencies noticeable in European currency systems are sought to be analysed.

The last chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the Gold Exchange system and a refutation of current Indian views by calling in the aid of non-Indian authorities. Unfortunately, Dr. Chatterji shows an undue bias in favour of the Gold Exchange system. He even describes Symmetallic Standard as* a Bi-metallic Exchange Standard, overlooking the cardinal fact that under the former, bullion and not exchange is to be given for notes to be used for internal circulation. He goes so far as to state that stability in internal prices is easier of attainment under Gold Exchange Standard than under Gold Standard with gold currency. One fails to see any difference, so far as internal prices are concerned, in the various forms of Gold Standard—whether Gold Exchange Standard, Gold Bullion Standard or Gold Standard with gold currency—seeing that currency is linked to gold in every case and not to the internal price level as in the Isometric Standard. Theories apart, there are a few practical considerations in the case of India. Keynes has stated that gold for gold currency in India can be made available without any undue strain on the world's gold resources. He also agrees in the view that gold currency would placate Indian opinion. But he points out that gold put into circulation will pass into hoards. A devoted disciple of Marshall like him should not confuse between short-period and long-period effects. Whatever the immediate consequences of gold currency may be, there is but little doubt that it is through familiarity with gold as currency that people can be weaned from uneconomic hoarding habit so that gold may finance productive enterprises here as elsewhere. In fact, this is one of the strongest arguments for gold currency.

The book abounds in printing mistakes, only a few being pointed out in the Corrigenda. Its value would have been considerably enhanced, if the materials in the Appendix could be incorporated in the book itself. In spite of the easy flowing style, there is sometimes an abrupt break in the narrative. But the author deserves our best thanks for the valuable information gleaned by personal interviews and from original records which throws light on the obscurities and complexities in the currency systems of many countries.

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* The author is in error in supposing that it was Marshall, who first suggested this standard. There is a reference to this system in Sir James Steuart's *Principles of Money* published as early as 1772.

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Character Training

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

IT is one of the heartening signs of the times that thoughtful men are envisaging education in the spirit of life Life is dynamic, progressive and co-operative, so should our education be. Life is friendly, education must develop a social spirit. If life is idealistic, education must aim high. The old idea was to isolate the scholar and life. Education meant fleeing from the world, becoming a monk, poring over books, and walking alone contemplating them. The newer philosophy has discarded the old idea. Education is being brought as close to life as possible—is being made a part of life. American educators are agreed that education must be based upon the fundamental facts of life. As we would have life, so must our education be.

I am not at all sure that our parents and teachers in India are willing to build the education of the child on the actual facts of life. Take, for instance, this matter of moral training. How do they go about it? They are engaged in creating patterns of behaviour. With them, character is repression, inhibition, prohibition and taboos. The child must conform to the behaviour pattern, all ready-made, cut-and-dried. Playing the rôle of high and mighty rigorists, they indulge in moral preachments. They do seem to realize that the good life cannot be planted in a child by the method of moralizing. Apparently oblivious of child psychology, they thrust virtues in chunks down the throats of the young ones and thereby obstruct the free play of their minds, and offend their tastes and intelligence. Children are human beings.

A better knowledge of life would have taught our pseudo-educationists that the coercive method of character training harms and cripples, rather than helps, the child. American scientists at their laboratories have found out, after prolonged character research, that the best method of teaching character is the indirect or the natural method. They have discovered from scientific tests that the children who came from schools where development of virtues was stressed obtrusively were in later life decidedly less virtuous, than the children from schools where morals were not drilled into them. As a result of their early training, marked by dark moralizing rectitude, they suffer from all sorts of complexes, fixations, and inhibitions. Hence the leaders of American education advocate that the character training of children should be done through helpful suggestions, imagination, moral response, and by natural means. The teacher, as one has put it, should be the artist in character training rather than the didactician.

My honoured friend, Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck, Head of the Department of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa and Director of Character Research, has just brought out a most valuable book entitled, *A Guide to Books for Character.** At the opening of the volume Professor Starbuck says that character cannot be created: "it may be elicited and stimulated. Morals cannot be taught; like diseases they are caught. The race has thus far made little use of a positive pedagogy of morals. It has adopted the quick and easy methods of precept, command, threat, punishment, repression. Commands repel; images attract. Prohibitions arouse defiance; symbols awaken the sympathies. Punishments brutalize; spontaneous choice of values brings grace and truth."

Professor Starbuck rightly holds that children's minds should not be belaboured with sticks of virtue. Character "consists of the sum of one's attitudes at any given moment, which determine how one will act in and feel toward any specific situation." The question then in character education is to appeal to fundamental attitudes like heroism, courage, love, or curiosity. The Iowa educator has come to the conclusion that literature is one of the best means of appealing to desired attitudes.

The present work, which is a guide to

* *A Guide to Books for Character*, Vol. II. By Edwin Diller Starbuck. The Macmillan Company, 1930.

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fiction, was preceded by another volume furnishing a guide to fairy tale, myth, and legend. In these two books are to be found the most reliable guides to the best of children's literature. With these two works on hand the parent at home, the teacher in the school room or the librarian in the school library can have no difficulty in selecting children's reading to foster and develop character traits. Volume III, which will be a guide to biography is now under way. When the entire series is complete, it will run to eight volumes, including guides to poetry, drama, narrative, music, and art.

Volume II, as a Baedeker to the world of children's fiction, has a magnificent plan carried out in a magnificent way. From a vast mass of fiction, the book lists selections designed to stimulate the moral impulses towards right conduct and right sympathy, resulting progressively in moral thoughtfulness. It even gives references to Sanskrit stories which are available in English. There is no attempt anywhere in the selections to "rub in" the morals or "pull the plums out of the moral pudding." The whole volume is an illustration of the natural or dynamic method of instruction, even though it is not an anthology.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there is among some of the school masters of India a strong prejudice against works of fiction. Dr. Starbuck, on the contrary, believes that fiction along with drama is one of the most moving of all the arts to stir human impulses. Its possibilities in developing character are immense. He quotes Walter Besant who rings out the truth :

"The novel converts abstract ideas into living models ; it gives ideas ; it strengthens faith, it preaches a higher morality than is seen in the actual world ; it commands the emotions of pity, admiration, and terror ; it creates and keeps alive the sense of sympathy ; it is the universal teacher ; it is the only book which the great mass of reading mankind ever do read ; it is the only way in which people can learn what other men and women are like ; it redeems their lives from dullness, puts thoughts, desires, knowledge, and even ambitions into their hearts."

Let us abolish the unthinking, unfeeling, befuddled pedagogues who in their ignorance are battling against stories and novels. They, prurient that they are, deserve annihilation.

Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck in his *Guide to Books for Character* has shown the scientific way to train the child's character. It is worth more than a whole library of didactive literature, which is in the long run apt to be retrogressive in its reaction. The method of instruction the author has outlined is dynamic, is close to life. If it is followed in India, it will re-create Indian homes and Indian schools.

Some Farmans of Shah Jahan

By DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI, M. A., LL.B., J. P.

THE late Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes had great love for Gujarat where he served for a number of years in the early fifties of the Nineteenth Century. He founded many institutions, while there, for the encouragement of the literature of Gujarat and collected materials for writing a history of the province. His well-known book, the *Rasmala*, has proved of great use to students of history. Towards the end of his service he was elevated to the Bench of the Bombay High Court as a Puisne Judge, and while there he founded a Society called the Forbes Gujarati Sabha,* to which he bequeathed several manuscripts including a few Persian Sanads, Farmans, and inscriptions. A list of them has been published along with that of manuscripts

* It was first named "Gujarat Sabha." Then on the death of Mr. Forbes, his name was associated with it and it was called the "Forbes Gujarati Sabha."

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in other languages, at present in the Society's possession, and it shows that some of them are of great historical value. Unfortunately, they are not the originals but copies, got made by Mr. Forbes, most probably as the owners of the original documents would not part with them on account of their great value to them. But judging from the contents and the appearance of the copies there does not seem to be any reason to suppose that they are not true copies. Accordingly, they have been relied on for purposes of this article.

The name of Shantidas Jhaveri was well known all over Gujarat and as far as Delhi, as a very wealthy and religious Jain inhabitant of Ahmedabad, in the Seventeenth Century. He was honoured alike by the people and the Emperor. He was known as the Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad, and the Nagarsheth family of that place still carries on the noble traditions founded by him. The Emperors addressed him as Zubdat-ul-Akran, the Chosen (one) of the Age—and in all royal farmans, he is so styled. This Shantidas Jhaveri had built a magnificent Jain temple, in Saraspur, a suburb of Ahmedabad, called the Temple of Chintamani Parasnath, in A. D. 1622. For twenty-three years the Jains worshipped at this temple undisturbed, but when Aurangzeb became the Viceroy of Gujarat, he desecrated it and converted it into a mosque (A. D. 1645) and named it the Quwwat-ul-Islam (the Strength of Islam). A complaint was made to the Emperor and he redressed it and the farman ordering its restoration is found in the collection of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha.

It bears the seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh, the son of Shah Jahan Badshah Gazi, and the date 21st of Jamadi II A. H. 1081,* granted during the Risalat of Beharimal. It is addressed as usual, to the Governors and Subas, present and future, of the province of Gujarat, but specially to one Gairat Khan, a sincere and loyal officer and recipient of many royal favours. Its material portion runs as follows: That since, formerly in respect of the temple of Zubdat-ul-Akran, the Chosen (one) of the Age—Shantidas Jhaveri, a royal order had been issued in the name of Umdat-ul-Mulk-Shaist Khan to the effect that Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur had constructed in that place (the temple) some Meherabs-arches (to serve as places for prayer)—and had given it the name of a mosque; that after Mulla Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that the building, by reason of its dependence on the proprietary rights of another, cannot be considered a mosque according to Islamic Law, an order was issued that that building was the property of Shantidas, and by reason of the figure of an arch which the renowned Prince had newly constructed in that place, Shantidas should not be troubled, and that the arch should be removed and the building handed over to him.

This is probably the order of restoration made by Shah Jahan, referred to by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Appendix V at p. 319 of Volume III of his *History of Aurangzib*.

The Farman, however, does not end here. It proceeds further: the portion quoted above gives a succinct history of events up to the date of its issue in order to explain what follows, which is this:

Now, at this time, a (fresh) order, has been issued that the prayer arch which the Victorious Prince of exalted dignity has constructed may be retained and a wall constructed near the arch as a screen between the temple and the arch. Consequently it is ordered that since His Exalted Majesty has, as an act of favour, granted the aforesaid temple to Shantidas, he should be in possession of it according to previous custom and he may perform devotions in that place according to his faith and no one should hinder or trouble him.

Further royal clemency follows towards the latter part of the farman. It seems that some fakirs (may be beggars) had taken up their abode there; the farman, therefore, ordered that the officers should see to it that Shantidas was freed from their trouble and quarrels.

His other complaint was also remedied. He had represented to His Majesty that some persons from the Bohra community had carried away the materials of the temple (evidently when violent hands were laid on it). The Emperor, therefore, ordered that supposing there was truth in the complaint, then, those materials should be taken back from them and restored to Shantidas, and that in case the materials had been used up, their cost recovered from them and paid to Shantidas.

There is a sequel to this desecration,

* The year seems to be incorrectly copied, as Shah Jahan was not alive then.

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conversion and restoration of this famous temple, which has been referred to in the *Mirat-e-Ahmadi* (Persian Text, Part II, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, at p. 322). After referring to the foundation and construction of the temple, and its conversion into a mosque, the author says, that several images of Parasnath, whom the Shravaks (Jains) worship, had been made (by them) from marble stone, and they were expecting the day of their installation, when by the decrees of fate, the House of the Idols became the House of Eternity. However, two, out of these images, each weighing about a hundred maunds, had been preserved by them, under the excuse of breaking them (up), and buried under the earth. At this time (*circa* A. H. 1157) "his (Shantidas') heirs, seeing the weakness of Islam, and the removal from the minds of men of the (feeling of the) protection of the Religion, and (seeing) its followers desirous of and inclined towards securing worldly trash, obtained (the necessary) permission by giving bribes, and brought them out and conveyed them to the city, loaded on waggons, in sight of the people (publicly), and installed them in the temple underground, which they had from of old and where they were worshipping their idols secretly, on account of the fear of the followers of Islam. In this way they now made their worship publicly."

Shantidas was possessed of much immovable property, in and about the city in the shape of *havelis* (mansions or large houses), shops, farms and gardens. He was being troubled in his enjoyment and administration of that property. He, therefore, applied to His Majesty, and again we find a farman issued through Prince Dara Shikoh (A. H. 1045) asking the royal officers to desist from annoying him. He was "a merchant and a jeweller, and a well-wisher of the Court." He possessed several havelis, shops, farms and gardens, in accordance with the royal mandate; for these reasons, the officers "should forbid any one alighting in the havelis," and they were also to see that no one caused him any annoyance by reason of his charging rent for the shops or by trespassing into the gardens which he possessed, in accordance with the royal order. The Governors were, as usual, ordered to see that he was not troubled under the excuse of examining his accounts and of other legal technicalities, and thus extend the hand of (administrative) control over his and his children's wealth and property. This would lead to composure of his mind and he would pray for the continuance of the sovereignty. This farman is dated the second day of the month (Ilahi) of Sheheriar in the 8th year (of accession).

Some of these properties are refered to in a Gujarati document of the Samvat year 1771.* It is a deed of mortgage, written out on cloth, seven or eight years after the death of Aurangzeb, the mortgagor and the mortgagee both being Modh Gowbhuja Banias. The mortgagor lived at Ujjain and acted through an agent, called his Vakil. It is a document nearly 215 years old and shows the methods of what lawyers call conveyancing in the towns of Gujarat then. In the beginning are mentioned the date and the year and the day of the week of the execution, then a long list of names headed by the name of the Emperor at Delhi (Farrukh Shah, Farrukhsiyar Bahadur at this time), of the local officers down to Kanungos and Havaldars, then the names of the parties, then a very minute and detailed description of the boundaries of the property, then the consideration (in this case Rs. 401 of the Bakarkhani currency), then the rights and privileges of the parties including the right of pre-emption for which provision was made. The Hindu honorific title of Shri 7 is placed against the name of the Emperor and of 5 against those of the Vazir and the Suba (Viceroy), Ajit Singh who was at Jodhpur then. The property was situated in Shri Shri Havelian Chakla (these Havelian or mansions are referred to in Shah Jahan's farman as belonging to Shantidas) and while giving the four boundaries the houses of Shantidas Jhaveri are referred to in this way : the wall of the room (in the North) abuts on the Faratkhana† of the family of Shah Sheth Shantidas.

Shantidas had great influence at the Mogul Court. He made use of it to secure protection of pilgrims who resorted in large numbers to one of the sacred places of the Jains. In the third year of Shah Jahan's reign he approached the Emperor and got him to issue the following order (dated the 29th of Moharram). The officers of the Sarkar of Sorath were told that in that Sarkar

* See the Jain Yuga. Magsar-Posh 1986, a Gujarati monthly edited by Mohanlal D. Desai, B. A., LLB.

† Pleasure houses (?) or privies, (?).

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there was the village of Palitana, where a place of worship of Hindus called Shetrunja was situated, that people from the surrounding parts resorted to it for pilgrimage, that that village, out of royal grace, was given in Inam to the Zubdat-ul-Akran (Shantidas), that they should therefore recognize the gift and not trouble him, nor those persons who came there for purposes of pilgrimage.

It may be mentioned that another Jain by name Harkh Parmanandji had already secured a farman from Jahangir, that no fees were to be demanded from Jain pilgrims proceeding to Sorath to worship at the Shetrunja Temples. He had also obtained an order prohibiting the slaughter of animals on two days in a week, Sundays and Thursdays, in addition to certain other days of the year, throughout the Empire. This farman is also in the Society's collection.

Shantidas had his detractors and evil wishers amongst his own community. That was natural, and they too laid their complaints against him at the feet of His Majesty. There is a farman (dated 27th Rajab-ul-Murajjab A. H. 1034, 18th year of his accession) which sets out the fact that from amongst the Mahajans of Ahmedabad, the section called Lonkas approached His Majesty and represented that Shantidas, Surdas and other Mahajans were not dining nor forming any connections, with them (intermarrying). They therefore desired His Majesty to order Shantidas and his partisans to do so. Shantidas' influence at the Court seems to have prevailed and His Majesty took up apparently a neutral attitude, but really turned the tables on the complainants. His Majesty stated that according to the dictates of (his) religion, whether or not to interdine or enter into connections mutually, (intermarry), depends on the goodwill and desire of both parties, and hence if they (Shantidas and his people) desired to do so, they should interdine and form connections with the other party. But if they did not desire to do so, then no one was to trouble them in that respect, nor to harass them. Notwithstanding this Order, if any one did so (harass), then he would be tried according to religion, and justice vindicated. So that no one should act contrary to the Order.

This farman again bears the seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh.

As stated above there are other farmans in the collection besides these, which have been selected as they form a group bearing on the affairs of one individual, an outstanding Hindu personality of those times.

Art and Archaeological Treasures at Polonnaruwa*

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IV. STRUCTURES SACRED TO BUDDHISM

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

TO the west of the Vata-da-ge—the circular relic house that I described in the preceding article*—and separated from it by a few feet, are the ruins of a small, unidentified shrine. Since they occupy a prominent position in the so-called 'Quadrangle,' it is fairly safe to assume that the structure, though not large, must have been of some importance in the Jetwana group.

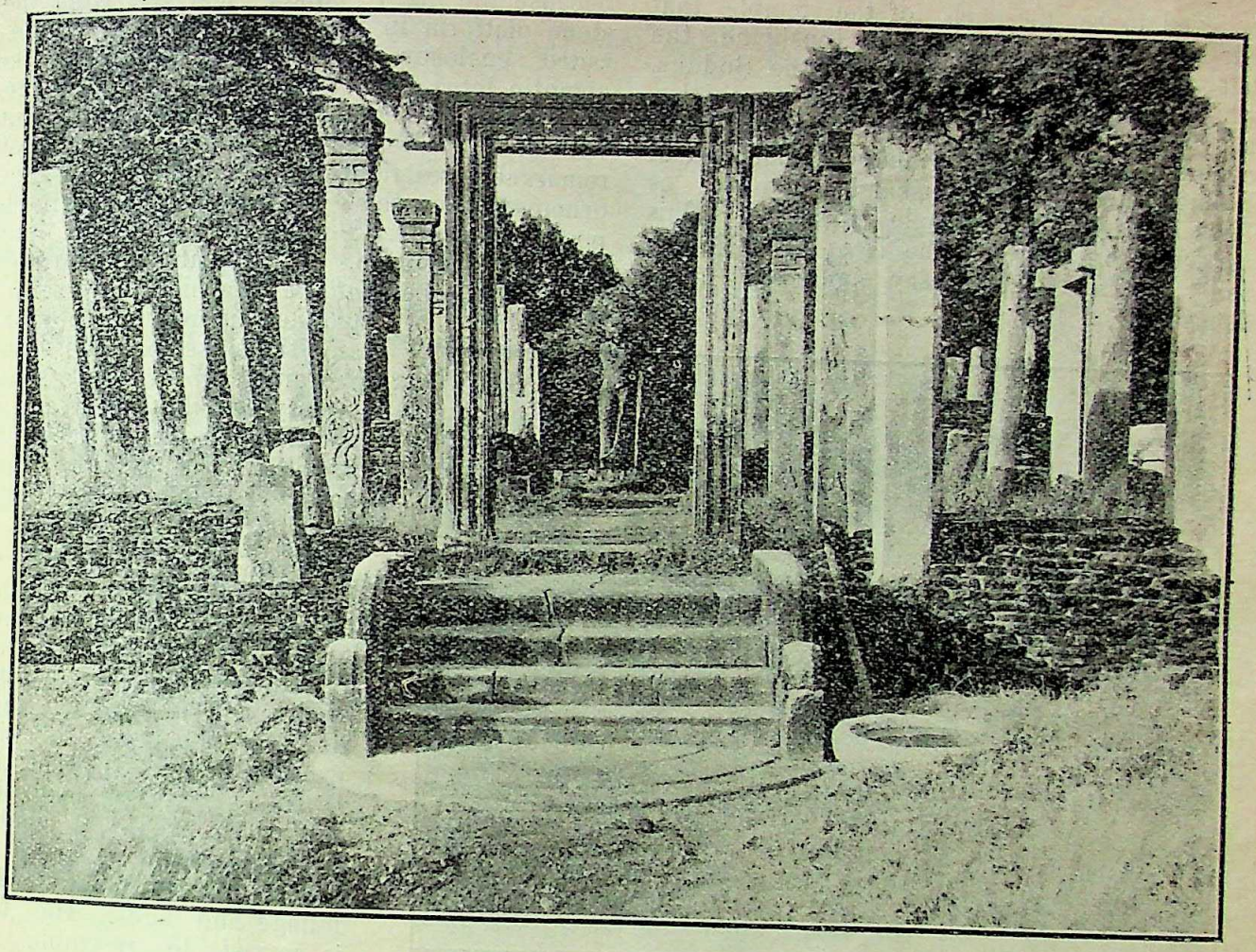
Only about twenty-five feet in length and the same in breadth, the building appears to have consisted of a shrine with a hall at the front. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, for many years Archaeological Commissioner of the Ceylon Government, is of the opinion that the front hall was divided into chambers by partitions and that a narrow passage which ran along the east wall afforded entrance to the room at the back. Nothing is left of the building but the brick base, a smooth granite moonstone at the foot of a series of undecorated

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* Published in *the* Modern Review for April, 1930.

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Ruins of "Vihare No. 2"—Polonnaruwa

slab steps, traces of wing walls, and a statue of black stone further darkened with age.

It is not even known whether this image originally formed part of the building. A generation or so ago, when the Archaeological Department started a campaign to evolve order out of the chaos that prevailed at that time, it was found near the place and was set up "provisionally." All effort having failed to provide definite information concerning it, it has remained there.

As will be seen from the photograph that appeared with the preceding article (page 491 of the April issue of the *Modern Review*), the statue is considerably worn. The tall head-dress, perhaps not deeply carved in the first place, has wasted away through centuries of exposure to wind and weather. The arms have disappeared.

The features are distinctly Mongoloid. The craftsman who carved them was perhaps a Kambodian, or was greatly influenced by the Kambodian art traditions. His touch was sure. He worked with restraint. The result of his effort, judged by what remains of it, gives an impression of serenity—serenity illumined by bliss and intelligence.

The Sinhalese imagine that the statue was meant to represent King Kirti Nissanka Malla (1187-1196 A. D.), of whom I have said something in the first article and shall have more to say later in this. Not a shred of evidence is there to support the theory. The legend, nevertheless, survives.

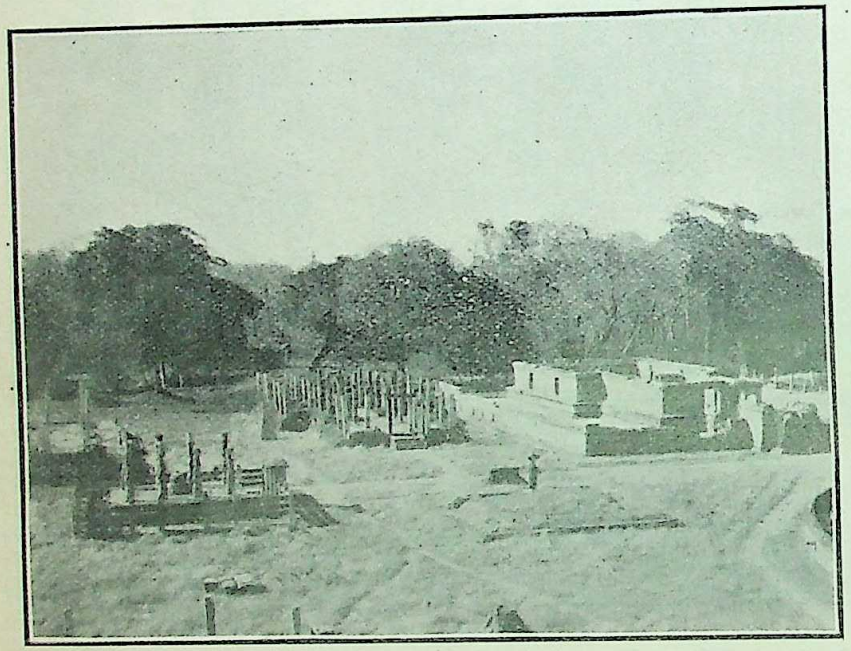
II

A few feet to the west of the statue is a stone enclosure—the *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*—which Kirti Nissanka Malla is known to have built. In front of it—that is to say, to the north—are a series of ruined shrines. One at the extreme west had gone past repair. The one next to it—known as "Vihare No. 2" in archaeological lore—is in a slightly better condition. The most easterly of the three ruins, "Vihare No. 3" is

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believed to be the shell of the temple that Kirti Nissanka Malla built to enshrine the left canine tooth of Gautama the Buddha, which, according to the Sinhalese Chronicles, had been brought to Lanka in the fifth century A. D. by the Princess Hemamala of Kalinga and her husband, known as Dantakumara. The people speak of this particular building as the *Heta-da-ge*, in the belief that sixty (some say eight) relics were deposited in it.



General view showing Nissanka Lata Mandapaya (Nissanka Flower-Trail Hall)

Almost immediately to the east lies the *Galpota* or "stone-book," with a lengthy inscription glorifying Kirti Nissanka Malla and containing his dicta on political and social ethics to which I barely alluded in the first article. Over it towers the ruin of the Sat Mahal Pasada—the seven-storeyed, stepped building, which, as I stated, has yet to be identified. I alluded, in the first article, to the conjectures made regarding its use : but none of them appears to be convincing. Another suggestion based upon the inscription found on the front wall of the vestibule (*pronaos*) of the *Heta-da-ge*, near the entrance, has been put forward. I shall refer to it in the proper place.

III

The *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*—or "Nissanka Flower-Trail Hall"—is so named because the eight pillars that rise from the stone platform in the centre of the stone-railed enclosure are shaped to look like gigantic lotus-stems swaying in the breeze. The entire conception has been carried out with such fidelity to nature, and such remarkable restraint has been shown in the ornamentation, that the result is a veritable poem in granite. For unity of design and skill in execution, it campares favourably even with the *Vata-da-ge* which, however, is planned upon a much more ambitious scale. The stone platform measures some twenty feet in length and is about fourteen feet in breadth. The pillars from base to capital are eight feet in height.

Each of the stone pillars has a square base bearing an inscription which proclaims to the world that Kirti Nissanka Malla erected the enclosure "in loving-kindness...for the peace of the world-dwellers" so that the Buddha's message may be carried to them. It gently curves thrice and is ornamented in places with foliage and buds. The top is carved to resemble an opening lotus blossom.

Early in the present century, when the work of restoration was taken in hand by the Archaeological Department, not one of these pillars stood in its place. Even all the stumps were not *in situ*. The pillars themselves were shattered into fragments. When an attempt was made to piece them together many bits were found missing and it was necessary to supply the deficiency by filling up the gaps with bits of chiselled stone or concrete so as to make it possible for the pillars to stand erect.

In the centre of the stone platform is a stone reliquary mound—a miniature *stupa*. The base and the bell are carefully shaped in the traditional Sinhalese style. The face of the lowest moulding (three feet nine inches in diameter) bears, in relief, thirty-two small figures in an attitude of devotion, each on a panel separated from the others by pilasters. In the top of the bell is a

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mortice indicating that a finial of some sort, possibly an image, had been fixed in it.

During the eighties of the last century, when Mr. Samuel Burrows first set eyes on this miniature stupa he found it broken into three pieces which were lying on the ground in one corner. Since then the pieces have been carefully fitted together.

Around the rectangular platform runs a perambulatory path, four feet ten inches wide. The stones with which it was originally paved have been laid in their proper places and, where pieces were missing, new slabs have been inserted.

Along the outer edge of this path runs a stone railing reminiscent, in a general way, of the one round the *tope* at Sanchi, in Bhopal State. Whereas, however, in Central India the stone used for the purpose was rounded so as to suggest unplaned wood sawed off from a log, in Polonnaruwa the uprights and cross-bars are squared.

A rectangular block rises eight inches above the ground. Into this block is fitted a plinth seven inches in depth. Uprights five feet one inch in height, their tops carved to resemble lotus buds, are fitted into the plinth at regular intervals. The twenty-eight posts are joined together by three series of horizontal cross-bars of granite, carefully fitted into sockets.

In the middle of the east face of the railing, four tall, squared stone pillars rise about half as high again as the railing. Over them is a stone roof with a slightly curved top, made from a single slab.

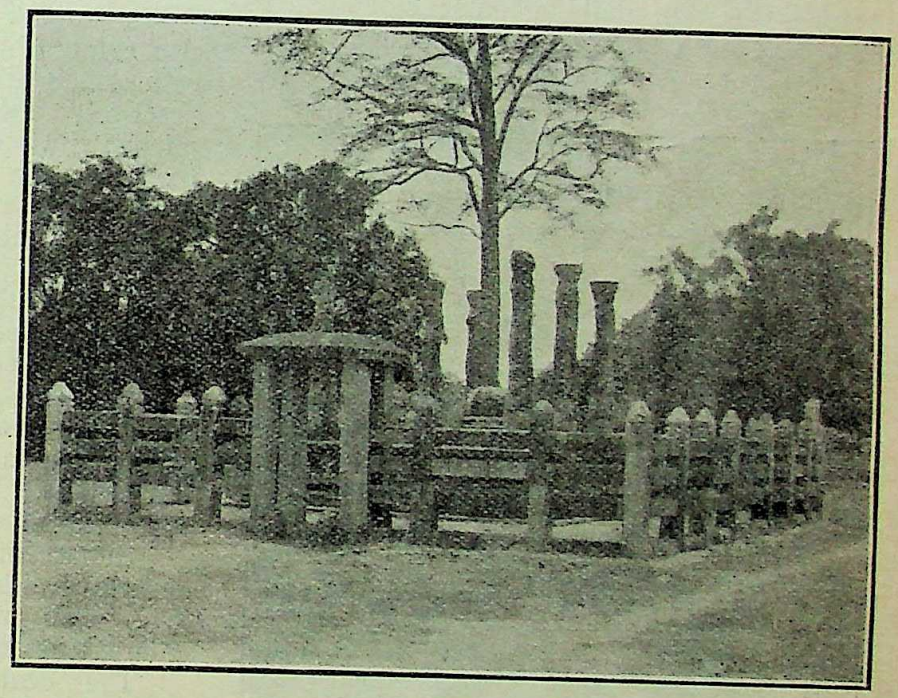
This is the only entrance to the *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*. It is severely plain, depending for effect upon form and not upon ornamentation.

The work, viewed as a whole, is singularly pleasing. Judging by it, the stone-masons of Kirti Nissanka Malla's time possessed great skill.

IV

Despite the wealth of inscriptions on the pavilion itself and references to it in lithic records found in other places on the "Quadrangle," it is impossible to state definitely the purpose it was intended to serve. Mr. Burrows thought that the tooth relic must have been publicly exhibited from the top of the miniature *stupa* in the centre of the pavilion. He came to that conclusion partly upon the evidence that he believed was contained in the inscription on the *Galpota*.

The *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya* is referred to in that inscription* as one of the works erected by that monarch; but the purpose for which it was built is not disclosed. At the time that Burrows penned his report, comparatively little had been done in the way of deciphering and translating lithic and other inscriptions. He, therefore, is not to be blamed for making the suggestion that he did. It is, moreover, not at all unlikely that time may eventually justify him in that conjecture.



The Nissanka Lata Mandapaya (Nissanka Flower Trail Hall)

The very character of the structure lends colour to some such theory as that advanced by Burrows. Even if the eight lotus pillars supported a roof, as they well may have done, the sides were open. No traces showing that any walls existed have been found. The tooth of the Buddha, or his alms bowl, or

* For translation of line 1, 3rd or "C" side, see page 121, Vol. II, part III, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. Edited and Translated by Don Martino de Zilwa Wickremasinghe, M. A. (Hon.), *Oxon*.

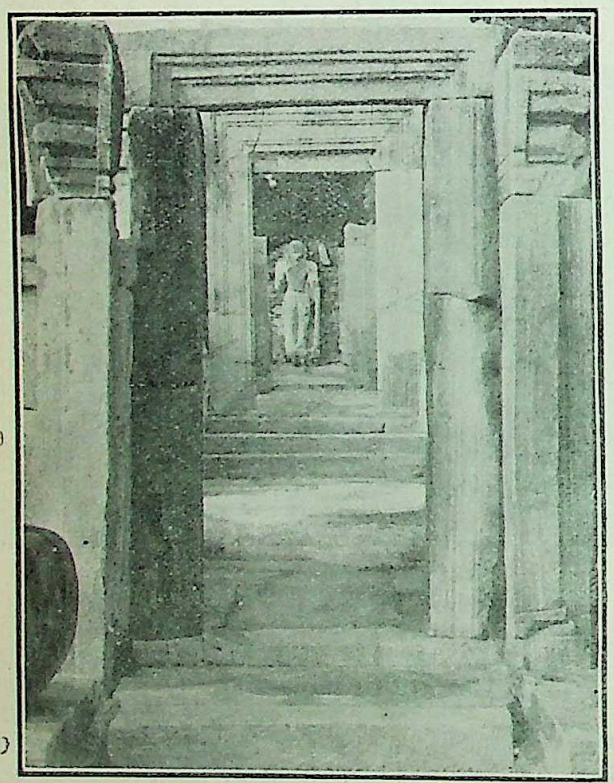
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any other relic, resting upon the top of the *stupa* rising several feet above the platform, would, therefore, have been in full view of the people gathered in the courtyard. Any pilgrims who were permitted to enter the enclosure and to perambulate on the path running alongside the platform would especially have had a good opportunity of securing a *darshan* (view) of it.

V

The ruins at the extreme west, to the north of the *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*, indicate that the building that stood there must have been fairly large. "Vihare No. 1," as the archæologists call it, was oblong,



Ruins of Heta-da-ge

sixty-five feet four inches long and thirty-nine feet deep, resting upon a brick base three and a half feet high. Six plain steps of gneiss rose from a moonstone which must have been ornate, to a narrow verandah running around a walled temple enshrining a recumbent statue of the Buddha, which, according to Mr. Bell, must have measured at least thirty-six feet in length. At the foot of the image, he believes, must have been a standing figure, judging from a circular brick pedestal left there. Other fragments indicate that there must have been two sedent figures in front of the sleeping Buddha, at the north and south walls, respectively, facing each other. The images are so far gone that no description of them can be attempted, or if attempted, can serve any useful purpose.

Near this building and apparently connected with it was a small structure facing east. Divided into two rooms, it appears to have served some monastic purpose.

VI

The ruin known as "Vihare No. 2" has also yet to be identified, but it is in a little better state of preservation. The walls have practically disappeared, but many of the pillars with which it was decorated have been fixed in their places and convey a general idea of the structure.

At the entrance is a moonstone so worn that the design on it is almost indistinguishable. The stone steps, which were badly cracked, have been set in place. Traces remain of guardstones which, conforming to the general scheme of the building, must have been beautifully carved. The door frame, which was badly broken, has been mended and set up. The design is chaste and beautifully executed.

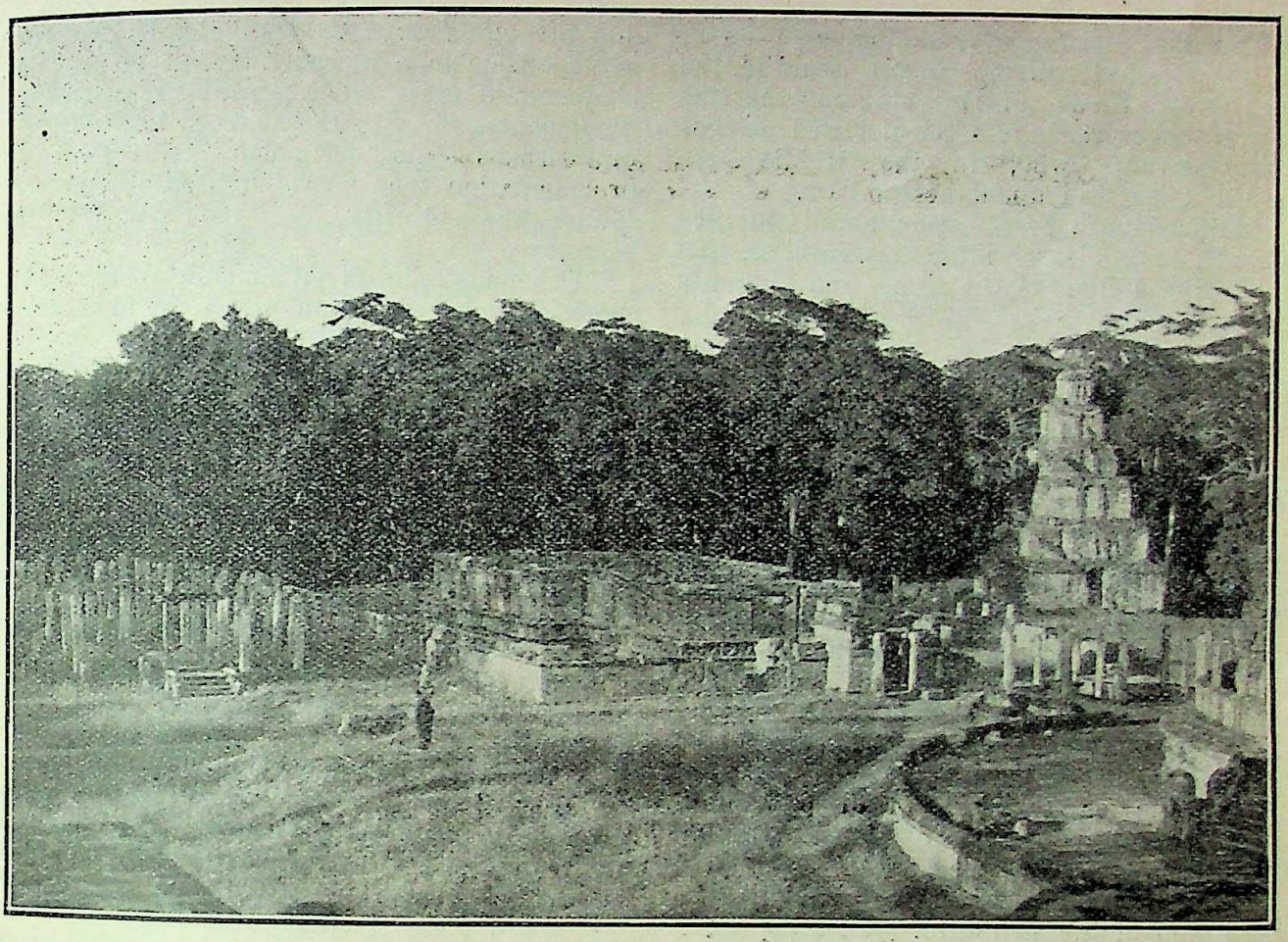
Almost immediately beyond the entrance is another staircase of granite rising from a wide slab with mouldings indicating that guardstones ones stood there.

The central one of the three standing images of the Buddha that originally were set up against the back wall has been restored except for the right arm, broken off at the shoulder, and the left hand. The head, now in its place, was found buried in the earth at a little distance from the body. Little damage had, however, been done to it and it was easy to cement it to the trunk, where it belonged. The robe falls in conventional and greatly exaggerated folds, betokening that it was carved some time after the art wave had reached its height in Polonnaruwa.

Only the pedestals remain of the two side images. Search made for the broken heads and bodies has been in vain. Images stood also in other parts of the building. Four sedent Buddhas were, for instance, dug up in the western aisle. Carved in limestone as they all were, three of them had deteriorated past the point where they could be considered of any artistic value, but the fourth,

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General view of the Heta-da-ge at Polonnaruwa

curiously, had escaped disfigurement and was removed to the Colombo Museum.

The feet and ankles of a fourth standing Buddha can be seen in the south-western corner of the building. What has become of of the head and body no one knows. A comparison of what remains of the lower portion with the statue which still stands shows that this image must have been perhaps nine or ten feet high.

Some of the pillars have capitals that carry the mind back to Anuradhapura. The general effect is the same, though the carving is perhaps not quite so good.

The decoration on the body of the pillars is florid. The *motifs* are many. Bands of *ganas* (dwarfs) bear on their upturned palms fillets covered with conventional designs, flower scrolls, peaked ornaments, *makara** heads, vases filled with flowers, tasselled festoons, and fronds curled into circles. The adornments are, in fact, so varied that it is impossible to describe them in detail in a general article such as this.

* A fabled creature supposed to have the head of an alligator and the body and tail of a fish.

VII

The Sinhalese, as I have already suggested, are an imaginative race. They see in the convolutions of the designs snakes of the deadly *polunga* species and connect them with the traditions concerning the foundation of Polonnaruwa. As I stated in another article, when the first sod was turned for laying out the town a *polunga* was cut in two. For that reason, it is said, the place was named polunga-nagar or polunga nuwara—the city of the *polunga* and the term had become corrupted into Polonnaruwa of our day.

The Revenue Officer of Tamankaduwa (Mr. D. C. de Silva, J P., U.P.M.), who has his headquarters at Polonnaruwa and who has been good enough to accompany me on many of my expeditions in and near the place,

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tells me that a *polunga*, standing erect on its tail was stamped on the city's seal in the olden days. He is of the opinion that the emblem was worked into the floriated designs by the carvers who, in the Middle Ages, lavished their skill upon these pillars.

Nothing has ever been found in the ancient chronicles or lithic inscriptions, that would give a clue to the name and identity of this building.

VIII

Eight or nine feet to the east of "Vihare No. 2" is the reconstructed, unroofed shell of a larger shrine that figures in archaeological literature as "Vihare No. 3." The people speak of it as the *Heta-da-ge*. That name, as stated earlier in this article, implies that sixty relics were deposited in it. It is also called the *Ata-da-ge* in the belief that eight relics were enshrined there. Though no definite evidence has been discovered, it may have been used for such purposes at one time or another. In all probability, however, it was built by Kirti Nissanka Malla for housing the tooth relic. This point I shall discuss after giving a brief description of the structure.

The Vihare is so constructed that its entrance exactly faces the north staircase of the *Vata-da-ge*. Any one standing within the shrine of the so-called *Heta-da-ge* sees the Buddha seated against the *stupa* in the centre of the "round relic house," framed in a vista of square portals.

The effect in the opposite direction is similar. A person standing in the portico of the *Vata-da-ge* looks through a series of door frames on to a Buddha. In this instance, however, the image is standing instead of being seated, and the features have not been restored.

All of the *Heta-da-ge* doorways are square with lintels just enough carved to relieve them of severity.

The portico, too, is plain, particularly for Polonnaruwa. It depends for its beauty upon the harmonious proportions of the entrance and the stone vase placed at either side of it, only one of which remains in place. These vessels were, indeed, the handiwork of an artist. The form is so beautiful that it stands in no need of embellishment to make it pleasing to the eye.

Past the portico is the entrance proper into the *mandapaya* or vestibule. The carving on the moonstone is badly worn. Ornate in character, it must have struck a somewhat discordant note with the rest of the building or perhaps the designers felt that the ornamentation thus provided would serve to relieve the severity of the rest of the structure.

The balustrade on either side of the stone steps, though cracked in places, is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The principal figure on the guardstone is given the traditional attitude. The *naga* hoods spread over the head have defied the elements particularly well.

There are a series of steps at the north-west of the vestibule which are believed to have led to an upper storey that disappeared a long time ago. From the top step a good bird's-eye view can be had of the buildings on the "Quadrangle."

Only the jambs of the doorway leading into the shrine are left standing. The lintel is gone.

Three statues of the Buddha stand just in front of the back wall. Each is set in a brick-built niche of its own. The niche is not a part of the back wall, but is separated from it.

One of these standing Buddhas has been restored. There is nothing remarkable about it except that the folds of the robe are a trifle less exaggerated than in the case of the image in "Vihare No. 2"—almost a sure indication that in point of time it is a little older than the latter statue.

A series of pillars standing a few feet from either side wall practically divide the central portion of the shrine from the rest of the room. It is believed that a plaster of *chunam* was spread smoothly over the entire floor and tinted to give the suggestion that a blue-bordered red carpet covered it. The description that Mr. Bell penned in the early days of his stay in Polonnaruwa deserves to be quoted :

".....there was within the shrine a central floor space, very slightly raised, on which the figures stood. The square of 26 ft. enclosed not only the whole sixteen free standing pillars, but extended to the back of the statues. This area, lime laid, was in front (22 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft. 3 in.) coloured a vivid red but leaving a border of blue before the images: behind them the pigment of the floor was also blue. An outermost border of red surrounded the whole square: and a narrow border of red ran across the blue at the foot of the statues. Beyond this square inner 'carpet' the floor of the shrine

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was dyed blue, except for a broad final band of red lining the walls."*

An enclosed path ran right round the outer walls of the vestibule and shrine where, no doubt, the worshippers perambulated. There was, in addition, a massive outer wall, probably eight feet in height. The core of it was of brick and mortar. It was faced on either side with huge blocks of stone neatly fitted together and carefully smoothed. This wall enclosed an area about forty yards in length and thirty yards in breadth.

In view of the series of walls that had been built, the provision of light in the shrine—which was roofed, unlike to-day—required so me thought. The side walls were pierced to form four long, narrow windows, two at the east and two at the west. An ornamental stone mullion introduced into each window blocked out some of the light, producing a mellow, cathedral effect.

IX

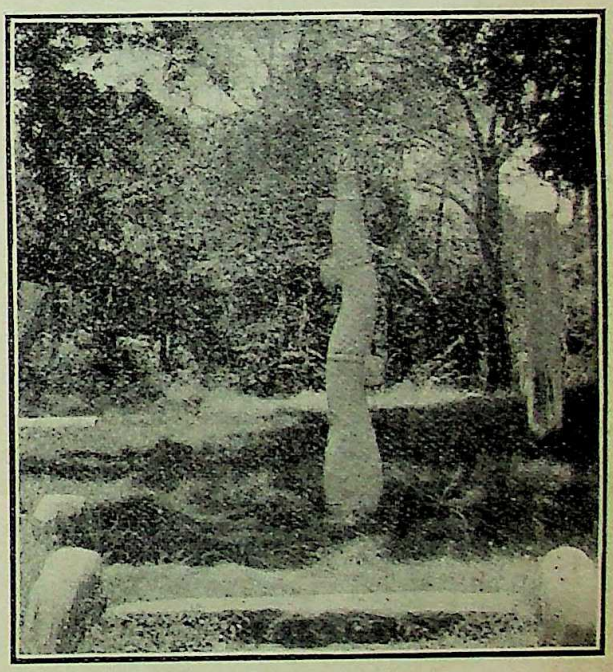
The building is rich in inscriptions. The one carved on two slabs carefully fitted together edgeways, one above the other, with their surface carefully smoothed and ruled, and fixed into the portico wall, is especially important. It reads in part :

"He (Kirti Nissanka Malla) built of stone the *Vatageya* the (Rotunda), the *Nissanka-lata-mandapaya*, and the Nissanka Tooth-Relic House, and expended countless wealth in making offerings."†

The letters vary from an inch to an inch and a half in size. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly Sinhalese. It should be noted that in the opinion of Dr. Wickremansinghe the Sinhalese quatrain is "rather poor in composition."§

Though this inscription does not state in so many words that the building to which it is affixed was the temple that Kirti Nissanka Malla built to house the tooth relic, the fact that it is there is not without significance. Read in conjunction with the information contained in the *Mahavamsa* it has led to its identification as that temple.

The writer of that chronicle records in chapter LXXX, verse 19, that that king "built of stone the beautiful temple of the tooth relic."** There are, in the Jetwana group, only three stone structures – this vihare, the *Vata-da-ge* directly opposite to it, and the *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*. As stated in the preceding article, the *Vata-da-ge*, all but the perron which bears an inscription of Kirti Nissanka Malla and is admittedly his creation, is identified as the "beautiful circular Temple of the Tooth" which according to the *Mahavamsa*, was built by Parakrama Bahu I. The *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*, as I have shown, may possibly have been used on certain occasions for publicly exhibiting the sacred tooth or the alms bowl relic, or both ; but it could not well have served as the permanent depository of either relic. "Vihare No. 3," the only other stone building on the "Quadrangle,"



Single pillar carved to resemble a lotus stem

is, therefore, believed to have been the Temple of the Tooth which, according to the *Mahavamsa*, was built by Kirti Nissanka Malla.

Despite this seemingly indisputable testimony, a suggestion was put forward by Mr. A. M. Hocart, until recently the Archaeological Commissioner of the Ceylon Government, that this vihare may possibly have been the "*Tivanka* House" built by Parakrama Bahu I. "for the *Tivinka* image, wholly made of brick and mortar and pleasant to the eye." L. C. Wijesinghe—the translator of the *Mahavamsa*—has stated that in his belief the "*Tivanka* House" was a "three-

* *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Annual Report, 1903, p. 13.
† *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, part II, p. 90.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 85.
** L. C. Wijesinghe's translation, p. 221.

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sided house" built "for a three-sided image." *

Mr. Hocart, however, asks: "What is a three-sided image?" † If *Tivanga*, meaning triple, is substituted for *Tivanka*, he ventures to state, the description "would suit the so-called Heta-da-ge," which "contains three statues of the Buddha in a row and was evidently specially built for three."

The context in which the "*Tivanka* House" is mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* makes it nearly certain that it was in the Jetwana group, or at any rate quite close to it. Immediately after referring to this house, mention is made of "a round temple of the Tooth Relic," which has been identified as the *Vata-da-ge*.

If the images in the "*Tivanka* House" referred to in the *Mahavamsa* were "wholly made of brick and mortar," Mr. Hocart's theory immediately falls to the ground. So far as I recollect, the statues in the so-called *Hata-da-ge* though set in brick and mortar niches, are themselves of stone. I do not, of course, wish to rely merely upon my memory in a matter of this kind. As I am writing in Colombo and have no opportunity of running up to Polonnaruwa the only course I can pursue is to refer to Mr. Bell's description.

Upon turning up the Report for 1903 I find the following statement in the section dealing with "Vihare No. 3":

"These images were sculptured—both very exceptional features—head to foot from single blocks, and in granite, not limestone."§

It is clear from this excerpt that whether the statues now set in the niches are of brick or stone, the ones that Mr. Hocart's predecessor found in the building long before anything in the way of reconstruction had been attempted were undoubtedly of stone. The theory identifying this building with Parakrama Bahu's "*Tivanka* House," therefore, seems to be untenable upon this ground alone, unless, of course, the chronicler meant that the "*Tivanka* House" itself was "wholly made of brick and mortar"—and not the statues were housed in it.

Assuming, however, that the late Archeological Commissioner is right in his contention, where is the "beautiful temple for the Tooth Relic" that Kirti Nissanka Malla "built of stone?" If the *Vata-da-ge* is to be attributed to Parakrama Bahu, all except its perron,—as it is by Mr. Hocart and others—and the *Heta-da-ge* is to be taken as the "*Tivanka* House," where, then, is Nissanka Malla's Temple of the Tooth?

There is, of course, nothing in the *Mahavamsa* to show that it was built on the so-called "Quadrangle." Probabilities, however, point in that direction.

The Tooth Temple is supposed always to have been located near the king's palace. Kirti Nissanka Malla, though a bitter critic of Parakrama Bahu and an open enemy of the *govi* clan - Parakrama Bahu's partisans—(as more than one inscription attests) must have occupied the palace in the citadel built by that king. No other building important enough to have served as the ruler's residence has been discovered.

It is true that, according to one of Nissanka Malla's inscription, he did build a palace. It was seven storeys high and was "erected within forty-five days." Thereby he beat the record made by a former king (no doubt Parakrama Bahu) who had spent "seven years and seven months," in erecting his palace. Some attempt has been made to identify the Sat Mahal Pasada with this seven-storeyed palace: but it is far from convincing. Kirti Nissanka Malla must, in any case, have lived somewhere close to the Jetwana group and the Temple of the Tooth, which must have been near his palace, must therefore, be a stone building somewhere in the neighbourhood. Until further information is available, opinion must incline in favour of identifying it with the Heta-da-ge, unless the whole Vata-da-ge (and not merely its perron) is to be assigned to this king.

Many reasons combined to impel Kirti Nissanka Malla to impress his subjects with his determination to defend and even to purify the religion of the Buddha. He was, to begin with Indian by birth, having been born at Simhapura (Madras Presidency), the son of Queen Parvati and Sri Jayagopa, king of the Kalinga country. He came to Lanka in his early manhood at the invitation of his kinsman—Vijaya Bahu II, also called Pandita Vijaya Bahu, who ascended the throne in 1186 A. D. upon the demise of Parakrama Bahu the Great, and who appointed

* *Mahavamsa* (Wijesinghe's translation), p. 212.

† *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of Ceylon* (1926), Vol. II., p. 151.

§ *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Annual Report, 1903. p. 13.

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him sub-king *(Yuvaraja)*. He was, moreover, by race a Kalinga, which claimed to be superior to the *govi* clan. He speaks of himself as a descendant of the Okkaka dynasty—a branch of the Solar race—from which Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhalese race, is supposed to have sprung; and disputed the right of the *govi* people to sit upon Vijaya's throne. Having to reckon with the powerful machinations of the *govi* clan, which was ever plotting to become again supreme in the land, he was compelled to be ever on the alert. In these circumstances it profited him to display zeal in the observance of Buddhist rites, make pilgrimages to Buddhist shrines in various parts of the country especially those that were exceedingly difficult to reach, show interest and liberality in repairing old teamples in a state of disrepair, and build new ones, and to be lavish in making offerings to the priests.

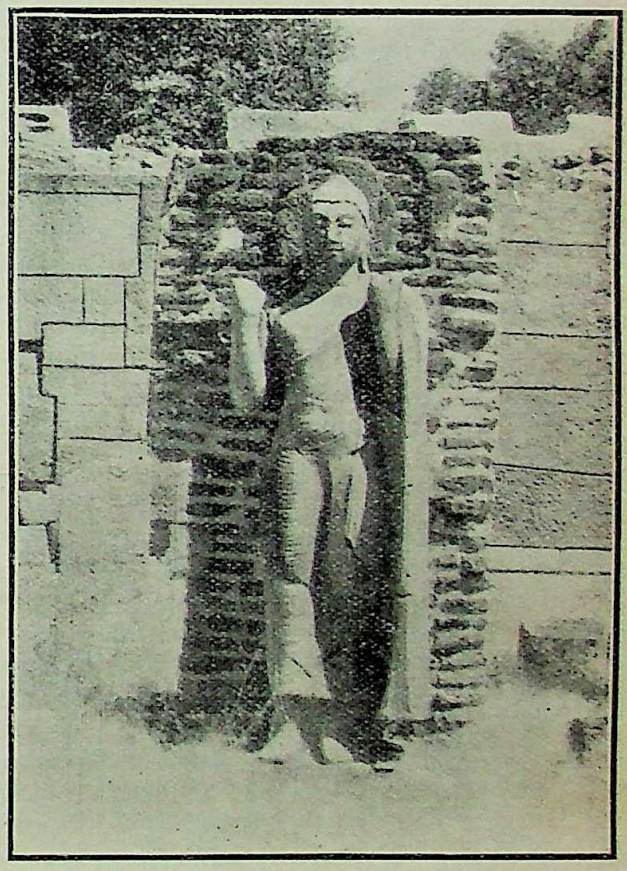
Whether Kirti Nissanka Malla was a genuine Buddhist or not we cannot say. There is no doubt whatsoever that he was worldly wise and what he lacked in piety he made up in display. In the fourth year of his reign, for instance, he went to worship the relics at the Ruanveli *dagaba* at Anuradhapura. As one of the slab inscriptions relates, he scattered pearls, "as if he were sprinkling sand on the terrace." He filled up the whole space around the hemispheircal dome with "flowers of gold and silver and the seven kinds of gems" as if he were "offering flowers on a bed of sand." He "shut off the sun's rays from the *dagaba* (by raising over it) flags of priceless silk and cloth." His gifts to gods and men continued for a week.

Kirti Nissanka Malla did not hesitate to claim credit even for invading and conquering Dambadiva (India), burning with indignation at the wicked deeds that had been wrought in Lanka in former times by invaders from southern India. Not an iota of evidence is forthcoming to establish these boasts, invented, no doubt, to tickle the Sinhalese Buddhist fancy.

The Buddhist clergy of Nissanka Malla's days were, judged by contemporary evidence, not all that they should have been. Evidently even before the ashes of Parakrama had had time to cool the lax practices that he had sought to put down, as stated in the second article of this series, had revived.

An inscription carved at Nissanka Malla's bidding on one of the inside walls of the so called *Heta-da-ge* shows that he was or at least affected to be distressed at these practices and anxious to uproot them. "The venerable ones, who are in the position of... teachers and spiritual preceptors, should not," he adjures, initiate, without enquiry, "foolish, sinful persons who are false and crafty."*

Nor did Nissanka Malla hesitate to charge his successors with the duty of protecting the religion of the Buddha. In the course of the inscription on the *Heta-da-ge* portico



Ruined image in the Heta-da-ge

to which I have already referred, he makes the following appeal:

"Hail ! This *Dharma*, which gives happiness and which alone deserves to be honoured by the whole world, should always be preserved. Vira Nissanka Malla makes this appeal over and over again to the Rulers of the earth in the name of (their) good fame."†

To win the loyalty of the Sinhalese, Kirti Nissanka Malla remitted revenue during five years of his reign and abolished taxes of

* *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II. pt. 2, p. 98.
† *Ibid.*, p. 89.

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an oppressive nature. He decreed that so long as the sun and the moon lasted the State must not make any exaction upon land temporarily wrested from the jungle and sown to coarse grain—technically known as *hena*, corrupted by the British into *chena*—because such cultivation was of a precarious nature, and involved great hardship. He restored old irrigation works and built new ones, and showed great energy in improving and extending communications.

Nissanka Malla introduced numerous reforms into the administration. He ordered that deeds and other important documents be inscribed upon copper plates that would last for ever, instead of being written upon perishable palm leaves; and stabilized measurements of land. He sought to remove from thieves the temptation to steal for need of money by bestowing upon them gifts—coins, jewels and land—that would enable them to live in comfort without committing crime. He established courts of justice and graved moral edicts on stone. He 'freed the kingdom from the thorns of lawlessness so thoroughly that a woman might even carry a casket filled with the nine kinds of gems... and not be asked, 'What is it' ?"

As I indicated in the first article, Nissanka Malla believed in taking counsel with his subjects and had included non-official representatives in the Council that he set up. He was, however, a firm believer in the divine right of kings and more particularly in the divine right of the members of the Kshatriya or Kalinga clan, and no other, to be kings.

Nissanka Malla desired nothing quite so much as to outshine Parakrama Bahu. That desire was at the back of his building programme as well as his general administrative policy. Unfortunately, he was cut off in the prime of life. If the fact that he was only nine years on the throne—a fraction of Parakrama Bahu's reign—is borne in mind, his accomplishment is not to be despised.

The writer of the *Mahavamsa*—undoubtedly a *govi* himself—was so biassed in favour of Parakrama Bahu that he did not give to Nissanka Malla even as many lines as he gave pages to his hero. Had Nissanka Malla not left numerous lithic inscriptions behind, we would have known little about his public works or administrative policies.



"Why dare you not declare your age ?"
"Because it's the same as my wife's"—
Sondagsnisse-Strix, Stockholm.

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The "Martial Races" of India

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

I

IT is too much perhaps to expect from weak human nature that it should hang a dog, and out of a sense of mere gratefulness for that supreme sacrifice, the supremest in fact that could ever be asked for and obtained from a living creature, refrain from giving the poor animal a bad name. Our notion of what is and what is not sport does *not*, we believe, require of us a self-denying ordinance of so priggish a description. We have, therefore, never been at a loss to draw upon our fund of philosophy when one reproachful British official after another has come forward to tell us that it is our own incorrigible military incompetence which is compelling him to stay in this country of gruelling heat when he would much rather smoke his life away in an English club or dream it out, of a still summer evening, in England. And what is more, under the hypnotic sway of that bland flow of argument, we have pretended to forget that it is he who has disarmed India, and deprived us of the right of bearing arms in defence of our country, our life, our honour, and our property.

But our complacent philosophy and complacent self-love was not to be let off with so easy an ordeal as an admission of the axiomatic superiority of the European over the Oriental. The humiliation they deserved was deeper. A new shame and a new menace have, therefore, emerged for us in the shape of the "martial races" of India, who, if we are to believe the Simon Commission, are not only the only people in India who can shoulder the burden of her defence, but are also inclined to set a rather high price on their capacities in this line by desiring to be allowed a wider discretion in the matter of cutting the throats of us non-martials, which only the undue interference of our British protectors do not permit them to do to their satisfaction at present.

"To these two features," says the Simon Report, "which distinguish the case of India from that of any of the self-governing Dominions must be added a third. In contrast with the self-governing Dominions, and indeed in contrast with almost the whole of the rest of the world, India presents to the observer an astonishing admixture not only of competing religions, and rival races, but races of widely different military capacity. Broadly speaking, one may say that those races which furnish the best sepoys are emphatically not those which exhibit the greater accomplishment of mind in an examination...The contrast between areas and races in India that take to soldiering, and those that do not has no counterpart in Europe. Whereas the most virile of the so-called martial races provide fine fighting material, other communities and areas in India do not furnish a single man for the Regular Army.

"...It seems certain that in the future equal efficiency in the military sense, such as is necessary in view of the severe tasks which the Army in India has to perform, and in view of the urgent need of reduced military expenditure, cannot be expected from all sections of the population of India. As things are the presence of British troops and the leadership of British officers secure that the fighting regiments of India, though representing only a portion of India's manhood shall not be a menace to millions who are conducting their civil occupations without any thought of consequences which might ensue if the British troops were withdrawn and the Indian Army consisted of nothing but representatives of the Indian fighting races."*

The outlook for our future is dark indeed if the diagnosis of the Simon Commission be true. But, frankly, we do not think it becomes any the darker because of the mere embodiment of the theory in their report. Both the political and the military wings of the doctrine of the so-called martial races of India had been separately in existence long before the Simon Commission came and dovetailed them into a harmonious objection against the grant of self-government to India. The political half of the theory, if we remember aright, dates at least as far back as 1919, when in the proto-Reform Councils, throbbing with the excitement of coming changes, the strong, silent martial races suddenly became declamatory in the speeches of Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hyat Khan of Tiwana, and its purely military half is certainly as old as the post-Mutiny re-organization of the Indian Army.

* The Simon Report, Vol. I, pp. 96-98 ; see also Vol. II, part VI, pp. 167-180.

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Sir John Simon and his colleagues will we hope, forgive us if we refuse to take the political intelligence and the political ambitions of Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hyat Khan very seriously. But the military part of the doctrine deserves a less cavalier treatment. The theory that the people of India, with the possible exception of a limited number of selected tribes and castes from specified regions, were unfit for military service of any kind took gradual shape in the slow-working brains of the British military authorities in India after the great catastrophe of the Mutiny had destroyed the old Sepoy Army, and forced upon them the necessity of creating a new and reliable army from the population of the Punjab and the countries adjacent to it. Before that time, the commanders of the Sepoy Army took good care that none but perfectly suitable material was incorporated into the Army, but they did not trouble themselves overmuch about the selection of tribes and areas. So it happened that the three great Presidency Armies which grew up in the three centres from which British Power spread over the whole of India, obtained their fighting material from their natural areas of recruitment, *viz.*, the Madras Army from the Tamil and Telugu countries, the Bombay Army from Western India, and the Bengal Army from Bihar and the U. P. and, to a limited extent, Bengal. This practice, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century and confirmed by Clive in his re-organization of the Company's army, continued down to the middle of the 19th, and it was the soldiers obtained from these areas that conquered the whole of India for the British. The rebellion of the Bengal Army in 1857, however, put one of these regions, so far as at any rate the British were concerned, wholly outside the pale of military recognition, and henceforward the army of Northern India came to be composed more and more exclusively of soldiers drawn from the Punjab and the Frontier Province, and hillmen recruited in Nepal, who by their timely help and loyalty had helped to crush the uprising of the Hindustani sepoys. But here, as in everything English, practice was allowed to take its course without any particular solicitude for a fully rounded theory, and though the Army came to be composed exclusively of Punjabis and hillmen, there was no clearly grasped conviction that they represented the only martial stocks in India. The final elaboration of the doctrine of the martial races and the definite recognition of certain groups and classes of the Punjab, the North-Western Frontier Province and Nepal as the "martial races," *par excellence*, of India, along with the conscious adoption of this theory as a fixed principle of enlistment for the Indian Army, was due to Lord Roberts, an Irishman, who was the Commander-in-Chief in India from 1885 to 1893, and was also one of the staunchest opponents of all proposals to give higher military training to Indians.* Since his days, the doctrine has lodged itself firmly in the brains of the British military authorities in India, whose slowness in grasping an idea is only matched by their tenacity in retaining it.

II

The bowdlerized version given in the Simon Report does not give any idea of the wealth of generalization upon which the theory is based and the vigour of language which ordinarily characterizes its expression. For that we must have recourse to British military writers, one of whom,—Lt.-General Sir George MacMunn, K. C. B., K. C. S. I., D. S. O., a former Quartermaster-General in India—writes :

> In the East, the townsfolk, traders, artificers, servants, and any one save the peasant is quite incapable of saying boh to a goose! Militant physical courage they are absolutely without, while were their hearts in the right place their lack of sinew and muscle would make them quite unfit to carry arms of any kind. That is entirely different from the conditions in Europe, or at any rate of the Nordic races, of whom any lusty vagabond can be made into a soldier."†

The case of the upper classes, if any thing, is still worse :

> "It has long been notorious that the intelligentsia classes of India were noted for their lack of normal physical courage, and that out of over three hundred million the number of those who

* Lord Roberts—*Forty-one Years in India*, 1 Vol. (1905) edition, pp. 531-533; Sir George Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, pp 177-78. It is interesting to note that many of the sentences in this portion of the Simon Report seem to have been closely paraphrased from some of the writings of Lord Roberts. A Liberal paper once characterized the intellect of Lord Roberts as that of an average Tory. The old diehard has revenged himself by converting from his grave a very superior Liberal.

† Lt.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn—*The Army* (1929), pp. 70-72

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by any stretch of imagination could be deemed material for soldiers was ludicrously small."*

General MacMunn professes some surprise that this should be so :

"It is extraordinary," he says, "that the well-born race of the upper classes in Bengal should be hopeless poltroons, while it is absurd that the great, merry, powerful Kashmiree should not have an ounce of physical courage in his constitution, but it is so. Nor are appearances of any use as a criterion. Some of the most manly looking people in India are in this respect the most despicable."†

It is this fundamental difference between the East and the West, or at any rate between the Nordic races and the rest of the world, we are told, which renders any form of levy *en masse* after the European example an impossibility in India and forces upon the British military authorities the necessity of recruiting their Indian Army from certain carefully chosen classes and clans of specified regions,

"Who think military service the greatest and most honourable career they can follow," who come "from the landowning yeomen peasantry, the 'sons of princes,' agriculturists who are yet Brahmans and the like, men of worth and standing who will return to the land when they pile their arms, the prouder for a chestful of British war medals."§

No reasonable man can doubt that this of necessity had to be so. But to argue from the fact that the Indian Army is recruited solely from men who feel all the prouder for a chestful of British war medals that the rest of the Indian population are unredeemed cowards is, we fear, to provoke the Indian definition of the martial races of India as the people who for money or from lack of education are least likely to question the orders of their British officers to shoot down their fellow countrymen. A military officer of the young Aryan race—as Sir George MacMunn describes himself and his co-fraternity—who, according to the maxim of the Persians, has been trained to ride and shoot, though not according to the same maxim of the Persians, always to tell the truth, may no doubt beg the question in this extremely unsophisticated manner. It is simply incredible in a Royal Commission presided over by one of the shining lights of the English bar. But we really have no desire to follow the example of the Simon Report by prejudging things, and since it is the aim of this article to examine the history of the enlistment policy of the Indian Army and the statistics of recruiting from the earliest times to the present day, in order to find how far the evolution of that policy and the ups and downs of recruitment confirm or disprove the theory of the "martial races" of India, and how far the present composition of the Indian Army represents the military potentialities of India, we shall begin by not trying to deny the undeniable fact that the Army in India as it stands to-day is not composed of soldiers drawn from every part of India.

In the tables given below are shown the percentage of men in the Indian infantry and cavalry drawn from each eligible class, the names of the districts from which they come, as well as the approximate number of combatants furnished by the different provinces of India. They will amply prove that everything that the Simon Report says about the preponderance of certain areas and classes in the Indian Army is literally true. In fact, of the 155,000 odd Indians who compose the Indian personnel of the Army in India, rather more than half come from Northern India, *i. e.*, from the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province, while approximately one quarter are hillmen from Nepal, Garhwal and Kumaon, thus leaving less than one quarter to be found from the whole of the rest of India.

* *Ibid.*, p. 80.
† MacMunn and Lovett, *The Armies of India* (1911), p. 130
§ MacMunn, *The Army* (1929), p. 71.

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I. Table showing the percentage of men of each eligible class in the Indian Infantry (82 active and 18 training battalions), the Indian Cavalry (21 regiments), and the 20 battalions of Gurkha Infantry.

Serial No.	Class	District	Percentage in Infantry		Percentage in Cavalry
			Per cent excluding the Gurkhas	Per cent including the Gurkhas	
1.	Punjabi Musalman	Punjab	27	22.6	14.28
2.	Gurkhas	Nepal	—	16.4	—
3.	Sikhs	Punjab	16.24	13.58	23.81
4.	Dogras	N. Punjab and Kashmir	11.4	9.54	9.53
5.	Jats (1)	Rajputana, U. P. & Punjab	9.5	7.94	19.06
6.	Pathans (2)	N.-W. Frontier Province	7.57	6.35	4.76
7.	Mahrattas	Konkan	6.34	5.33	—
8.	Garhwalis (3)	Garhwal	4.53	3.63	—
9.	U. P. Rajputs	U. P.	3.04	2.55	4.76
10.	Rajputana Rajputs	Rajputana	2.8	2.35	4.76
11.	Kumaonis	Kumaon	2.44	2.05	—
12.	Gujars	N.-E. Rajputana	1.52	1.28	—
13.	Punjabi Hindus	Punjab	1.52	1.28	—
14.	Ahirs	,,	1.22	1.024	—
15.	Musalman Rajputs —Ranghars	Neighbourhood of Delhi	1.22	1.024	7.14
	—Kaimkhanis	Rajputana	—	—	4.76
16.	Kachins	Burma	1.22	1.024	—
17.	Chins	Burma	1.22	1.024	—
18.	Karens	Burma	1.22	1.024	—
19.	Dekhani Musalman	Deccan	—	—	4.76 (4)
20.	Hindustani Musalman	U. P. (mainly)	—	—	2.38 (4)
	Hindus & Sikhs		60.55	50.554	61.92
	Gurkhas		—	16.4	—
	Muhammadans		35.79	29.974	38.08
	Burmans		3.66	3.072	—

[1] The Jats (here shown as a single class) are for purposes of class composition divided into three sub-classes *viz.*, (*i*) the Jats from Punjab, (*ii*) the Jats from Eastern Punjab and the U. P. (*iii*) the Jats from Rajputna. These three groups differ a good deal from one another.

[2] All these Pathans belong to the cis-Frontier tribes. The tribes which are taken into the Indian Army are (i) Khattaks, (ii) Yusafzais, (iii) Orakzais, (iv) Malikdin Khel, and Kamber Khel, both Afridis, (v) Bangashes. Usually two of these tribes are grouped in a Pathan company.

[3] Garhwali Brahmans and Garhwali Rajputs are incorporated in separate battalions. There are only two companies of Garhwali Brahmans in the 4-1st Punjab Regiment.

[4] These two classes are almost negligible. Taken together they number only a few hundred men.

N. B.—This table does not include the Indian personnel of (a) the 19 batteries of Indian Mountain Artillery, (b) the 3 regiments of Sappers and Miners, (c) the Indian Signal Corps, and (d) the 4 Corps of Indian Pioneers, all of which are composed of differing proportions of Punjabi Musalmans, Sikhs, Pathans, Hindustani Hindus and Musalmans, Madrasis of all classes and Hazara Afghans, either in class units or class companies. Except that some units in these arms of the service are composed of Madrasis and Hazaras, now enrolled in no other unit of the Indian Army, the class composition of these units does not materially alter the proportion of the classes as given in the table This table does not also include the Indian personnel attached to the British infantry and artillery units.

II. Table showing the approximate number of combatants in the Indian Army furnished by the different provinces (See Simon Report Vol. I, p. 96).

Province	Number of Men	Province	Number of Men	Province	Number of Men	Province	Number of Men
Punjab	86,000	Kashmir	6,500	Hyderabad	700	Mysore	100
Nepal	19,000	North-West Frontier Province	5,600	Baluchistan	300	C. P.	100
U. P. (including Garhwal & Kumaon)	16,500			Bihar and Orissa	300	Bengal	nil
Rajputana	7,000	Madras	4,000	Central India	200	Assam	nil
Bombay	7,000	Burma	3,000			Miscellaneous	1,900
						Total	158,200

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III

Not only is the Indian Army recruited from a limited number of carefully selected clans of the peasant class from specified regions, but its whole organization is based upon a caste system more rigid than that of the Hindu society. The Indian Army does not recognize the individual. It is neatly grouped into battalions, companies, squadrons, and sometimes platoons, of specified classes according to a fixed ratio, and no one who is not a member of one of these prescribed classes can enter the army simply because he is individually fit. These groups are so distributed in a battalion that they retain their strong local communal or tribal loyalties, at the same time set off the influence of one another. Thus, for example, in a typical battalion of Indian Infantry—the 1st 112th Frontier Force Regiment there is 1 company of Punjabi Musalmans, 1 company of Dogras, 1 company of Pathans (Khattaks and Orakzais) and 1 company of Sikhs. The 1st Regiment of Cavalry (Skinner's Horse) has 1/2 Squadron of Hindustani Musalmans, 1/2 squadron of Musalman Rajputs (Ranghars), 1 squadron of Rajputs (U. P. and Eastern Punjab) and 1 squadron of Jats. King George's Own Bengal Sappers and Miners is composed of 1/3 Sikhs, 1/3 Musalmans (including Pathans, Punjabi Musalmans and Hindustani Musalmans) and 1/3 Hindustani Hindus (of which 1/3 may be Gahrwalis other than Garhwal Rajputs). With the exception of the 20 battalions of Gurkha infantry, 5 battalions of Mahrattas, 3 battallions of Sikhs, 4 battalions of Dogras, 4 battalions of Garhwalis, 1 battalion of Kumaonis, 1 corps of Hazara Afghans in the Pioneers, and 1 regiment of Madras S. and M., the rest of the Indian infantry, cavalry, artillery, Sappers and Miners, Signal Corps and Pioneers is divided into class units formed on the same pattern. A member of one these classes, even were he willing, is not allowed to serve in any other class company or class unit.*

The Indian Army, thus organized has certain qualities and defects of its own. High military authorities tell us that as a fighting machine it would be able to stand up to any European army. They also tell us sometimes that in spite of its fine fighting qualities it stands in a class apart from the great modern armies of Europe.* But in what respects it differs from them is a question on which these military writers are usually silent. They are to our mind serious and fundamental, and directly connected with the principle of recruitment in the Army. The more outstanding of these characteristics may be summarized as follows :—

1. Absence in the Army as a whole, owing to its division into small tribal, caste and religious groups, distinguished by strong local, communal and sectional loyalties, of any sense of national unity and the patriotism that springs from it. This sense of nationality has always been regarded as one of the most valuable moral assets of a modern citizen army. It is hardly necessary to labour a point which has been stressed by all military thinkers. The latest "Field Service Regulations," for example, says that

"Success in war depends more on moral than on physical qualities. Neither numbers, armaments, resources, nor skill can compensate for lack of courage, determination and the bold offensive spirit that springs from a *national* determination to conquer."†

This national determination is wholly absent in the Indian Army. It is a mercenary and professional army whose only incentive to action is pay and an artificially fostered military arrogance.

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* In this connection it is interesting to note that there is a good deal of difference between the practices of the French and British military authorities in the matter of employing an indigenous populations for military purposes. In the French colonial army the natives are recruited by means of conscription, though it is limited in extent on account of economic reasons; they are formed into regiments of their own or, as in the "mixed" regiments, thrown into the same unit with white troops who serve side by side with them; they are admitted into the artillery and the engineering and signal services; and some colonial regiments (both Negroes and Algerians) form an integral part of the Metropolitan Army of France. These differences are explained by the difference between the rôles that the French Colonial and the British Indian armies are respectively intended to play. The principal function of the Indian Army is to be an eastern branch of the B.E.F., with India as a sort of military Singapore base, and on that account the Army in India must be as professionally sound and politically safe as the British military authorities can make it, while the political and geographical situation of France on the Continent of Europe and her decreasing birth-rate make it a case of almost life and death for her to draw upon all the available man-power of her colonies in Africa for the protection of her home territories.

* *The Times* special India number, Feb. 18, 1930, p. xiii.

† Field Service Regulations, Vol. II. (1924), Ch. i. Sec. 1, para 2.

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2. Absence in the Indian portions of the army, due to lack of education and the absence in the army of persons with the necessary mental calibre, of all capacity for leadership, organization and initiative. As a modern fighting machine the Indian Army would go to pieces if the British officers were removed from it. The Indian officers with the so-called Viceroy's Commissions are only magnified N. C. O.s. Their capacities are best summarized in the words of an old Indian officer to Lord Roberts :

"*Sahib, ham log larai men bahut tez hain magar jang ka bandabast nahin Jante.*" ('Sir, we can fight well, but we do not understand military arrangements.')*

It is in connection with the limited capacities of the Indian officers that Sir Valentine Chirol says :

"No other system was indeed possible so long as no attempt was made to give to Indians any higher military training or to hold out to them any prospect of promotion beyond those within their reach by enlistment in the ranks."†

Lord Rawlinson also had his doubts regarding the capacities of the present type of Indian officer:

"Will we ever get the sons of the landowners," he wrote, "of the fighting races who are brought up to despise the Babu, just as our feudal chiefs despised the clerks, sufficiently educated to be trusted with the lives of men in modern war."§

4. Employment of Indians in certain arms of the service only and their exclusion from all posts involving responsibility and powers of command, thus making it impossible for them to make a fully constituted formation by themselves alone.

5. The immunity of the Indian Army from political influences. On this point the writer of the article on the Indian Army in the *Times* Special India Number says :

"Being mainly agriculturists, they come from good sound country stock, taking little interest in politics, and not easily moved by the appeals of the professional agitator."**

This freedom from political sentiment of the Indian Army must not be confused with the much to be desired immunity of all armies from political party spirit. The British army would be free from political partisanship in the light of the Government of India's principles if its soldiers were as ready to fight for Germany or the United States as they are for the British Empire. The Curragh incident of 1914 showed that it was politically vitiated in a much more reprehensible sense.

All these features of the Indian Army, as we have already said, are closely connected with the principle of enlistment followed in it. Any modification of this principle is bound to alter the character of the Army, and perhaps destroy its efficiency from the British point of view, while its maintenance, as Sir Valentine Chirol says, "however well it works in practice for the production of a reliable fighting machine, was not calculated to train Indians to protect themselves."*

IV

The English are a fortunate people, and we might well believe that all these advantages came to them unasked and unsought for. In any case, there is no suggestion the Simon Commission dismisses more curtly than that this state of affairs has been brought about through deliberate policy. It would have it that nothing but pure considerations of military quality and military efficiency has made the Army in India what it is.† Unfortunately, however, for this pleasant theory, all official documents seem to tell a different tale. The Simon Commission has studied the recruiting returns of the last war with some care, for it makes some sort of political capital out of them. What it has apparently not studied is the history of the Sepoy Mutiny which would have explained to it the true significance of those returns. As we sow, so we reap. The measures that the British military authoritiies took after the Mutiny altered the whole centre of gravity of the military life of the people of India. The effects of a policy, deliberately and consistently pursued for half a century, could not be undone in a moment, simply because in her hour of distress Great Britain had thought it prudent to make a virtue of necessity.

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* Roberts—*Forty-one Years*, Vol. 1 (1905) edition, p. 183. Lord Roberts' comment on this is : "What the old soldier intended to convey to me was his sense of the inability of himself and his comrades to do without the leadership and general management of the British officers."

† Chirol, *India Old and New*, p. 90.

§ Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice—*The Life of Lord Rawlinson of Trent*, p. 296.

** *The Times* Special India Number, Feb. 18, 1930, p. xiii.

* Chirol—*India Old and New*, p. 90.

† Simon Report, Vol. I, p. 96-97.

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Any intelligent appreciation of the military potentialities of India must take into account the ramifications of that policy, and it is to the history of the Sepoy Mutiny that we must turn if we want to understand the present character and the regionalism of the Indian Army.

The great Bengal Army of the pre-Mutiny days was in every respect a fine fighting machine. When it disappeared after the Mutiny, Lord Ellenborough wrote regretfully :

"It is distressing to think that we must abandon the hope of ever seeing a native army composed like that we have lost. It was an army which under a general it loved and trusted, would have marched victorious to the Dardanelles."*

But it was an army whose composition and organization was fundamentally different from the Indian Army of to-day. In the first place, it was almost exclusively composed of

"Hindustanees from Behar and the Doab, except that of late a proportion of Sikhs and Paunjabees have been introduced. The principal castes of Hindus in the Army were Brahmins, Rajputs and Ahirs. The Hindus formed the great majority, only from 100 to 200 men in a regiment being Mohammedans."†

These high-caste Beharis and U. P. men, or Poorbeahs as they were then called, are no longer considered to be one of the martial races of India. But even General MacMunn characterizes them as a "manly and warlike peasantry of fine physique and martial appearance, and withal orderly and obedient."§

The second distinctive feature of the pre-Mutiny Army was that

"in the ranks of the regular army men stood mixed up as chance might befall. There was no separating by class and clan into companies... in the lines, Hindu and Muhammadan, Sikh and Poorbeah were mixed up, so that each and all lost to some extent their racial prejudices and became inspired with one common sentiment."**

In the enquiry that followed the Mutiny no recommendation came out with greater emphasis from the evidence given by British military and civil authorities than the unanimous opinion that this principle of recruitment and organization constituted too great a danger to the safety of the British Power in India to be permitted to continue.

In a memorandum submitted to the Peel Commission, Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab and the future Viceroy and Governor-General of India, said :

Amongst those defects (of the pre-Mutiny Army) unquestionably the worst, and the one which operated most fatally against us, was the brotherhood or homogeny of the Bengal army ; and for this particular defect the remedy is counterpoise—1stly, the great counterpoise of Europeans, and 2ndly, that of various native races. Had the old Bengal Army had all these remedies applied to it ten years ago it would doubtless have been a much better army."*

Major-General W. R. Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff of the Indian Army was even more explicit on this point :

"Suffice it to say," he says, "that the army, owing to the manner in which it was recruited, formed an immense quasi masonic brotherhood from Peshawar to Calcutta, and from the Himalayas to the Nerbudda. With that river the agency of the brotherhood stopped, and other military bodies were beyond which refused to acknowledge its signs or obey its behests.

The unwise tendency of the Bombay Government of late years to give a preference to the Poorbeas of Oudh, on account of the comeliness of such recruits, had nearly caused its army to be affiliated to the brotherhood of Bengal. Fortunately the mischief had not gone far enough to complete the process, when the outbreak of last year took place."†

And again.

"The old spirit of exclusiveness in favour of high and cleanly castes, which operated on the officers to the full as much as it did on the sepoys themselves, created the *imperium in imperio* which is ever the certain forerunner of mutiny in all armies. The subservience of the officers generally to the feelings of caste, which gave them handsome and intelligent men, was, I believe, appreciated in all its strength by the sepoys, who actually played with the fears of their Brahminized colonels."§

The practice of recruiting from the high castes of the U. P. and Behar was therefore to go and with it the mischievous principle of throwing in all castes and tribes cheek by jowl in the battallion. On this question Sir John Lawrence wrote :

"To preserve that distinctiveness which is so valuable, and which while it lasts makes the Mahomedan of one country despise, fear or dislike

* Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Organization of the Indian Army (Peel Commission Report) 1859. Appendix to Minutes of Evidence, p. 6.

† Lord Clyde's replies etc. Peel Commission Report, App. to Min. Ev. p. 63.

§ MacMunn and Lovett—*The Armies of India*, p. 84

** *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

* Report of the Peel Commission (1859) Papers connected with the re-organization etc., p. 14.

† Peel Report (1859) App., p. 97.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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the Mahomedan of another; corps should in future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked. Let all races, Hindu or Mahomedan of one province be enlisted in one regiment and no others, and having created distinctive regiments let us keep them so, against the hour of need....By the system thus indicated two great evils are avoided; firstly, that community of feeling throughout the native army and that mischievous political activity and intrigue which results from association with other races and travel in other Indian provinces..."*

General Mansfield was also of opinion

"That we should avoid creating any grand centralized army like the one lately dissolved, and substitute in its place several local armies, which should remain distinct and separate from one another."†

In order to secure the practical application of these principles General Mansfield suggested the following measures :

"Let all castes and let the Mussalman share and share alike in the regiments of the local armies.

There may be low caste corps, and Mussalman corps.

Other regiments may be formed of companies of different castes and in all these should probably be a company or two of Mussalmans. Uniformity in these respects is neither desirable now advisable. The more diversity that can be introduced into the constitution of the different corps the better, so that in case of any future combination the heterogeneous character of the various regiments may present an effective bar to it."§

All other military authorities made similar recommendations. Lord Clyde, the Commander-in-Chief, said :

"The field from which recruits were obtained was too limited. I should think men should be taken of every caste, or no caste (if there are such people), and from every district. There cannot be too great diversity....Corps should differ as much as possible, one be of all castes, one be of some particular caste, one from a particular district, another from every district and every caste. Uniformity in such matters is dangerous. When corps consist of various castes, they might often with advantage be formed in separate companies."**

Major-General Birch, Military Secretary to the Government of India, said :

"If men of one tribe or caste are likely to combine for evil purposes, the tendency to such combination would be greatly increased, and facilities towards it would be furnished by the homogeneous organization of regiments. I would not have any regiment recruited exclusively from any particular district...I would entertain few Brahmins, and would restrict Mussalmans, Rajpoots and Sikh's to one third of any regiment ..."*

Lt.-General Sir Harry Smith said :

"There is nothing more important than that the Bengal native army should be composed of different castes and nationalities from one end of India to the other; the principle of collecting nationalities in companies is judicious : on the one hand it tends to prevent combination for evil. on the other it creates emulation."†

Colonel Burn said :

I think it would have a very beneficial effect if recruiting for each separate regiment were confined to a prescribed district. This might do good on the principle of *Divide et Impera*. There has always been great jealousy between the Oudh and Behar men, and I see that it was taken advantage of at Lahore, when the Behar men were separated from those from Oudh."§

Lord Ellenborough expressed the opinion that :

"The fewer elements of combination in the Native army the better; and therefore, the more nationalities, and castes, and religions, the more secure we shall be."**

Major-General Tucker's memorandum on this question was far more comprehensive :

"Talk as we will," he wrote, "of the beneficial effects and the paternal character of our rule, we can never alter the fact that in India we are foreigners and interlopers; and while we remain what we are, the natives of Hindustan what they are, the haughty and offensive conscious manner—the consequence of our superiority, morally and intellectually—will remain indelibly stamped in the bearing and character of the European, outweighing all the material benefits we can confer; and it is opposed, therefore, to all experience and to commonsense to suppose that ever under any circumstances the Natives in their inmost hearts can become reconciled to our rule as a class.....This has never been sufficiently understood or insisted upon. Nevertheless, it is and will be found ultimately to be the truth; and it speaks forcibly for the strong necessity which exists for so dividing and separating into distinct bodies the 'different nationalities or castes' the rulers in our Eastern dominions may deem it safe and expedient to entertain in our armies, so as to render them as little dangerous as possible to the State which they undertake so solemnly and faithfully to serve, but to which solemnity they, be it always remembered, attach little or no real meaning or importance, and by which, as we have seen, they are in no way really bound.

Seikhs, Rajpoots and Goorkhas constitute perhaps the best description of men for soldiers in Bengal and there are endless varieties of others; while the low castes will doubtlessly meet with great favour, after the events we have experienced so recently. It is, however, essential to be alike cautious

* Peel Commission Report, Papers etc., p. 30.
† Peel Commission Report, App., p. 97.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 100.
** *Ibid.*, p. 63.

* *Ibid.*, p. 78.
† *Ibid.*, p. 233.
§ Peel Report, Papers etc., p. 157.
** Peel Report, App., p. 6.

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with them all, and we should be most guarded and watchful with the Seikhs. Of these one fourth part would prove an ample proportion; of Goorkhas and Hillmen generally a like number, if procurable, but the real Goorkhah is not to be found in any large numbers; another fourth part of low caste men of all sorts, and the rest must, it is presumed, be made up of the endless varieties of Hindostanees and Mussalmen usually employed. The introduction, however, of other different elements would be advisable, if it can be done, Africans, Malays, and Arabs; anything in short, to divide and so neutralize the strength of the castes and nationalities which compose our armies in the East."*

In view of the overwhelming nature of the evidence offered on this point the Peel Commission recommended that in future "the Native Indian army should be composed of different nationalities, and castes and as a general rule mixed promiscuously through each regiment."†

V.

It is in the light of these statements of policy that we must test the sincerity of opinions such as the following, expressed by the Simon Commission:

"The plain fact is that the formation of an Indian national Army drawn from India as a whole in which every member will recognize the rest as his comrades, in which Indian officers will lead men who may be of different races, and in which public opinion will have general confidence, is a task of the greatest possible difficulty. Strenuous efforts are being made by many Indian politicians to develop a more general sense of citizenship, and these efforts have the sympathy of all who sincerely desire to see the growth of Indian unity. The Army authorities are taking their share in the work of reducing the disparity which is no doubt due to economic and climatic considerations and to the unseen but potent influences of tradition and race."§

or the following, expresed by Lord Rawlinson:

"When India has got rid of her racial feuds, her religious animosities and her eastern prejudices and is inspired by one dominating patriotism, she can begin to think of defending herself. But when will that be?"**

We are aware that it will be urged here that the times have changed and that following upon the change of heart that they have brought in their wake the principles of distrust and suspicion of the Indians upon which the post-Mutiny reorganization of the Army was based were no longer allowed to influence the policy of the Army Headquarters. The shortest and simplest answer to this is that in spite of the much touted revolution in the angle of vision, there has been no modification of the practices of the distrustful regime, and so long as things remained where they were, the call upon Indian credulity to admit the claim for good intentions without any reference to their possible translation into the region of fact will always strike Indians as bearing a close resemblance to the request for an overdraft from a customer who has never shown any disposition to pay his previous debts.* But this is not the only instance in which the Army authorities in India have shown that they do not deserve to be trusted. There are two other questions whose handling by them constitutes no less shining examples of the inevitable disingenuousness of the British attitude in these matters. These are—the exclusion of Indians from the scientific and technical branches of the service, and the question of Indianization. Doubts have been expressed about the technical capacity of Indians to manage modern scientific weapons, and, as regards Indianization, it has been stated "that the Indian intellectual has, as a rule, no personal longing for an army career."† This categorical opinion expressed by the Simon Commission is apparently based upon the conclusions of Lord Rawlinson, who was responsible for the reorganization of the Indian Army after the last war:

"If the Indian Army is to be completely Indianized," he wrote in his diary, "we want over two thousand, and it is more than doubtful whether a sufficient number of the right type of Indian will ever come forward to supply the military requirements... The love of leadership and soldiering is one of the characteristics of the British public school boy of the present day, a form of ambition which is quite absent in the average Indian boy...He does not now, and I am afraid never will, enter the army for the love of the profession of arms, prepared to lay down his life for the sake of the land of his birth."§

* *Ibid*, p. 10.
† *Ibid*., Report, p. xiv.
§ Simon Report, Vol. I, p. 97.
** Maurice—*Life of Lord Rawlinson*, p. 341.

* That the British Government in India is still profiting by the military system introduced after the Mutiny is plainly hinted at by a French journalist in one of the latest numbers of *L' Illustration*: "Et une mutinerie comme celle de 1857 n'est plus à craindre depuis que les régiments ont été habilement truffé de soldats de tribus diverses et qui s'entre-détestent traditionellement."—Georges Remond in *L'Illustration* for May 31, 1930. p. 195.
† The Simon Report, Vol. I, p. 96.
§ Extract from Lord Rawlinson's Journal: Maurice—*Life of Lord Rawlinson*, p. 332.

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Both these objections are easily answered. As regards the exclusion of Indians from the scientific branches of the Army, for example, say the Artillery, the motives of British military authorities and the capacities of Indians will come out clearly from the two following extracts from the evidence given before the Peel Commission, which emphatically recommended that Indians should, in future, be excluded from the artillery. In his memorandum on this subject Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, said :

"I agree with those who think that it is not judicious to train any natives of India to the use of guns. They make excellent artillerymen, and they attach great value and importance to guns ; but these very circumstances make it dangerous to place them in their hands."*

In this opinion Lord Ellenborough concurred :

"It appears to be the concurrent opinion of all men that we should keep the artillery wholly in our hands.

"The natives have a genius for casting and working guns, and we should not afford them means of enjoying it.....The natives die at their guns. Their practice in this war (the Mutiny) is allowed to have been at least as good as our own."†

It is hardly necessary to add to a thesis so clearly presented. And as regards the question of Indianization, we should have had less difficulty in believing in Lord Rawlinson's arguments had he not himself written before coming out to India :

"People here are frightened of this talk of 'Indianization,' and old officers say they won't send their sons out to serve under natives. I agree that the new system must be allowed to take its course, but it will want very careful watching and cannot be hurried. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only."§

And again,

"..... .....question of the relations between the British and native officers. It is full of snags. If it is rushed, the supply of British officers will dry up long before India is in any degree ready to do without them. To my mind, the only solution is to begin by making some cavalry and infantry regiments wholly Indian. This will avoid the difficulty of making white officers serve under Indian officers, and will enable us to test the effect of the change."**

None but a charlatan will pretend that at the time Lord Rawlinson came out to India, Indians were fit to take over the entire control of the Army, or that they are so to-day. But the creation of an efficient corps of officers require time and long training, and a beginning must somewhere be made. Why Lord Rawlinson was not able to realize or even start upon the restricted scheme of Indianization that he proposed, is explained not by the absence of suitable, Indian candidates but by the long and acerbated history of racial arrogance that lies behind the question. The exclusion of upper class Indians from the Company's Army and the degradation of the Sepoy army to the dead level of common soldiering began, if we are to believe Kaye, in the 18th century :

"The founders of the native Army," he writes, "had conceived the idea of a force recruited from among the people of the country, and commanded for the most part by men of their own race, but of higher social position—men, in a word, of the master-class, accustomed to exact obedience from their inferiors. But it was the inevitable tendency of our increasing power in India to oust the native functionary from his seat, or to lift him from his saddle, that the white man might fix himself there .....So it happened, in due course, that the native officers, who had exercised real authority in their battalions, who had enjoyed opportunities of personal distinction, who had felt an honourable pride in their position, were pushed aside by an incursion of English gentlemen, who took all substantive power into their hands, and left scarcely more than the shadow of rank to the men whom they had supplanted. An English subaltern was appointed to every company, and the native officer then began to collapse into something little better than name.

As the degradation of the native officer was thus accomplished, the whole character of the Sipahi army was changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position, accustomed to command, might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their lives. Thenceforth, therefore, we dug out the materials of our army from the lower strata of society and the gentry of the land, seeking military service, carried their ambitions beyond the red line of the British frontier and offered their swords to the Princes of the Native States."*

The question of employing upper class Indians in the higher commands of the Army did not come up as a question of practical politics till 1885, when General Sir George Chesney, the Military Member of the Governor-General's Council put forward the suggestion that the Indian Army suffered from the exclusion of Indians from the higher military commands. Lord Roberts at once joined issue with him, grounding his objections on the strong feeling inveterate to all ranks of the British Army that

* Peel Commission Report—(Papers) p. 145.
† *Ibid*, App., p. 6.
§ Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice—*The Life of Lord Rawlinson of Trent*, p. 284.
** *Ibid.*, p. 296.

* Kaye and Malleson—*History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I. pp. 153-4.

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"natives were neither physically nor morally their equals."

"It is the consciousness," he wrote, "of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank that we could bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by a British officer, or looked up to by the British soldier in the same way that he looks up to the last-joined subaltern···Thus, for the present at any rate, the grant of such commissions to Indian gentlemen as would necessarily place them on the same footing as British officers, is in my opinion much to be deprecated."*

To this judgment, Sir George Chesney bowed for the time. But he revived the question two years later :

"The Military Member, regarding this differential treatment as doomed, asked for the establishment of a military school for natives of good family··· Roberts strongly dissented, and, reciting again the old lesson of the Mutiny, dangled before the eyes of the Government the possibility of highly trained native commanders using their knowledge against, rather than for, ourselves."†

So the subject slumbered for two years more, after which Chesney again raised the question. Roberts again protested and said "I would resist the beginnings on however small a scale."§

Roberts' three successors took no action in this matter. But when Lord Kitchener became C-in-C the consideration of the question could no longer be postponed. In forwarding a memorandum on the subjet, Lord Kitchener wrote :

"The difficulty of finding a practical solution of this most delicate question is immense, for, although there is a general consensus of opinion among senior British officers of the Indian Army that some measure of reform is required, I cannot find any remedial means likely to secure the support of the majority. This is due in part to a dislike of change and in part to a deep-seated racial repugnance to any steps which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the Army may have to take orders from Indians. Chiefly, however, it is due to an honest belief—which is certainly not altogether unfounded—that any substitution of Indians for British officers must be detrimental to the efficiency of the Army."*

The same vicious circle of argument flourishes to this day, and so far as we can calculate the future from the past, it is assured of as long a span of life as the duration of the Brltish domination of India.

What part these arguments have played in the elaboration of the theory of the martial races of India, how they stand in the way of our making a beginning, however small, for the creation of a national army—a task admittedly difficult, but neither more nor less so in this country than in any other with a similar history, and in what manner they serve to perpetuate the cobweb of half-truths about our unequal military potentialities, which however loudly proclaimed in the organization of the Army in India of to-day, is inherently neither greater nor worse than the inequalities to be found everywhere else – not worse certainly than the state of things in England, the declining military quality of whose common soldiers, when compared especially with the superior physique and intelligence of the colonial from Canada or Australia or New Zealand, would almost justify us in characterizing her as one of the "non-martial" regions of the British Empire—it will be our endeavour to show in a future instalment of this article.

(*To be concluded*)

* Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 177.
† *Ibid.*, p. 178.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

* *Ibid.*, p. 181.

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"Indian Political Thought Impatient of the Doctrine of Gradualness" !

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

FOR the heinous offence of desiring freedom after more than a hundred and seventy years of British subjection the Simon Seven have accused Indian political thinkers of impatience of "the doctrine of gradualness," that being the old charge of impatient idealism differently phrased. They observe :

"Indian political thought finds it tempting to foreshorten history, and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. It is impatient of the doctrine of gradualness." Simon Commission Report, vol. i, p. 406.

Nothing of the kind. Indians think that they have waited for self-rule longer than they ought to have done. They are not impatient of the doctrine of gradualness. What they are impatient of is the doctrine of indefinite gradualness, the doctrine namely, that they must wait for an indefinitely long period at the end of which (if there be any voluntary end !) others may or may not agree to their having freedom.

The Simon Septemvirate have dished up the old saw, "Rome was not built in a day," in new phraseology for modern consumption. They want to tell us thereby that as Britain and some other self-governing countries took centuries to evolve and learn to work their present advanced political institutions, India ought not to expect to be self-ruling in the course of what they consider a short period. From the historical primers which we read at school we did indeed learn that it took Rome centuries to grow from the collection of huts, which Romulus and Remus may have built, into a city of palaces and cathedrals with magnificent suburban villas. But in later times, it did not take quite as much time to build Washington, Melbourne, Sydney, San Francisco, Chicago, or *New Delhi*.

The modern up-to-date steam engines of various sorts can trace their descent to Hero's apparatus, constructed in Alexandria in about 130 B. C. If a student of mechanical engineering now wants to learn how to make a steam engine, does he begin with making Hero's apparatus, then after eighteen centuries does he make Savery's pumping engine (1698 A. D.), then Newcomen's atmospheric engine (1705 A D.), and so on, receiving his final lesson in 1930 after 130 + 1930 = 2060 years ? That would require several re-incarnations and at each re-incarnation possession of the accumulated knowledge, experience and dexterity of previous incarnations. As a matter of fact, mechanics learn to make steam engines in a few years.

The marvels of modern chemistry have grown from the days of the alchemists in the course of centuries. But the modern student of chemistry learns the science, not by toiling for centuries through a hundred births and re-incarnations, but in less than a decade.

Primitive man made his dug-out or canoe millenniums ago. Subsequent generations of men took thousands of years to gradually build better boats, merchant vessels, warships, steamers, etc. But at present the youth apprenticed to the ship-building trade does not begin with dug-outs or canoes but with the most up-to-date vessels, mastering the art of building the latest passenger and cargo ships and superdreadnoughts in a few years.

The modern mechanic who wants to manufacture all sorts of weapons for the army and the navy, does not go to a museum to see how the palaeolithic and the neolithic men made their stone hatchets or flint spearheads and arrowheads or bone implements, and does not spend thousands of years in imitating them. Nor does he pass on next to the manufacture of bronze weapons and implements, spending millenniums in the process, and then passes on to the iron age. No : he learns in the course of a few years to make machine guns, 16 inch cannon, shells, torpedoes, high-power explosives, etc. If he be commercially inclined, he learns in less than a decade to make any kind of

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machines used in factories. The modern Japanese did so learn from the West and are now teaching and helping the West in some cases.

Coming to political education, let us first take the case of the American Negroes. Their forefathers in Africa belonged to an uncivilized race. They were captured and taken to America to slave in the plantations. They remained slaves till 1863. Then they were made legally free and got the vote. Millions of them have cast their votes as intelligently or unintelligently as any Nordic in America. But, according to the British Tory doctrine of "gradualness," they should not have been given the franchise all at once. They should have been given at first some political institution instead, more primitive than the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot to experiment with. After several centuries of struggle and experience, they should have got something like Simon de Montfort's parliament. And after a thousand years' political training they might have qualified for the American franchise—according to British imperialist die-hards.

Similarly, according to these British imperialist die-hards, when about seventy years ago the Japanese wanted a constitutional form of government, they ought by no means to have adopted a more modern system than that which existed in the days of Alfred the Great. After ten or twelve centuries they might have aspired to have something like the modern British Parliament, American Congress or German Reichstag. But they had no Simon Commission to patronize and advise them. And so they were ambitiously foolish and tried all at once to combine the good features of the modern British, French, German and American representative institutions. They have now had some sort of constitutional government for more than half a century and have grown enlightened, prosperous, healthy and powerful under it. It is very sad that they have not totally failed—even to please British and Anglo-Indian die-hards and fossils.

A similarly great *un*-evolutionary mistake made has been the granting of responsible self-rule to the Filipinos by America within less than two decades after their conquest by the Yankees ; and a section of the latter now want to make the Philippines independent.

What a pity that the Americans have had no political evolution expert like the Simon Seven !

Turkey and Persia have adapted and adopted modern representative institutions without serving even a year's apprenticeship to British imperialists. Both these countries—particularly Turkey, are more prosperous than British-ruled India.

I will now take the case of Poland. The following question and answer in the House of Commons on April 26, 1917 should be instructive :—

Mr. H. Samuel (L-Cleveland), for Mr. Asquith, asked whether His Majesty's Government was now in a position to make any statement in regard to Poland.

Mr. Bonar Law : As the House is aware, one of the first acts of the Russian Provisional Government was to issue a proclamation to the Poles recognizing their right to decide their own destinies, and stating that the creation of an independent Polish State would be a sure guarantee of durable peace in Europe. (cheers). I am confident I rightly interpret the feeling of this House when I say we welcome the declaration, and look forward to the time when, thanks to the liberal and statesmanlike action of the Provisional Russian Government—(cheers)—Poland will appear again in international life, and take her share with other Nations in working for the common good of civilization. (Cheers). Our efforts in the war will be directed towards helping Poland to realize her unity on the lines described in the Russian Proclamation, that is to say, under conditions which will make her strong and independent. We hope that after the War Great Britain will remain united to Poland in bonds of close friendship. (Cheers).

India has been under the subjection of only one power—Britain. Poland, before 1917, was partitioned between Germany, Austria and Russia, and was under their despotic rule for a longer period on the whole than India has been under British rule. Many British authors and journalists have written that the oppressors of Poland never made any efforts to fit her for self-rule. On the other hand, the British rulers of India claim that they have been continually giving Indians a training in the art of self-government. And the achievements of the Poles in all spheres of human endeavour, including the art of government, cannot be said to surpass those of the Indians. Nor have they won their freedom by a war of independence. But in 1917 British statesmen acknowledged with enthusiasm that Poland was fit for immediate independence. Where, then, was the doctrine of "gradualness" ?

The practical acquaintance of the Indian people with representative institutions, both in ancient and in modern times, is neither more superficial nor of shorter duration than that of the American Negroes, the Japanese

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before the sixties of the last century, the Filipinos, the Turks, the Persians, the Poles and those Asiatic nationalities which are included in the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics of Russia and some of which never before the Russian Revolution had any literature. We hope we are not the most dull and incompetent people on earth. Then why should we be subjected to the humiliation of being lectured on the doctrine of "gradualness"? If you do not want to practically recognize our right to immediate freedom, say so with brutal frankness. But, pray, do not trot out specious arguments and false history. They are easily seen through.

The art of statesmanship, like all other arts, is and can be learnt in a single lifetime. The British baby who afterwards grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. British infants are no more born with the general's baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolie's spade and hammer or the clerk's pen. Given the same opportunity and facilities, the Indian baby is sure to equal any other baby in development. If statecraft were entirely or mainly inherited, all or most of the descendants of all or most statesmen would have become statesmen themselves, and few boys whose fathers were not statesmen could have become such. Abraham Lincolns would then have been impossible. Asquith and Lloyd George learnt what they did in their own lifetime; Count Okuma learnt what he did, in his own lifetime. So did Dadabhai Naoroji. And so did Asoka, Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shivaji, and others. Their ancestors did not pile up knowledge and experience of statecraft for them and physiologically transmit it to them. There may or may not be some truth in hereditary talent or racial characteristics. But it has always been a conscious or unconscious trick on the part of the few in possession of power and privilege to try to persuade the many outside the pale to believe that birth, individually or racially, is the sole or most dominant determining factor in the making of the destiny of individuals and nations. In India the trick succeeded to so great an extent that for countless generations most Sudras have continued to our own day to believe that it is only by acquiring merit during many re-incarnations that they can become Brahmans or "twice-born." But now the spell has largely broken. Many castes, hitherto known as Sudras, now claim to be "twice-born." This is hardly the time to claim for Britishers the position of political Brahmanhood, to be attained by the Indian political Sudras after an indefinitely prolonged period of political apprenticeship.

Even a tyro in the theory of human evolution knows that the human embryo successively assumes in its mother's womb shapes like those of many lower animals. It repeats in its life the process of evolution of the many species of animals as it were. But in its case the whole process takes only months, where the actual process of the evolution of different species of animals took æons. Similarly, in political evolution, where one nation took a thousand years to perfect its constitution, another nation can so profit by its experience and example that it can learn in a decade what the former took many centuries to evolve. The improvement of the human race would have been impossible, if every people had to repeat in its own life the whole tedious process of civilization in each of its aspects. But fortunately, though the evolution of a thing or the discovery of a truth or a method may take a long time, involve great labour and require much genius, the acquisition of a knowledge of them is a very much shorter and easier process.

Statesmanship, administration, can be learnt like many other things. The successful management of the affairs of a country is neither so mysterious nor so intricate and complicated a matter as to be beyond the powers of Indians to tackle and master. The historian Lecky says:

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary natural gifts. The art of management, whether applied to public business or to assemblies, lies strictly within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendental abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy and industry.

"In the immense majority of cases, the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few, and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties, that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen, and those things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice."

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So, it does not require generations or centuries *to learn* statecraft, though it may have taken centuries *to evolve and perfect* the art; just as it does not take generations or centuries to learn any other art, science or craft, though the latter may have arrived at their present state of perfection or maturity after centuries. In the case of all other arts this fact has been tacitly admitted; but it seems to be denied in the case of statesmanship. Facts, however, with their incontrovertible logic, have come to the rescue of all struggling and aspiring nations. What others have achieved within a comparatively short period, we may also achieve. For both in ancient and modern times India has produced great spiritual teachers and thinkers, great literary men, great artists, philosophers and scientists, great statesmen and great captains of industry. And different kinds of genius, talent and capacity are not separate and independent entities; they are organically connected and correlated. Hence if a nation gives evidence, as India has done, of genius, talent and ability in some spheres of human activity, it is safe to presume that it possesses the power to shine in other spheres of activity, too, if only it be allowed the opportunity to do so.

Our great men, ancient and modern, are not sports or freaks of nature. The biggest trees are usually found, not in the midst of treeless deserts, but in tracts where there are trees only less big than themselves. Take any age in any country and you will find that the most famous poet, scientist, statesman, general, etc., were not solitary individuals, but only the greatest among great men. So the existence of some great men among us is proof positive of a pretty high average of ability in our country for all kinds of work.

Comment and Criticism

[*This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the orginal contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.*—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Indian Cultural Propaganda Abroad.

To the Editor of *The Modern Review*:

I trust you will pardon me (if pardon is necessary) for writing you a brief note to invite special attention to an article in the March number of your *Review*, which seems to me of exceptional interest and importance of India, and indeed to nations outside of India. I refer to the article by Dr. Taraknath Das, entitled: "The Value of Cultural Propaganda in International Relations."

Dr. Das is coming to be widely known both in America and in Europe as a scholar possessing unusual knowledge of international problems and of world politics and world affairs generally. The subject which he considers in this article is so timely, and he discusses it with so large intelligence that I am asking him to re-publish his article in this country, which I hope he will do. Our largest minded political thinkers and educators are beginning to give attention to this line of thought more than they have ever done before. And I am sure that if they are afforded a chance to read Dr. Das' clear reasoning and wide array of facts, they will be impressed with their practical value. But if the article contains many important facts and suggestions for us here in America, does it not contain quite as many, or more, for India? Dr. Das believes it does, as is shown by the fact that he writes it for India. It seems to me that he is right, and that Indian leaders of all parties and names may with profit read it with care if they have not already done so, and read it again if they have read it once, and ponder its wise words.

Especially does Dr. Das' article seem to me of importance for India's consideration now, when she is struggling for freedom and a place once more among the world's great nations.

However, before closing, let me add a word to prevent misunderstanding. In nothing written above do I mean to urge that *cultural* propaganda is more important for India at this time than distinct *political* propaganda. Such, I am sure, is not Dr. Das' thought, as it is not mine. In my judgment, and I am sure in his, political propaganda abroad is India's supreme need, and should be carried on by every ligitimate means to the end that the world may understand the intolerable nature of India's bondage, and that thus a world-wide popular sentiment—a world-wide public opinion or general judgment—may be created in sympathy with her great and just struggle for self-government. But in carrying on political propaganda, the importance of cultural propaganda should not be forgotten or overlooked. Both are needed. Both should be promoted in every way possible. The cultural added to the political lifts it up to a higher level, and greatly increases its influence. Dr. Das' able article speaks for itself.

J. T. Sunderland

New York, April 28, 1930.

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[*Books in the following languages will be noticed*: *Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

JASHAN JOTISH DARPAN: *By Jashanmal Kimatrai, Hyderabad, Sind.*

This is a small book on Indian horoscopy of the usual type, but plainly told. The author is a professional astrologer and claims to have predicted many events of public importance, such as war, flood and famine, and challenges his rivals to dispute their truth. But he has not let the reader peep into his secrets in this book.

J. C. RAY

—

BRITISH BUDGETS: *Second Series, 1913-14 to 1920-21. By Sir Bernard Mallet, K. C. B. and C. Oswald George, B.Sc. (Econ.) (Macmillan, 1929, 20s net.)*

Sir Bernard Mallet's *British Budgets*, 1887-88 to 1912-13 is well known as a valuable book of reference on the financial measures introduced in England during the quarter of a century just preceding the outbreak of the great war. The present volume brings the narrative down to the year 1920-21 "which marked the highest point of revenue so far reached" in England. Though confined to a much shorter period, the interest in the second series is of a quite different kind from that of the first one. The present volume gives a quiet but fascinating review of gigantic financial efforts made by England to defeat no less gigantic foes.

The plan of the earlier volume has generally been followed in this volume. It begins with an able summary of the different budget estimates which is made very realistic, with extracts from speeches made in the House of Commons at the time. The last section of the book is confined to notes and comments by the authors on the budgets referred to in the first section and to a general review of British finance during the war. The remarks in this section show their impartial judgment and freedom from political bias. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of tables compiled from budget estimates and several other government publications. These will prove very useful for purposes of reference.

One interesting fact pointed out by the authors is the shifting of the burden from indirect to direct taxation, a process which became very much marked during the war period. Indirect taxes formed 42·5 p. c. of the total tax revenue in 1913-14, the proportion dropped to 20·5 p. c. in 1918-19. The great bulk of the direct taxes falls on the income-tax-paying class whereas indirect taxation is spread over the whole population. On account of the more sharply graduated income tax in combination with the supertax, "the real income available for saving or expenditure in the hands of the rich" as pointed out by Bowley and Stamp, "is definitely less than before the war" while the real earnings of manual workers have slightly increased. There has also been a considerable increase in the transfer of wealth to the wage-earning classes in the shape of various social services. "The total for this class of expenditure increased," as our authors remark, "from £63,157,551 in 1911 in England, Wales and Scotland to £ 175,802,489 in 1921." In India, however, all expenditure on social services has been sought to be curtailed on the plea of wartime stringency. The government in Britain, without proclaiming from house-tops to be the *ma-bap* of the common people, is pursuing Socialism, mainly in their interest, in two directions, firstly, by taxing the rich on a heavier scale and secondly by returning to the poor a part of the revenue in the shape of direct benefits.

It is not possible to deal here in detail with all the ten budgets included in the volume. We shall refer only to a few of their salient features. One outstanding fact is the increase of tax revenue from £ 163 millions in 1913-14 to £ 999 millions in 1919-20. Even if allowance is made for changes in the value of money, the extent of

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taxation in 1919-20 was about three times as high as in 1913-14. The bulk of this increased revenue came from pre-war taxes, the rates of which were considerably enhanced during the war. The authors therefore rightly observe that "the tax system of this country, as a whole, stood alone in Europe in its capacity for expansion to meet the emergency of war, and belied the fears of those who had advocated the broadening of the basis of taxation." But while praise is due to the wonderful elasticity of the British taxation system during the war, it is difficult to say whether a sufficient sum was raised by taxation, to meet war expenditure. During the period from 1914-15 to 1919-20, the total expenditure amounted to £ 11,259 millions, out of which only £ 4,073 millions came from revenue, "leaving an aggregate deficit of £ 7,186 millions to be met by borrowing."

Our authors do not agree with Philip Snowden's contention that the whole of the war expenditure might have been met by taxation, "if the Government had had the courage in the early days of the war to levy higher taxation." They observe that "there is clearly a limit beyond which taxation cannot be increased without very substantially affecting production." While this is quite true, we think that some of the war-time Chancellors of Exchequer are open to criticism for relying too much on loans for war expenditure. Thus in the first war budget of Mr. Lloyd George which was laid before the House of Commons on November 17, 1914, most of the new taxes proposed "was required to counterbalance a shortage of revenue" and almost the whole of the direct war expenditure was met by borrowing.

This has been justified by our authors on the grounds that "the industrial and commercial outlook was uncertain," "credit had not recovered from the shock of war" and that it was not possible to place national finance "on a satisfactory war basis at a single step." But it appears to us that one of the chief reasons for not imposing further taxation was that Mr. Lloyd George did not realize that the war would last so long. In his second war budget of May, 1915 which has been aptly described by the authors as one of "lost opportunity," the only important change in taxation proposed by Mr. Lloyd George was an increase of wine and beer duties which was abandoned shortly afterwards. "His failure to impose substantially increased taxation at this stage," as our authors observe, "has met with almost universal condemnation." The same criticism may be made also against Bonar Law's first war budget of May 2, 1917. While the total expenditure for 1917-18 was estimated by him at £2,290 millions, only £ 639 millions were expected to be derived from revenue.

Another defect of British financial policy during the war was the method of raising loans, through the manufacture of bank credits which led to inflation and rise of prices. Our authors point out that a moderate dose of inflation was necessary "to grease the wheels of the transition from peace to war organization of industry." But they admit that "the process of inflation was continued far beyond what could be justified on industrial grounds." The truth is that the process of inflation is like moving down an inclined plane. A moderate dose of inflation leads to further inflation. In the words of Marshall, on such occasions "prices rise because they have risen."

To conclude, we fully endorse the following remarks of the authors on British war finance:—

" ...failure to attain the optimum point of taxation, failure to reduce to a minimum all unnecessary consumption, and failure to avoid serious social discontent, must necessarily weaken the nation as a fighting unit, and in all these directions British financial policy undoubtedly failed. But failure to reach perfection does not necessarily call for unqualified condemnation. Rates of taxation, and its total amount, were increased to heights which, even allowing for the changes in the price level, would to the pre-war mind have seemed impracticable and incredible. British financial administration (on the expenditure side) and general financial policy during the war might have been very much better. Considering the difficulties they might easily have been very much worse. A doubtful consolation perhaps, but a consolation denied to some of the other belligerent nations."

J. C. SINHA

—

A HISTORY OF KAYASTHAS, FIRST PART. *By Gopinath Sinha Varma, B. A., L. T., 1927. Bareilly.*

What is the meaning of the word Kayastha ?—A question easier asked than answered—and which, however, frequently and variously asked, has been as frequently and variously responded to, without any final or definite result. Historical literature now ranks amongst its contributions works neither few in number nor inferior in excellence. Into its modes of operation, it fearlessly challenges the strictest enquiry. To the history of the Kayasthas, we consider the present volume to be a valuable addition. It might be expected that the materials used in the work would be no more than a repetition of the labours of the previous publications, or at least substantially so. But such is by no means the case; and he who attentively examines the work will be as much surprised as delighted at what is not only new but striking in the work now published.

The work contains a statement of all the facts in general and presents as occasion arises facts in full detail. To such a work it is impossible to do justice in a short review. All that we can say is that great things have been examined but they have not been by their angles and smaller sides. The method of treatment throughout is all but scientific. We are sorry to remark that with the copious materials at his command the author could not do the least justice to the descriptive and literary evidence. Had he been free from bias the work would have been an admirable success.

MONOGRAPH ON THE RELIGIOUS SECTS IN INDIA AMONG the Hindus. *By D. A. Pai, B. A. Bombay : The Times Press, 1928.*

It is an attempt to trace to the best of the knowledge of the writer the history of the origin rise and progress of the various religious movements amongst the Hindus. It, however, claims no merit for originality. The publication does not give evidence of great labour and research. Neither is the treatment based on a serious

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study of the materials. The author could not handle his resources with considerable critical acumen. In order to enhance the value of the work the author has added illustrations four of which have been executed in colours. They pretend to represent all the principal types and are printed on thick art paper. About a fourth part of the illustrations is unscientific. The author gives in front of page 60 the type of the worshipper of Siva called Siva-Bhakta of the time of Patanjali (150 B. C). How could the author warrant the type? These imaginary pictures are really dangerous specimens. The marks on the forehead, forearms and throat are far from being correct. The transliterations throughout the book have been eclectically made; they have nowhere been based on any particular system.

AMULYA CHARAN VIDYABHUSHAN

—

THE EXPECTANT MOTHER & HER BABY: *By Bodh Raj Chopra, M. B., Ch. B., Published by W. Green & Son Ltd., Edinburgh.*

The book, intended for the benefit of parents, is divided into eleven chapters. The first deals with infantile mortality, its causes; the second with the expectant mother and her health; the third with post-natal care; the fourth with infant feeding; the fifth with wet-nurse; the sixth with weaning; the seventh with artificial feeding; the eighth with hygiene of infancy; the ninth with the growth of the baby; the tenth with diseases of children, and the eleventh with mentaly-deficient child. The book will be useful to English-knowing women. The author speaks of girls being killed by their parents on account of extreme poverty. We profess ignorance of such a practice, specially in a country where a mother's affection is proverbial and poverty is considered a concomitant of Indian life. Another curious theory stated by the author is that richer classes procreate fewer babies. What we object to in the book is the advocacy of meat diet for a prospective mother. The Western authorities discourage meat diet on the ground that in pregnancy meat protein is ill digested and sometimes causes toxaemia leading to a very dangerous disease called Eclampsia.

The book is well got-up, and with the exception of a few errors, may be recommended to those interested in maternity and child welfare movement.

SUNDARI MOHAN DAS

—

TEMPLE BELLS (READINGS FROM HINDU RELIGIOUS LITERATURE): EDITED *by A. J. Appasamy, M. A., D Phil.; Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta, 1930. Pp. xi+148.*

This tastefully produced little volume offers, in nine chapters, over two hundred selections from Indian religious literature, in more or less rhythmical English. The range is wide and includes such moderns as Mr. C. R. Das and Tagore with semi-legendary writers and devotees of the past. The Rig-Veda, the Upanishads and the Puranas have been laid under contribution and nearly every part of India has been well-represented. Among those who have helped Dr. Appasamy in selection or translation are Dr. Satyendra Roy, Swami Shuddhananda Bharati and Mr. Cyril Modak.

It goes without saying it is a delightful book, whether to read systematically or merely to dip into. The one criticism which we would urge in spite of the answer in anticipation that has been given in the prefatory note, is that the division into chapters on the basis of the various aspects of spiritual life has been a somewhat strained and artificial one; there are many among these selections which would easily fit into one classification as well as any other. Another complaint would be on the score of a certain sameness of phrasing which, however, is unavoidable in a book of this nature. It is a book meant largely for the Christian reader, so that, at every step, there is a mental contrast between the Christian and the non-Christian points of view delicately suggested, in order to all appearances that it might form the basis for deeper study. But this, it must be admitted, is as much a hindrance as a help. Apart from this, the deliberate and almost showy attempt at classification produces notions of system which take away somewhat from the spontaneous enjoyment of utterances, which are, every one of them, essentially lyrical. Possibly, it would have been better to represent source after source, in bare chronological sequence, leaving the reader to make his own conclusion: the ground covered might also, perhaps, have been fruitfully narrowed with better results in intensive treatment.

B. B. ROY

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INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA: *By L. C. Jain, M. A., LL.B., Ph. D. Macmillan and Co. 1929. 8vo. Pp. xviii+274. Illustrated with maps and diagrams.*

A timely and important contribution to Indian Economics is made by Dr. Jain with his *Indigenous* Banking in India. What with his personal connections with the Jain community and what with his own attainments in Economics, he is well qualified for the work undertaken by him. One has no hesitation in saying that he has amply succeeded in throwing light on many obscurities of indigenous banking.

The first chapter is devoted to the history of indigenous banking. The description of banking and currency during early British days seems to be incomplete and inaccurate at places. Apparently Dr. Jain has not made use of Dr. J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals of Bengal*, which gives a detailed and comprehensive account of early Anglo-Indian currency. Thus Arcot rupees were not current in all parts of Bengal about 1777, as stated by the author. Nor is it correct to say that land revenue was not paid direct but through indigenous bankers.

The next chapter on the structure and functions of indigenous banking is very illuminating. Many new facts have been given. It is generally known that indigenous bankers have their own laws, own mercantile usages and own commercial instruments, but it was not known that they have their own Courts as well like the *gyara panch* of Indore.

The two following chapters repeat familiar story, but are marred by a few inaccuracies as

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are otherwise unsatisfactory. Postage stamps cannot be used on promissory notes; the half-anna and the anna stamps are postage *and* revenue stamps. The description of mortgages is too meagre to be of much use. The table of stamp duties is not up to date; the abolition of the stamp duty on *darsani hundis* by the Finance Act of 1927 has not been incorporated. An original *hundi* is not *khoka* as stated by the author; *hundi* when paid is called *khoka*. Exchange banks in Calcutta used to discount *hundis* during the War and after, but very recently there has been a great decline, partly due to the general decline in this business. Dr. Jain mentions some practices about secret transactions under the cover of cloth as curious, but these are not as rare as he imagines, being in vogue practically throughout India, *e. g.*, for jute in Bengal or for mangoes in Bombay. The *lawani* system mentioned by him is known as the *salta patra* system in Bengal.

In the next chapter on interest charges is to be found a table of rates from 1867 to 1927 (abridged from the valuable detailed table in the Appendix), which shows that the *hundi* rate exceeded the loan rate during the early years of the period but has been below it during recent years. This is a hopeful feature. For if the *hundi* rate moves in sympathy with the general money market conditions, indigenous banking may be reasonably expected to be fitted into the present organized European system. In this chapter also, there are a few errors. *Abwabs* are not charged by the managers of Bengal zamindars from borrowers at a fixed rate per cent per annum as stated by the author. That is *sood* or interest.

In the section on Agricultural Indebtedness, only Jack's work is mentioned for Bengal. Valuable data are available in Settlement Reports for Jessore, Dacca etc. The early history of joint stock banking ignores latest researches on the subject. Thus it is no longer correct to say that Messrs. Alexander and Co. set up the first bank on European lines in 1770. Even if we leave out the Madras Government bank of 1683 and the Bombay Government bank of 1720, which may not be regarded as banks in the strict sense of the term, mention must be made of the bank established by the Dutch East India Co. in Bombay in 1746. The Bengal Bank was not in existence from 1790 to 1800,—a statement shown to be incorrect in a recent book on the early history of Indian banking included in the Bibliography.

In fact, it is these unfortunate incursions into matters not strictly relevant, which have somewhat detracted from the value of the book. The author's description and criticism of indigenous banking proper are valuable and provide stimulating reading.

H. SINHA

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PEACE, POWER AND PLENTY: *By O. S. Marden: 3rd Edition. 1927. Re. 1-8. V. K. Iyer and Co., Madras. 177 pp.*

A metaphysical book. The author shows that the body is the mind externalized. Man can be the master of his environments. An example is cited on page 14. A certain person gave up his stingy thoughts, and became opulent. This was by determination and work, and no game of chance like backing Trigo. We recommend the book to those who dream of wealth without actual efforts.

JAYA AND JAYANTA, *a Drama, by Nanalal Dalapatram Kavi, translated by U. K. Oza. Health Cranton Ltd., London. 4-6. pp. 188.*

This is an English translation of the great Guzrati poet Nanalal's drama. Is love possible under certain circumstances? That is the question answered in the drama.

The heroine took "a vow never to marry and to lead a life of spiritual chastity" (p 6). On page 188 we have "an heavenly etheroplane." On p. 178 we read "descend in every court." The translator's English is not unimpeachable, since he erroneously uses 'and' which changes the meaning, and 'an' which is pedantic or ridiculous, and 'in,' which is not appropriate. The book is full of such blemishes which disfigure it. Nor can we call this good poetry:—"Lend me bow and arrow yours." What is meant by "tune O'life" (p. 101) is not clear, since the capital 'O' baffles analysis. The reviewer has in vain searched for real poetry through the book. The only portion he can quote as tolerably nice is this, and still he cannot understand 'doet':

Cuckoo sweet!
Come to my lap!
If thou doet, I may start
A tale of love.

CRITIC

—

RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION OF INDIA, *Vol. I. By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A., D. D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A., 210-6 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. pp. 236. Price Rupees two.*

We congratulate Dr. Sarkar on the production of this book in spite of his failing health. There are 21 chapters in the book. In five chapters he describes the religious ideal of the Vedas and in ten chapters, of the important Upanishads. In the last chapter (21st) he briefly alludes to the religious ideal of different schools of Indian philosophy. The exposition, though brief, is clear and is on the whole reliable; it is worth reading.

(1) There are a few mistakes in the book some of which are pointed below. In one place he says: "The belief in re-birth and the desire for liberation from it had not been quite definite in the Upanishads" p. 227. But those were fully developed, even in the *Birhadaranyaka* and *Chhandogya* Upanishads. It may be remarked here that in an earlier chapter he writes: "The well-known doctrine of transmigration has been firmly grasped in the Upanishad" p. 140.

(2) He writes in one chapter that Uddalaka Aruni and his son Swetaketu both went to Prabahana Jaibali, king of the Panchalas to receive spiritual instructions pp. 135-36. It is a mistake. It is only the father who went to the king, the son refusing to accompany him.

(3) In the Upanishads Brahman is described as *anandam*. Its true meaning is that God is bliss. But our author has tried to Christianize the Upanishads by interpreting it as God is love. We have examined all the passages in which the term *anandam* occurs and nowhere can we

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interpret it as *love*. Even in the *Brahma Sutras* it means *bliss* or highest joy.

How Theosophy Came to Me: *By the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, pp. 161. Price Rupee one.*

In this book the author briefly describes the Theosophic movement in India. A short description is also given of Madame Blavatsky, the founder of the Society and some other prominent followers.

Mahes Chandra Ghosh

—

List of the Heads of Administration in India and of the India Office, England (*Corrected up to 1 October, 1928*): *Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929. Price Rs. 3.*

This very useful handbook gives the names of the Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the East India Company, 1773-1858, the Presidents of the Board of Control, 1784-1858, Secretaries of State for India since 1858, the Chiefs and Agents in Bengal 1633-1700, Governors of Bengal 1698-1774, Governors General from 1774 to 1858, the Viceroys from 1858 and those of all the heads of Administration and of important departments from the earliest times to 1928. It will be very helpful to the student of Indian history and will surely find a place in his reference library.

An Indian in Western Europe: *By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I. C. S.; R. C. S. Maniam, Bangalore, 1929.*

This is a very entertaining book. It relates the story of a young student sprung from an orthodox Brahman family of Madras, who went to England to study for the I. C. S., examination and had his share of the experiences, humorous and solemn, that fall to the lot of an Indian student in England. The best things in the book in our judgment are to be found in the account of the voyage and of 21, Cromwell Road. Generalizations about the West, English life and manners of which there is some in the book are not so good, naturally lacking the sureness of touch which springs from intimate personal contact.

X

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BENGALI

Vatayana (A volume of Poems): *By Uma Devi with a foreword by Rabindranath Tagore.*

A volume of poems that comes to us so elegantly dressed carries with it a recommendation which it is impossible to resist. But her publisher's taste, care and skill are not the only recommendations that Uma Devi's book possesses. Her poetical inspiration as well as its expression have a freshness rare to find in those days in Bengali poetry. The first thing about these poems that strikes a reader is their concreteness. In their eager search for the poetical, too many poets of to-day are prone to forget that the most poetical thing in this world is life, and no dream, however sweet, can be its proper substitute. In these poems, at any rate, the authoress does not pretend to write about anything she has not seen. She has looked out of her window upon a wedding in a slum, the quarrel of a Hindustani labourer with his wife over their toddling child, a small goat tied at the door of a hut, and all these familiar matters of our humble working days with the play of her feelings up on them have produced these cameos of sympathy and observation and colour.

N. C. C.

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HINDI

Rastriya Mang: *By Mr. Bhagavati Prosad Pande, B. A. Published by Mr. Krishnaram Mehta at the Leader Press, Allahabad. 1929. Pp. 244.*

Political literature in Hindi is enriched by this collection of the history and findings of the various committees formed for presenting the national demand of India. The Nehru Committee and the All-Parties Conference are the prominent bodies which faced the practical difficulties and submitted their recommendations. The various aspects of the national demand have been discussed from the view points of various communities and interests.

Vartaman Bharat: *Translated by 'Yash.' Published by Naraindutta Sahgal & Sons, Lahori Gate, Lahore, 1929. Pp. 207.*

"Modern India"—the original of this book written in English by Mr. R. Palmi Datta, the Editor, *Labour Monthly*, attempts at studying the modern problems of the country from the side of the labourer. Besides the usual topics of imperialism, economic drain, communalism, we have here the story of the development of labour organizations in India and their relation to international and British labour groups. There are portraits of some Indian leaders.

Manava-Dharma: *By Mr. Hanuman Prasad Poddar. Published by Ghanasyam Das, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1929. Pp. 107.*

This small book deals with the ten virtues enjoined in the *Manu-Samhita*, VI. 92.

Ramesh Basu

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GUJARATI

Abhinav Kamshastra: *By Vaidyaraj Bapalal G. Shah. Published by M. C. Kothari of Baroda, cloth bound: Pp. 369. Price Rs. 2-8 (1930).*

The English equivalent of the title of the book is "The Laws of Sexual Philosophy." The writer is a medical man, well versed in his craft, as he has published works bearing on his profession, which show a deep study of his subject—Indian medicine. In writing the book under notice, he has made use of standard works of the East as well as the West; all throughout, he has taken care to give his own suggestions and observations, which are shrewd and of value. The treatment of the subject is technical.

Brahmacharya Sandesh: *By Hardev Prabhuram Vaidya. Published by the Managers of the Kanam Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar, Karjan, paper cover, pp. 208. Price Re. 1 (1930).*

"Confidential Talks to Young men," this is how the author describes his book. It is an

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attempt to explain to young men the mystery of sex relations, and is a translation of a Hindi book written by Prof. Satyavrata Siddhanta Alankar of the Kangadi Gurukul. The creed of Brahmacharya is vigorously pleaded, and young men are told many unpleasant things, which they are earnestly asked to eradicate from their character and behaviour. The translation is made in simple language.

K. M. J.

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BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Report on the Educational Survey in Mysore (1927-28)—By K. N. Kini, M.A., (Hons.)

Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya Cult of Bengal—By Manindra Mohan Bose.

Labour and Housing in India—By Raj Bahadur Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.

The Cotton Textile Industry—By M. P. Gandhi.

Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta—By Lakshman Swarup.

Mysticism in Bhagabat Gita—By Mahendranath Sarkar.

Individual Psychology—By Erwin Wexberg, M.D.

The Evolution of Modern Marriage—By F. Müller-Lyer.

Vedanta Philosophy—By S. K. Belvelkar.

Dream Hours and Dynamic Health—By H. P. Kaku.

Lord Hastings and the Indian States—By M. S. Mehta.

Shivaji in Marathi.

Indian Islam—By Murray T. Titus.

Noviale Lexike—By Otto Jespersen.

An Introduction to Dravidian Philosophy.

The Indian Constitution—By D. N. Banerjee.

Economic Trends in Soviet Russia—By A. Yugoff.

Bihar Co-operation—By Sadashiva Prasad, M.A.

Imprisonment—By Lieut. Col. F. A. Barker.

The Quest for Certainty—By John Dewey.

Swaraj Constitution—By K. S. Venkatavamani.

A Study of the Principles of Politics—By George E. G Catlin.

Philosophy Without Metaphysics—By Edmond Holmes.

Mystical Theory of Soul and a Personal God—By Goolab Chand Lall.

Dwaita Philosophy—By S. B. Achar.

The Political Situation in Dacca before the Disturbances

[To prevent misconception on the part of those who do not know, it is necessary to state that all sections of Musalmans did not take part in the recent disturbances. In order to understand the true significance of these sinister events, some other facts also require to be known. Some of them are contained in the following paragraphs taken from a statement prepared by a Committee of the Dacca Bar Association after taking evidence.—Editor, *M. R.*]

BEFORE the recent disturbances the Dacca Mohammedan public was not anti-Congress, as will appear from the following facts:

Mohammedan students hoisted the National Flag on the Independence Day, 26th January, 1930. The Hall was also brilliantly illuminated on that day. Mohammedan youths joined the procession which came out on that day to celebrate the Independence Day. There were also processions consisting exclusively of Mohammedan boys who paraded the streets with the cries, "Mahatma Gandhi Ji-Ki-Jai," "Bandemataram," "Alla-Ho-Akbar." Although there was a fracas on the 26th January and a communal turn was sought to be given to the rioting which followed, it soon subsided chiefly through joint Hindu-Mohammedan intervention. Mixed batches of Hindu and Muslim University volunteers patrolled the streets at night. Good feeling was soon restored between the two communities by the wise and patriotic actions of the two sections, Hindu and Mohammedan, of the Dacca public.

Then the Mahatma inaugurated his Civil Disobedience Movement on the 6th of April and launched his crusade against the Salt Law. The movement caught the imagination of the masses. It appealed to the Dacca masses as it did to the masses of the rest of India. The Mohammedan masses at Dacca did not keep themselves aloof from the movement. Daily meetings were held in the Coronation Park. These meetings were attended and addressed by Mohammedans. There was a very large attendance of the Mohammedan youths at a meeting held to read proscribed literature.

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Mohammedan volunteers went to Contai to break the Salt Law there. Mohammedan volunteers, along with the Hindus, picketed the liquor shops. The Mohammedan public helped the picketers whenever they were in trouble due to the ruffianism of the *goondas* and drunkards. Indeed, at the predominantly Mohammedan quarters such as Kumartuli, Islampur, Sachibandar, Moulavi Bazar and Nawabganj, picketing would have been impossible without the assistance of the Mohammedans of the locality. Cigarettes were boycotted by both Hindus and Mohammedans spontaneously without much propaganda. *Biris* replaced the cigarettes, by which the Mohammedans profited very much, as the *biri* manufacturers are mostly Mohammedans. At a meeting of the cloth-dealers and tailors and outfitters held at the Dacca Bar Association at the instance of the Congress the Mohammedan dealers and shopkeepers mustered strong and a resolution boycotting foreign cloth was unanimously carried, two Mohammedans and two Hindus proposing, seconding and supporting the resolution.

Since a long time there had been two parties amongst the Dacca Mohammedans. One led by Khajeh Atikulla, President of the 22 Panchayets of Dacca and the other by Syed Abdul Hafeez, President of Islamia Anjuman. These two parties held separate demonstrations during the Civil Disobedience Movement. Atikulla's party held two meetings at Paltan. The other party also held two such demonstrations, one at the Coronation Park and the other at Ashan Manzil. It will, therefore, be seen that the cleavage between the two parties was sharp. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations were held to increase the adherents of each party. The supporters of the Panchayet party consisted mostly of the town people, while those of the Anjuman were Mohammedans from the outlying villages.

On 15-4-30 a Hartal was held at Dacca on account of the arrest of the Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress. No other Hartal at Dacca had been so much successful. Both Mohammedans and Hindus enthusiastically joined the Hartal. Both Hindu and Mohammedan shops were closed. Hackney coach drivers, who are all Mohammedans, ceased to ply their carriages on that day. Then there was an incident at Sankhari Bazar mentioned hereafter. On 5-5-30 there was a notice signed by both parties that a mosque had been desecrated by the Sankharies and declaring Hartal on 6-5-30. The Congress also notified that Hartal would be held on 6-5-30 on account of the arrest of Dr. Kitchlew.

Syed Abdul Hafeez, President of the Anjuman, thereupon issued a notice prohibiting the Hartal on 6-5-30. In that notice he denied that he had ever signed any notice declaring Hartal. In the meantime Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and Hartal was spontaneously observed at Dacca on that day. Syed Hafeez tried his utmost to open the shops, but failed.

Glimpses of the Dacca Disturbances

[*Being extracts translated from letters received from Dacca*]

I

May 28, 1930.

THE condition of Dacca is critical and dreadful. People are being killed and dwelling houses and shops are being looted and burned down by Musalmans. An inhabited area in front of Dacca Hall, Dacca University, has been devastated. In one house, there were, among other members of the family, two young unmarried girls. Their father was absent from Dacca. Their eldest brother had been arrested two days before the event. The mob attacked this house—presumably for the offence that that gentleman, named Babu Bhabesh Nandi, had a sort of gymnasium where he taught both boys and girls the arts of self-defence! For a long time the two girls resisted the attack of hundreds of hooligans and defended their honour and their house. Three lecturers of Dacca University, Messrs. Bhabanicharan Guha, Rukminikanta Purakayastha and Hari Prasanna Mukherji, who were neighbours, protested against the cowardice of the mob, and at length came out of their houses to resist the attack. So the hooligans, refraining from molesting the girls further, ran to attack these gentlemen. Thereupon they

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re-entered their houses and shut the doors. Not being able to enter these houses, the Musalmans set fire to the houses with petrol. The Moslem mob included even old men and boys of eight or ten. After setting fire to the houses of the lecturers, the mob proceeded to set fire to other houses. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the lecturers effected their escape by jumping down from the upper storey of their houses, sustaining injuries thereby.

The police arrived two hours and a half after the attack on the Nandis' house. Then some 700 men, women and children, leaving their dwelling-houses to their fate, took refuge in Dacca Hall, and are there now. Mr. Kadiri, Deputy Superintendent of Police, escorted the Nandi family up to the Dacca Museum, which is close to Dacca Hall. Thence they were escorted to Dacca Hall by Mr. Kadiri's chaprasi.

[The attack on the Nandis' house is described in detail in letter IX].

This being vacation time, most students of Dacca Hall have gone home, only 40 examinees being left there. They have taken upon themselves the onerous duties of hosts to these 700 people. The Musalmans are keeping watch over all shops near Dacca Hall and threatening the shopkeepers with death in case they sold even a pice worth of things to the Hall people. There are no provisions in the store-room of the Hall. Within sight of the people there, the mob looted the coal-shop and the rice-shop. The Hall students, some of them themselves fasting, are serving their guests, nursing the wounded, and guarding all avenues of approach to the Hall to prevent attack, keeping awake all night. The Musalman hooligans are enraged against Dacca Hall—why did it shelter so many refugees? They threaten to see how long the Hall can protect them. The students are 'smuggling'* in provisions, risking their lives and carrying the things themselves. They never ask where they will get so much money. They are spending their last pice to serve the stricken refugees. It is some consolation to get a glimpse of the good in the midst of so much that is vile, dreadful and wicked. God is making people ready to fight against wrong.

I have been charmed with the conduct of the wife of one lecturer of Dacca University. When the mob attacked the house



The Nandi Family

of the Nandis, which was defended mainly by two girls, the latter blew a bugle as a signal of danger. The Hall boys were ready to go out to face even certain death at the hands of the mob, though their elders were restraining them. At this juncture, the lady mentioned above bade her son go out to help those in distress. The boy leaped out, but others prevented him. The lecturer took his wife to task: "Being a mother, you were throwing your son into the jaws of death?" She calmly replied: "But the women in distress are also mothers; they, too, have sons."

The students of the Dacca Hall are busy day and night in doing everything possible for the refugees numbering hundreds. People are running away from Dacca. But so long as a single refugee is in the Hall, the students

* There is unconscious humour in the use of the word 'smuggling' in the original Bengali letter: for when there is temporary *goonda-raj* in any locality, and looting becomes the recognized method of obtaining supplies, the honest legal purchase of things must be called smuggling. Ed., *M. R.*

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cannot leave it. They are living in a beleaguered fortress, as it were.

II

June 1, 1930

Last night a census of the Dacca Hall refugees was taken. There are still 69 men, 74 women and 107 children there. Even those among them who have lost their all and been wounded are afraid of telling the names of their assailants. Representatives of the Hindu Sabha and the Congress came to enquire. But the refugees did not disclose the names of any assailants, though they said that they knew many—some being neighbours. They even said that they had seen the motor car of a certain rich and influential Muhammadan moving about among the mob during the attack. When policemen came after the loot, they simply told the Moslem mob to go away, but searched the houses of the Hindus for weapons! The fire-arms of those Hindus who fired them in self-defence are being taken away by the Police. Mr.—, a police officer, is said to have himself taken away home a mounted tiger-skin from a looted house when he went to inspect it. It is rumoured that some policemen carried off the remnants of looted cloth-shops in motors. Yesterday I went over some parts of the town with the Hindu Sabha people. I saw some Musalmans carrying bags of rice on the roof of a hackney carriage and tins of ghee and oil within. In the Chowk, near the jail, yesterday rice was sold at Rs. 3 per maund and ghee at Re. 1 per seer. Whether the police have noticed this, or if they have, how the sellers have explained the low prices, I do not know.

If Hindus complain, Englishmen mockingly say: "Go to your Gandhi and get Swaraj." Hindus do not still move about in the streets, Moslems do so in small numbers. Markets and shops are almost all closed. Hindus have opened two markets where Hindus buy things; but those belonging to neighbourhoods at some distance dare not go there.

A Maulvi connected with an educational institution was saying the other day that some Musalmans complained that while they were carrying off an iron safe, the police snatched it away from their hands, broke it open and made off with what it contained, not giving them anything! I saw yesterday many jewellers' shops which had been looted and burned down.



The damaged exterior of "Madhabananda Dham" in Kayettuli--the house of a senior Deputy Magistrate

Some Hindus also in a few places have looted a few Molsem shops. But these were small concerns—here a tailor's shop, there a shop for selling fuel, and so on. The owners of these have, of course, lost their whole stock. But the Dacca Musalmans as a body have lost comparatively little. The Musalman mobs have done incredibly horrible and wicked things. Many of them had a grudge against the picketing of ganja and liquor shops, because they could not easily get liquor and ganja. Designing parties have turned this grudge to their own advantage.

III

June 3, 1930

The nephew of—(a famous intellectual) took refuge in Dacca Hall with his wife, just delivered of a baby, passing through a street on fire, with the help of a European nurse. It seemed as if this would be the climax of the tragedy. But something more unimaginable was in store: yesterday a lady refugee gave birth to a child there, and another lady died.

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She belonged to a wealthy family. Their splendid mansion, named "Sushila-Nibas," has been looted and partly burned by the wicked mob, their motor car has been reduced to ashes. The young lady felt this shock greatly. Last night she went to bed as usual. In the morning, seeing that she was late in awaking, her relatives tried to rouse her from sleep but found her dead. There are so many wounded men, women and children here; but no doctors have peeped in to enquire. It has fallen to untrained hands to do the work of doctor or midwife.

A relief committee has been formed at Dacca. I hear the Nawab has given a thousand rupees to it and another thousand has been promised by Babu Ramanath Das. This sum will quite suffice to make good the loss of the few Musalmans who have suffered; but who will make good the loss of the many lakhs worth of property lost by the Hindus? So many panic-stricken wounded helpless people have taken shelter in Dacca Hall, but as yet no Government officer has gone there to enquire. Day before yesterday a spy is reported, no doubt, to have visited the place.

Shops and markets are still closed. The streets are deserted. The students of Dacca Hall are also leaving for home one by one, thoroughly fatigued. There are still about a dozen left.

Up to this time no rich man, except the Hindu Sabha and Congress people, has helped the Dacca Hall. Only a former student of Dacca Hall thrust Rs. 20 into the pocket of a lecturer the other day unasked.

IV.

June 5, 1930

The accounts which have appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 3rd and 4th are true. Villages near Dacca have begun to be looted. In the town also locks of unoccupied houses are being broken and the houses plundered. Musalmans are preventing Hindus willing to go back to their homes from doing so, and threatening them that it would be bad for them if they returned before the Muharram. Hindus do not buy things from Musalmans. Therefore, the Musalman plunderers are selling their loot through Hindu shop keepers by intimidating them. Some such shop keepers have kept their shops open. Coming to know this, some gentlemen have given up buying things from them.

Some Musalmans are blackmailing Hindus. Many of the families who have left Dacca, have been able to do so in safety by bribing Moslem hooligans. Many of those who have not been able to escape have to bribe them again and again for safety. They wanted Rs. 200 apiece from some lecturers. They did not agree and so had to leave their houses.



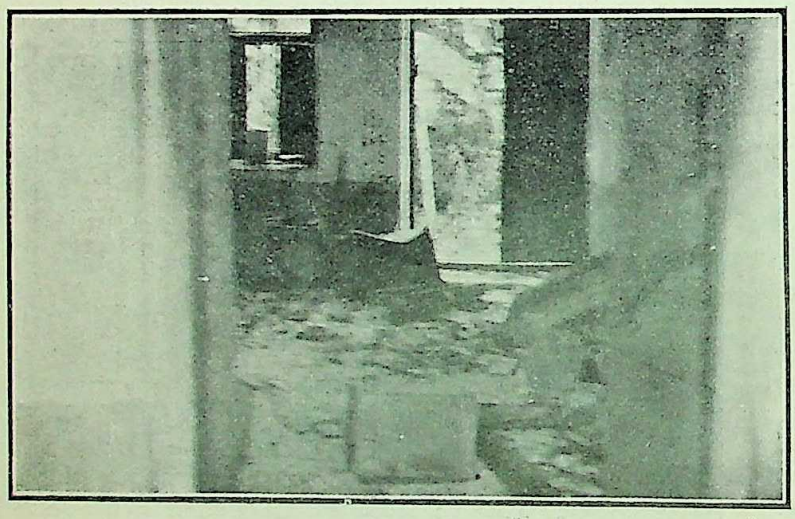
The less damaged front of "Sushila-Nibas"

Cannot those who represent Dacca in the Legislative Council or some other members ask the Government: (1) How many Hindus and Musalmans have been killed or wounded? (2) What are the losses of property of Hindus and Musalmans respectively? (3) How many Hindus and Moslems have been arrested? (4) Why did hundreds of Musalmans attack the house of Bhabesh Nandi *after he had been arrested*? (5) Why have the guns of those who fired in self-defence been taken away? (6) Is it a fact that on the 3rd June many Hindus were arrested with the help of Gurkhas in Nawabpur, Tikatuli, Wari and Thatheri Bazar merely on the information of two low-class Muhammedans? (7) When at 9 or

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10 in the morning several hundred Musalmans devastated Kayet-tuli, how many of them were arrested? (8) When at 10 at night Moslem hooligans burnt down Induprabha Cabinet Works near Babupura Police Section, did the police go there and arrest any (or how many) Muhammedans? (9) When loot and arson were going on in Nawabganj and other places near Lalbag Police Station, did the police go there and arrest any Musalmans? (10) Is it true that comparatively more Musalmans are released on bail than Hindus? (11) Have the police anywhere tried to prevent or stop looting during day or night?



A House in Kayet-tuli

V.

June 6, 1930

Mr. Mahendrakumar Ghosh, President of the Dacca Bar Association, and some other lawyers went to Dacca Hall to know things at first hand. It is stated that he has said that among his resolutions published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the third contained a definite complaint against the Superintendent of Police expressed in plain language. In the *Patrika* this has been described vaguely as a serious allegation. But the complaint, plainly worded, has been sent to the Viceroy's Private Secretary and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

VI.

June 6, 1930

Yesterday the Bengal Government has telegraphed to the Commissioner to institute enquiries. To-day the Magistrate Mr. Hollar and his wife went to Dacca Hall. Perha by taking his wife with him the Magistra wanted it to be understood that it was n an official visit. It is said, Mr. Hollan asked the owner of the fine mansio "Sushila-Nibas," seriously damaged by t plunderers and incendiaries, whether it w at night that that building was attacke The attack took place at half past nine i the morning, with fierce and loud cri uttered by a mob numbering hundre which could be heard from Dacca Ha And yet the Magistrate did not know whet that disgraceful incident took place night or during daytime It is also said the Magistra asked how many men to part in the attack and wheth they shouted. Further, M Holland is said to have aske whether there were a policemen present. He w told that many persons ha said that Mr. X., a hig police officer, was seen stan ing not far off from the plac

Many people in Dac have heard that a Governme official asked Mr. X., t abovementioned police offic why he did not fire and th he answered: "How cou I fire when Mr.—was himse present and did not fire It is rumoured Mr. X. al gave broad hints regarding the identity the instigator of the Dacca crimes.

It is reported, the Magistrate was furth informed at Dacca Hall that five or s constables had been heard to say that th were present at the time of the loot an arson at Kayet-tuli and could have stopp such things, but that they did not receive an orders. It is said that on being so informe the Magistrate observed, "What could 4 or constables do against 3 or 4 hundr men?—People say the police did no render any help—is that true?" On th Babu Radhikamohan Adhya, proprietor the fine mansion "Sushila-Nibas", which w looted and set fire to, and a Governme pensioner, is reported to have said "When the D. I. G. came to my hou many Musalmans were still there. He calm told them, '*Jao jao, chala jao*' (go

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move off). Then they went away, but nobody was arrested." After this the Magistrate left Dacca Hall. It is rumoured that an attempt was made to make him give an interview to the Nandi family, but that he did not agree to stay longer. This is reported to have been all the enquiry made after twelve days.

VII

June 7, 1930

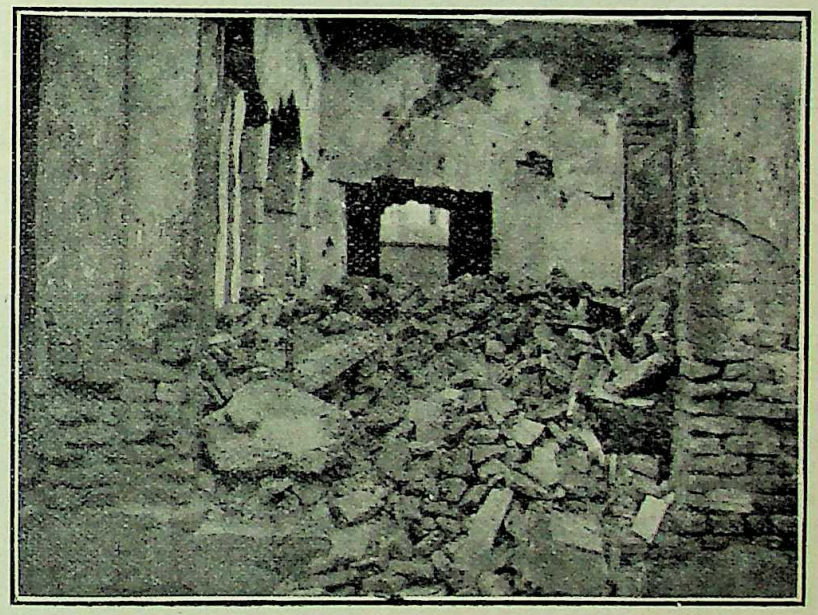
Yesterday in the afternoon a police daroga went to Dacca Hall to investigate and take down evidence. The sufferers said that they had seen Mr.—(a Police officer) present at the time of the loot; even Mr.—himself (a higher police officer) did not arrest any looters on his arrival, he only obliged them to move off; and that the hooligans looted the houses shouting, "—*sahab-ka hukum*," "—*saheb-ki jai*," (the person named being a rich Muhammedan). But the daroga did not take down these things. This was the kind of investigation made after some twelve days.

A titled and pensioned old gentleman went for help to a police station; phoned to another; phoned again to the central police office and, seeing the S. P. passing by in his motor, held up his hands in order to stop the motor and request him to give help; but did not succeed in getting it in any way. The mistri who painted the doors of his house when it was building was the man who entered his house and threatened him with a knife to blackmail him; the mulla of the masjid near his house had also threatened him. That was why he wanted help.

A short while after this two constables in plain clothes went to a shop to make purchases. Musalman *gundas* shut them up in a room and threatened them. One of them made good his escape and informed the police at Babupura police section. And then a police officer came with some of his men, rescued the other constable in plain clothes and arrested more than a dozen Muhammadans. The other hooligans concealed themselves in a mosque. The police officer was informed of this, but did nothing.

The police can recover much loot even now if the houses of some Musalmans are searched. It has become difficult to cremate dead bodies for fear of the hooligans. They go to the cremation ground and create disturbances there. At the time of the riots they killed two of the men carrying or following a corpse to the cremation ground.

In the midst of these wicked things, it is a relief to record incidents of a different character. One is that when a Hindu lecturer jumped down from the upper storey



A Grocer's Shop in Nawabganj, Dacca

of his burning house into a neighbouring house, a Musalman student disguised that gentleman as a Musalman and saved his life.

[The names of some other Musalmans who acted in a neighbourly manner are mentioned in a subsequent letter.]

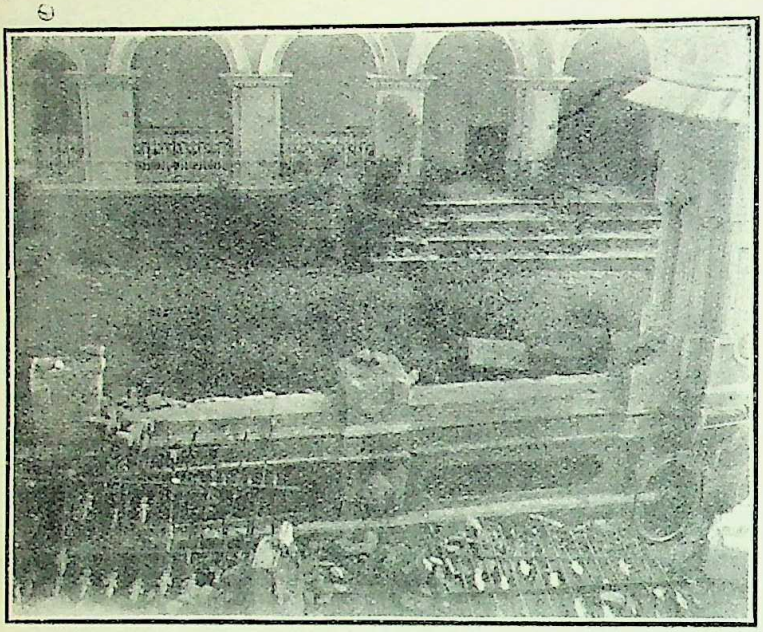
VIII

June 8, 1930

Some families went to Dacca Hall with only their scanty clothes on. Some have been able to recover some of their goods subsequently; some others have nothing left. An old pensioner sleeps with the students and is entirely dependent on them with his family.

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The burnt and wrecked front of "Sushila-Nibas" of Kayet-tuli. The owner is a Police Sub-Inspector living at Barisal.

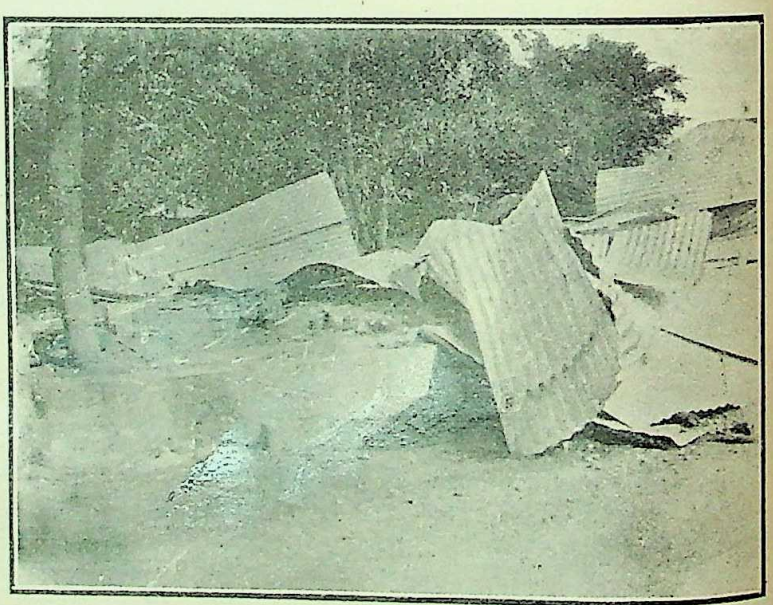
A Hindu Citizens' Relief Committee has been formed. They have helped the indigent families with rice and money, and have promised to purchase and bring rice for other families also who find it difficult to make purchases. In the bazaars every shop is watched by a few Musalman hooligans. They dictate how much is to be sold to this Babu or that; if more is given they threaten to loot the shop. Gradually more Hindu bazaars are being opened. The magistrate has been personally requesting the shopowners of these new bazaars to go to the old ones; but they say they are afraid to.

Day before yesterday in broad daylight a Dacca Hall refugee was suddenly threatened by two Musalmans with knives in a street. The gentleman faced them with a shoe in his hand, and another Hindu wayfarer accidentally came up. Thereupon the goondas made off.

IX.

June 8, 1930. Night.

After the arrest of Bhabesh Nandi all the members of the family except the father were at home. It was owing to Bhabesh Nandi that during the Janmashtami festivals in 1926 and after the Independence Day celebrations on the 26th January last that during the riots the Musalmans did not succeed in attacking Kayet-tuli (the quarter of the town where Bhabesh Nandi lived). This time Bhabesh not being at home, having been arrested, the Musalman mob attacked his house first. After the riots of 1926, Babu Prasanna Kumar Nandi, the old head of the family, who is a Government pensioner, fixed an iron gate on the staircase leading up to the upper storey. The gate opens away from the staircase. When the Musalman mob attacked the house the Nandis shut this gate and moved upstairs. The hooligans then entered the house, and began to throw brickbats upon the upper storey. Then the two sisters of Bhabesh, named Anindyabala and Amiyabala and their sister-in-law (wife of Bhabesh) went on resisting the attack by throwing brickbats

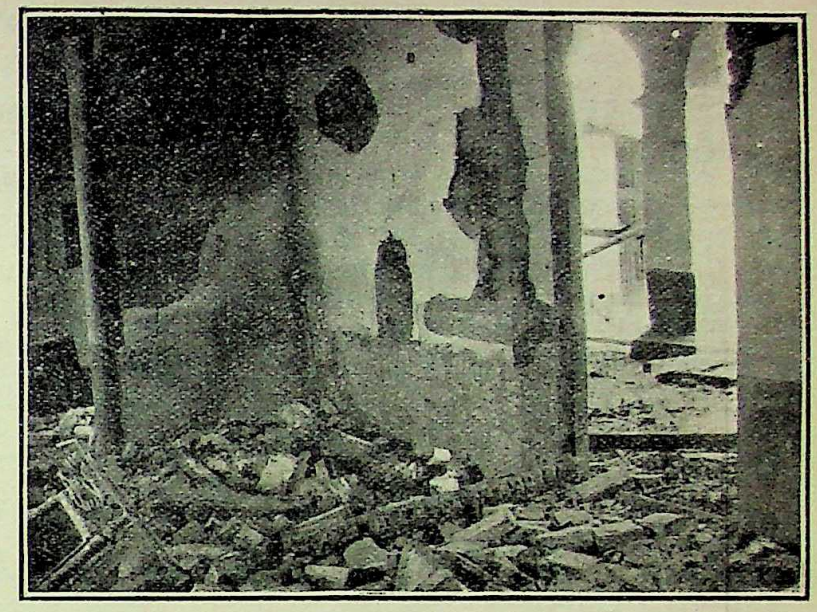


Induprabha Cabinet Works, Dewan Bazaar Dacca. Within two hundred yards of this house live the Muhammadan Registrar of the Dacca University, the Muhammadan Principal of the Dacca Islamia Intermediate College, two Muhammadan Deputy Magistrates and one Muhammadan Subordinate Judge.

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at the goondas. Their old mother remained inside a room taking care of the little children. The boys supplied their sisters with brickbats. After a short while the hooligans tried to force or break open the iron gate. Then the boys fastened the gate with a long iron chain and attaching it to a post, held it fast, and their sisters went on hurling brickbats at the goondas. Anindyabala was in front, and so she got wounded. No one can tell the exact number of the mob, and it is not possible to do so. But the general estimate is 500. The Nandis' house is situated at a crossing. So many men had gathered there that the lanes on all sides were full of men. It was difficult to distinguish assailants from mere spectators.



The Inteiror of "Madhabananda Dham"



Miss Anindyabala Nandi who has been wounded while attempting to defend her house from the attack of Muhammadan ruffians.

On behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Dr. Moonje has promised to bestow a gold medal on Miss Anindyabala Nandi for her courageous and persevering defence of her father's house.

P. S. Everywhere the Hindus are heard to say that if the police do not protect them, let them at least not prevent them from defending themselves ; then they can live without much anxiety. Wherever and whenever the Hindus have tried to defend themselves, the police, if at hand and aware of such attempt, have stood in the way of such defence. That is why the Hindus have been so helpless and been put to so much loss. Even now the remaining refugees in Dacca Hall are afraid of returning to their houses.

X

June 14, 1930

When people were afraid of coming out of their houses, then the members of the Dacca Hindu Sabha went about the different quarters of the city in motor buses, encouraging and giving solace to all and sundry, called doctors and gave medical aid to the wounded and sick, supplied food to those reduced to poverty, removed families in distress or in dangerous localities to places of greater safety, arranged for photographing the burnt and looted houses and shops, and even now they are getting sufferers to seek relief in law-courts, arranging for legal advice

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and sending motor buses to convey people to and from law-courts. The Hindu community of Dacca are, for these services, very grateful to the Sabha, which has thereby earned the thanks of the entire Hindu society of India.

Srijut Rajanikanta Das, a vakil and a member of the executive committee of the local Hindu Sabha, has been untiring in his exertions. Even in these dangerous times he is moving about in the villages near Dacca, giving relief and trying his best to prevent Hindu-Moslem dissensions.

XI

June 19, 1930

In addition to the Musalman student whose efforts to protect a Hindu lecturer have been mentined in a previous letter, many similar friendly deeds done by Moslems deserve to be recorded. For instance, it is said that the hostel superintendent of the Intermediate College; Mr. Musa, the Principal of the Islamia Intermediate College; Mr. Dalil-ud-din, a retired Deputy Magistrate; Mr. Hasibud-din, a sub-judge, etc., acted in a friendly manner. The *daftari* of the Dacca University Examination Department and his brother got thrashed for trying to dissuade Musalman hooligans and have fled from Dacca. It is reported that some Moslems were condemned as pro-Hindu, because they were unwilling to take part in the attacks on Hindus, and they joined in the tumult for fear of being themselves assaulted and simply kept watch to see whether Hindu defence parties were coming but did not themselves take part in loot, arson or assaults. When Kayet-tuli was attacked, Mr. Kadiri, the Musalman D. S. P., went to the Babupura police section for help but did not get any. He phoned for help to the Lalbag *Thana* and the Police office but got none—on the alleged ground that there were no policemen available! When the D. S. P. phoned for help, it is said Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattashali was present there.

India's Unity in Diversity

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

CERTAIN old objections to Indian self-rule have been cleverly, but not too cleverly, re-stated in Vol. I of the Simon Commission's Report, although, ere now, they had been repeatedly met. Our answers can never convince British imperialists. The only way to silence such objectors is to win self-rule. The reason, therefore, why Indian publicists may have to say repeatedly what they have got to say against these objections is not that there is any hope of convincing British imperialists, but that some of our own countrymen may have been hypnotized and misled by them. We must do our best to produce community of thought and sentiment among our own people. And if, in addition, some non-British foreigners also accept our view, that is no mean gain.

The Simon Seven say:

"Europe (if Russia be excluded) possesses a real unity, though no one is likely to fall into the error of regarding Europe as a single nation. In the case of India, a sense of unity is growing, too; but it is largely the outcome of the most recent stage of its history, during which the influence and authority of British rule over the whole area have made it possible to speak of India as a single entity."

It is true that a single system of government for the whole of India and many other things under British rule have been working towards the *further* unification of India, which has been one in a far deeper sense from time immemorial. And it is also true that a sense of common wrong and a common struggle for freedom are bringing together and welding the various classes of India's population more and more. But the unification of India under British rule is not the beginning but the continuation of a process. It is not governments only or mainly which made India one in the past. There is one ancient secular and religious Sanskrit literature, which is common to the whole of India. Buddhist and Jaina literatures are also common to the whole country. These have gone to produce spiritual ties. Hindus, including Jainas and Buddhists, have had from ancient times places of pilgrimage all over India. These and our poets and saints and sages have made us one. When Islam came, it contributed a new strand

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to the variegated texture of Indian life and bound together north and south, east and west.

The Simon Commissioners are wrong in stating that

"It would be an utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to the separation between religious denominations in contemporary Europe. It is a basic opposition, manifesting itself at every turn, in social custom and economic competition, as well as in mutual religious antipathy."

The Commissioners are wise in speaking only of contemporary Europe. But contemporary Europe has its background in the past, when Roman Catholics and Protestants used to burn one another, which Hindus and Moslems never did. And even in the present century there have been religious riots in Western Christendom.

In contemporary India, in spite of well-known extraneous influences making for Hindu-Moslem dissensions, the two communities inhabiting particular areas speak the same language, dress alike, have similar manners and many common social customs, take part in common festivals sometimes, have private friendships, help each other in distress, have business relations, are members of the same chambers of commerce and other mercantile associations, and live together as good neighbours. This is the result of the welding process which had gone on in the past in culture and religion. It is bad history, if not also a sinister suggestion, which underlies the sentence in the Report, "During the centuries when the material power of Islam was at its highest in India, it was quite unable to crush the enduring influence of Hinduism." The fact is, except under fanatics like Aurangzib, Islam did not make any sustained effort to crush Hinduism. On the contrary, Hindu and Islamic thought influenced each other, and the construction of a Jama Masjid at Bareilly by the Hindu Raja Makaranda Ray and the benefactions of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan to the Sringeri Math are by no means rare examples of mutual toleration and encouragement of each other's cults by leading persons of the two communities. This tradition of neighbourly reciprocity has come down to our days in spite of adverse-extraneous influences, as exemplified by what the "non-Muhammadan" Maharajas of Mysore and Kapurthala have done to provide facilities for worship in mosques in their states.

Englishmen themselves, when they do not write as imperialist politicians, recognize the unity of India. Thus Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes in *The Government of India*, pages 28-29:

"India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety does not hide from view its unity. The Himalayas and their continuing barriers frame off the great peninsula from the rest of Asia. Its long rivers, connecting its extremities and its interior with the sea, knit it together for communication and transport purposes; its varied productions, interchangeable with one another, make it a convenient industrial unit, maintaining contact with the world through the great ports to the East and West.

"Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture."

The political traditions referred to by Mr. MacDonald will be understood from the fact that almost the whole of India attained political unity under Asoka and Samudragupta in ancient times and under Aurangzib in mediaeval times. Mr. MacDonald continues:

"An historical atlas of India shows how again and again the natural unity of India has influenced and showed itself in empires. The realms of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka (305-232 B. C.) embraced practically the whole peninsula, and ever after, amidst the swaying and falling of dynasties, this unity has been the dream of every victor and has never lost its potency."

The very fact that Britain governs India as one whole and does it with comparative ease, is a proof of the country's unity. According to the historian Vincent Smith *(Early History of India)*:

"India, circled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious, and intellectual development of mankind."

William Archer declares in his *India and the Future* that Indian unity is "*indisputable*."

Mr. C. F. Andrews quoted the following observations of Lord Acton in *The Hindustan Review* for February, 1911:

"Just as Christianity attempted during the Middle Ages to provide a common civilization for Western Europe, on the basis of which the various nations and races might combine in a Common State, in the same manner Hinduism provided, during many centuries, a common civilization for India, which has made and still makes the Indian continent a political unity in spite of a thousand

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disintegrating forces.... To Hinduism, with its offshoot, Buddhism, belongs this great glory that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary, but included the whole continent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the farthest shores of Ceylon. There are few more imposing spectacles in history than this silent peaceful penetration of Hindu civilization, till the farthest bounds of India were reached."

"Mohammedanism, which came into India much later, has sometimes been called a divider. But even if in some respects this is true, in a larger and truer way it has been a uniter. The very fact that it has penetrated to virtually all parts of India, has tended to give all parts a common interest in one another and therefore to bind all together. Having become an all-India faith, like Hinduism and Buddhism it has tended to unify the whole land." (Dr. J. T. Sunderland in *M. R.*, April, 1928.)

"The truth is, if there is a real nation in the world, a nation with a unity so long-standing and so deep (the growth of thousands of years) that it has become a part of the very intellectual and moral fibre of the people, an ingredient of their very life-blood, that nation is India. Compared with the unity of India, that of every American and European nation is superficial and ephemeral." (*Ibid.*)

That India's unity is made up of variety, that many constituent elements enter into it, has been beautifuly expressed by her eminent poet, Rabindranath Tagore in the following lines :

We are one all the more, because we are many ;
We have made room for a common love,
A common brotherhood, through all our separateness.
Our unlikenesses reveal the beauty of a common life deeper than all,
Even as mountain peaks in the morning sun
Reveal the unity of the mountain range from which they all lift up their shining heads.

Sister Nivedita thoroughly identified herself with Indians. She wrote in *The Modern Review* as an Indian :

"It requires a foreign eye to catch the wonders of Indian solidarity. It was Englishmen who first saw that our unity was so great, and our ignorance of that unity so universal, that an immense harvest might be reaped from administering our affairs and taxing us as a unit. In this sense, then, the lesson of our own unity has been taught us by English teachers. But we have now learnt that lesson.....The scales have fallen from our eyes, and we see and know that we are one. Those very surface diversities of which it has been common to make much, have become in our own eyes now but so many proofs of our unity. As in one of the higher organisms, no limb is a mere repetition of any other, but the whole is served in some special way by each, so here also, no one province duplicates or rivals the functions of any other. The Maratha serves the Bengali and the Bengali the Maratha, the Hindu and the Mohammedan find themselves complementary to one another, and the Panjabi and the Madrasi are both equally essential to the whole, in virtue of their mutual unlikeness, not their resemblances."

In the same vein she continues :

"It is by our unlikeness,—an unlikeness tempered, of course, by deep sympathy—that we serve one another, not by our similarities. The lower the organism the greater the multiplication of a given part, the more specialized is each limb and each organ. In humanity, not even two hands or two feet are exactly identical. With regard to nations, the requisites of unity are common place and common circumstances. A people who are one in home and one in interests, have no absolute need to speak a common language, or believe a common *mythos*, in order to realize their mutual cohesion."

She concludes :

"Questions of race and history are merely irrelevant, in face of the determination of a given group to become a nation. Much has to be remembered and much forgotten ; but man can determine these things by his own will, and when, in addition, he possesses, as we in India do, an enormous mass of common and related *customs*, he stands already provided with an inexhaustible language for the expression of his national unity. Ours is the advantage that not merely all sects of Hinduism, but also all the peoples of Asia express themselves through certain characteristic modes in common. Fire to the European is a convenience : to most Asiatics, a sacred mystery. Water to the European represents physical cleanliness : to Asiatics, it is the starting-point of a new life. The simplicity of the Asiatic environment is aquiver with mystic associations, vibrant with spiritual significance, and to these, Hindu and Mohammedan respond alike."

But let it be assumed that there is no unity in India, that the Indian population consists only of discordant and jarring elements ;—how does that prove the justifiability of introducing another discordant element, namely, the British, which is neither Asiatic, nor Hindu, nor Mohammadan, though it may explain the comparative ease with which all the indigenous discordant elements are held in subjection by the foreign one?

In the opinion of the Simon Seven, "To immensity of area and of population must be added the complication of language." And the Indian problem or problems are in their view further complicated by the presence of numerous castes and creeds. Objections to Indian self-rule based on such facts have been repeatedly discussed and examined. Nevertheless I shall here state facts, suggestive of answers to such objections, as briefly as I can.

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China is a larger State and has a much larger population than India. There are also many religions prevalent in it, Mohammedans alone being estimated to number, according to different estimates, 3,000,000 or 20,000,000, or 80,000,000, in that country.

The Soviet Union of Russia is a single political entity, very much larger than the Indian Empire. Let me, therefore, give some idea of this Union. The multiplicity of religions here is at least as great as in India. According to Dr. Sherwood Eddy, writing in *Unity* (Chicago):

Her population embraces 149 different languages and 182 different *nationalities* in a group of federated republics united in "voluntary centralism." Some of these peoples are more primitive and much less civilized than were Egypt and Babylon six thousand years ago. Some of their languages are now reduced to writing for the first time. In our voyage down the Volga we have passed the Tartar Republic and the "German Republic," each with its own autonomous government, education, language and culture, yet as much a part of the Union as our federated forty-eight states."

The total population of the Soviet Union of Russia is less than that of India, but there is a vastly larger possibility of increase there. As Dr. Eddy says:

"Here is the largest country in the world trying the boldest social experiment known in history. Its area is more than twice that of the United States, more than double that of all the rest of Europe combined, almost one-sixth of the habitable land area of the globe. Siberia alone, with vast undeveloped resources, if populated with the same density as Belgium, could accommodate the whole present population of the world."

"The Statesman's Year Book," which is a standard British book of reference, does not give one any idea of the multiplicity of nationalities, religions and languages in Russia, the United States of America, Canada, etc.—perhaps because it is not necessary for British imperialists to prove that they cannot be self-ruling political units!

The United States of America is a much bigger country than India, and there is a vaster possibility of the growth of its population, though it is at present smaller than that of India. It has more languages and more nationalities than India. In order to show that India has a large number of tongues British linguists have included the languages and dialects of all the small and unimportant hill and mountain and jungle tribes that live in remote and almost inaccessible places,—analogous to the small tribes of the American Red Indians. In the United States there are people from all the nations of South and Central America, from all the nations of Europe, and from most nations of Asia, Africa and the principal islands of the Ocean. Counting the languages of all these and adding to them the nearly two hundred languages and dialects spoken by the American Red Indians, one can easily understand the truth of the statement that U.S.A. has a good many more languages than India. And there are at least as many religious faiths there as in Canada, of which I shall speak presently. A recent census of New Bedford in Massachusetts shows that in that American town alone 58 languages are spoken.

Canada is a much bigger country than India, though in 1921 its population was only 8,788,843 against 318,942,480 of India. Yet this comparatively small self-ruling Canadian population speaks 178 languages, and there are 53 nationalities and 79 religious faiths there.

The Philippines enjoy greater self-rule than India. The population of those islands is one crore in round numbers. The total number of languages and dialects spoken there is 87. This does not include many unknown dialects. The number of linguistic groups alone is 43. English is the *lingua franca*, which is the case in India, too. If one crore of people speaking 87 tongues be not disqualified for self-rule, then even if the 31 crores of India spoke 87×31 or 2697 languages, they should not have been considered disqualified for self-rule on that ground. Instead, we speak only a paltry 220 tongues! There are many tribes and religious faiths in the Philippines.

According to the census of 1901, the number of languages in India was 147; by 1911 they had increased to 220! In all parts of the world, minor languages—particularly those not previously reduced to writing—are dying out. But in India they seem to be increasing! Every one knows, however, that the languages in India which are worth-while number about a dozen. Those spoken by the vast majority of the people are sprung from or akin to Sanskrit. One can make oneself understood by them through Hindustani. Only about 40 millions in South India cannot follow Hindustani, but many of them are learning it.

The religious communities mentioned in the census of India are Hindu (Brahmanic, Arya and Brahmo), Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Musalman, Christian, Jew, Animists, and

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"Minor Religions and Religion not returned." Hence, as regards the multiplicity of languages and religions India does not even approach the record of Russia, U. S. A. and Canada. And if Indians are unfit to govern India because they speak different languages and none of them speak all of these, how are the English people fit to govern India when they do not speak even a single Indian language? That they have the might to hold India in subjection is a different matter.

Caste is said to be peculiar to India. The word may be, but not the thing. Does anybody think that the way Negroes, Asiatics and "coloured" persons are treated in South Africa, which is self-governing, does not betray some of the worst features of caste? Are the "untouchables" in India ever lynched as Negroes sometimes are in America? Negroes are in many other ways also treated very unjustly in America. My professed opinions, and my practice as regards caste are well known. So in writing what I am doing I do not run the risk of being misunderstood by my countrymen as a defender or apologist of caste.

There has been a considerable number of Indians working for the destruction of caste for decades.

Let me now give some idea of the existence of caste in, say, Great Britain and U. S. A., which are independent and free countries. The following is from an article by Mr. Sydney Brookes in the *North American Review*:

"The caste system was beyond doubt the outstanding feature of the British structure. It was the caste system that made the West End of London the governing centre of the Empire. It was the caste system that in every British ministry reserved an excessive number of places for the aristocracy, whose title to them was based mainly on the non-essentials of birth, manners and social position."

Mr. Brookes then goes on to speek of England as

".....a country where a man born in ordinary circumstances expected, and was expected, to die in ordinary circumstances; where the scope of his efforts was traced beforehand by the accident of position; where he was handicapped in all cases and crushed in most by the superincumbent weight of convention, 'good form,' and the deadening artificialities and conventions of an old society .....There were some trades and professions and occupations that were 'respectable' and others which were not.....There was not a single Englishman who had not the social privilege of despising some other Englishman, and the lower one penetrated in the social scale the more complex and mysterious and the more rigidly drawn did these lines of demarcation become."

Many of our countrymen who have recently travelled in England know that they were refused accommodation in this hotel and that for no other *real* reason than the fact of their being Indians or Asiatics. Colour or the actual complexion of a man has not much to do with such discrimination as will appear from an incident brought to light by the *Jewish World* a few years ago, which proved the existence of caste-prejudice in England. It is that, while on the recruiting campaign, Sergeant Issy Smith, V. C., was invited to a restaurant, but its owner refused to serve the Jewish hero.

Regarding caste in America two extracts from two well-known American journals will suffice for my present purpose. The following is from *The Literary Digest*:

.....the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* observes that "the separation or segregation of the races" which "prevails generally through the South" on cars, boats, and in public places, "has caused no special injury to any one," and "has unquestionably tended to prevent friction between the races when travelling, which of old frequently developed into serious disturbances and what were called "race riots."

Such riots, and anti-Jew and anti-Catholic disturbances are by no means yet extinct in America. A few years back I used to reproduce in this *Review* accounts of anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic outbreaks in U. S. A. and Great Britain. But I have ceased to do so, as no facts or arguments can convince white imperialists that they themselves have the faults which they ascribe only to orientals. *The Literary Digest* continues:

It forbids Negroes to move into blocks in which as many as 75 per cent of the occupants are white and prohibits "the use by Negroes in 'white' or 'mixed' blocks of any building or part of a building for a church, dance-hall, school, theatre or place of assemblage for Negroes."

The American Journal of Sociology writes:

"The constitution of six of the American States prohibit Negro-White intermarriages. Twenty-eight of the States have statute laws forbidding the intermarriage of Negro and White persons."

Nothing is so effective in producing unity among divided peoples as self-government, as, for example, the condition of America before she became independent proves. According to Burnaby, an acute observer who travelled through the North America

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colonies, then under British rule, in 1759 and 1760 :

Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other .... Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other : while the [Red] Indians and Negroes would with better reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether."

This prophecy did not prove true, as independence with self-rule proved a great unifier. Otis, a well-known American patriot, wrote in 1765 :

"Were these Colonies left to themselves to-morrow, America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little petty states could be settled."

This prophecy, too, proved false for the reason given above. The historian Lecky says :

"Great bodies of Dutch, Germans, French, Swedes, Scotch and Irish scattered among the descendants of the English, contributed to the heterogeneous character of the colonies and they comprised so many varieties of government, religious belief, commercial interests, and social type, that their union appeared to many incredible on the very eve of the Revolution."—Lecky's *England* in the *Eighteenth Century*, Vol. iv, p. 12.

But self-rule and independence made their union an accomplished fact.

There is every reason to believe that, whatever disunion there may be among us now, will gradually disappear under self-rule, but *never* under British domination.

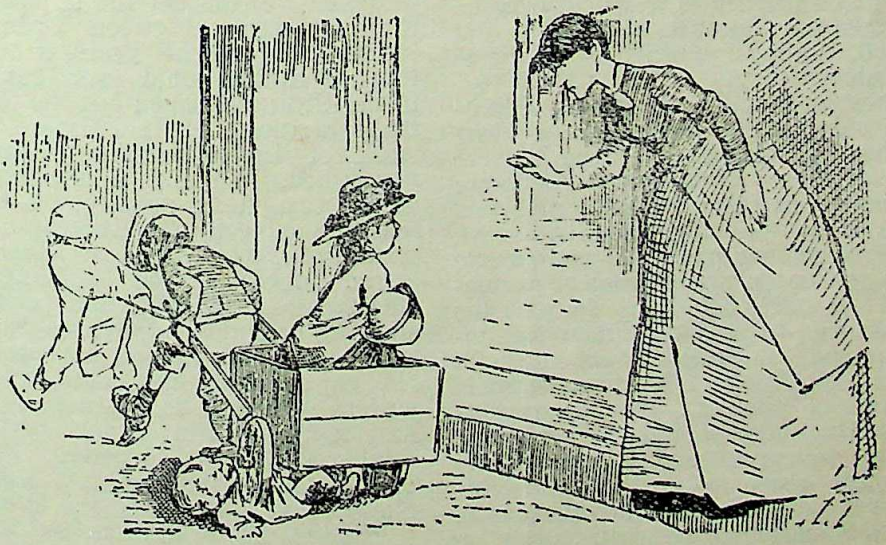
Gandhi goes down to the Sea

By Mrs. UPTON CLOSE

Through sleeping village and plain and field
The master goes down to the sea
To scoop the wave with its salty yield
And set his people free.

A magic symbol is freedom's salt,
Drying 'neath India's sun ;—
Blood will atone an ancient fault
In the struggle that has begun.

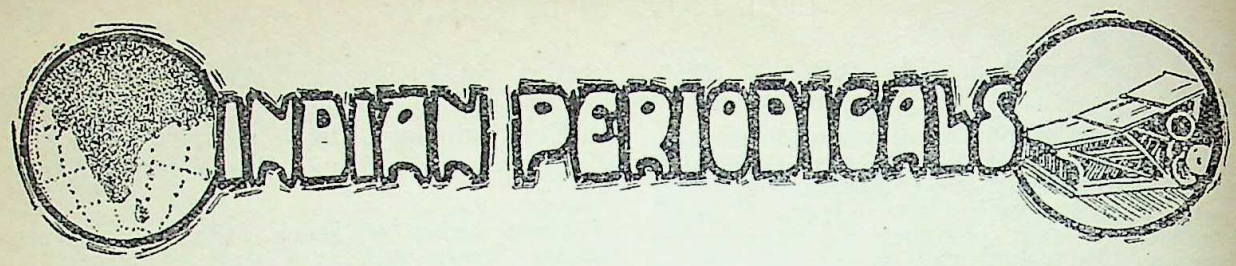
Monstrous machines their fires disgorge
Displacing the spear and the sword,
But material weapons Time never will forge
To slay spiritual Truth or its word.



Fond Ma : "What are you doing with the baby ?"
Innocent-in-chief : "Oh, nothing. We are only playing trams."
—*Bulletin*, Sydney.

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Literacy and Adult Education

Though the illiteracy of the Indian masses is the most formidable obstacle to their uplift, any attempt to improve their condition by removing this cause, would according to Mr. K. T. Paul, who writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*, prove too long a process, before the completion of which the peasant might be exterminated by evils that are gnawing at his vitals. Mr. Paul writes :

There is a current fallacy that Adult Education should begin with conferring literacy, and then proceed to build on it more or less along lines of modern school education for the young. Such a procedure will be clearly like putting the cart before the horse.

(*a*) The situation in the country is too grave to await such a slow process. Take, *e. g.*, our vital statistics. More than a third of all the children born in the Madras Presidency never see their first birth-day ; and our Presidency has the best ratio among all the Provinces or States of India. How can such a situation wait ?

(*b*) If literacy is indispensable for Adult Education we may give up the task at once, for one very cogent reason at least. Our population is increasing by colossal figures. Last census, *e. g.*, when the rate of increase was the lowest, as low as ½ per cent, the increase was on an average of 1½ millions a year, 15 millions in the decade. If we are dependent on literacy how will it ever be possible to overtake the education of a continental population of 300 millions when it is adding to itself by such numbers.

(*c*) But literacy is not indispensable. Education is dependent only on the transference of ideas from one to another, and that can be done in more ways than one, as everyone of us knows perfectly well. In the situation in India, with the problems so many, so diverse, so complicated, so urgent, and all the time becoming more and more grave with the steady and enormous increase of population, we should in fact definitely delegate the conferring of literacy to a subordinate and incidental position, and endeavour by all means to perfect a system of Adult Education, which is totally irrespective of literacy. In all our plans and programmes the query should be, how much will the illiterate person get out of this ? If the literate person gets more, all to the good. But the test should be the effect on the illiterate person. Nothing should be reckoned as satisfactory or sufficient which benefits only the literate and leaves the illiterate aside.

At the same time I should, in justice to myself, recall that I have already cited the case where the education of the illiterate awakes in him the desire for literacy at least for his children. This is no fancy but a fact based on experiences abroad and in India. Educate the community aright, which means, as practically possible, and the community will demand more education and better education. For example, one of the serious difficulties now before the spread of literacy in the land is the inability of the children to stay long enough at school. This inability is due partly to economic reasons and partly to lack of appreciation of the value of the school by the parents. This latter problem, which is psychological, will be entirely and automatically solved with the success of adult education. In fact, the desire for literacy will be so keen that the economic problem will also begin to be solved.

While I have said all this I should make it clear that the conferring of literacy should certainly be designed as a part of the general curriculum of Adult Education. But it must only take its place among all the other objectives and that place should not and need not be a central place.

—

Hindu Writers of Urdu Literature

Mr. Hafiz Syed contributes an interesting article to *Triveni*, showing how Urdu literature is indebted to Hindus for a greater part of its serious as well as imaginative writings :

When we consider the unpleasant phase which the controversy between Urdu and Hindi has assumed in recent years, it is difficult to believe that the Hindus could ever have been interested in the Urdu language ; but the fact is that, if the Urdu writings of the Hindus are eliminated, the stock of Urdu literature would be greatly impoverished. Works in a language may be classified under two heads : firstly, books on serious and scientific subjects like History, Philosophy, Mathematics, etc., which seek to elucidate and explain certain problems ; and secondly, novels, dramas, etc., wherein delight and pleasure are directly afforded, and incidentally, considerable knowledge is imparted and a moral expounded. It is impossible to overlook the additions made by Hindu writers to both these sections of Urdu literature. As long as Urdu novels are read, the name of Sarshar will not be forgotten. Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar's *Fisanae-Azad*, *Sair-e-Kuhsar*, *Jame Sarshar*, etc., are among the finest Urdu novels....

Hindus have written so abundantly that it is impossible to make a comprehensive reference to their writings. Some of these are ancient and relate to the very early period of the Urdu language. Even a passing reference to the Urdu novel-

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ists would be incomplete without mention being made of Munshi Jwala Prasada Barq....

Of the Hindus who took a lively interest in Urdu literature, two sects figure prominently, *e.g.*, Kashmiri Brahmans and the Kayasthas. Just as Sarshar had a special place of honour amongst the Kashmiri Pandits, amongst the Kayasthas no other person probably possessed a truer appreciation of the Urdu language than Barq....

From the above it should not be gathered that the Hindus wielded their pens only to produce wit and humour and were out of the field of serious writings. At the preseut time the quality and standard of a language are judged by the number of journals and newspapers issued in that language, and in which the public mind is interested and through which its knowledge of public affairs is enhanced. In the United Provinces the *Oudh Akhbar* is the oldest Urdu newspaper, owned by a Hindu and mostly edited by Hindu editors. The second oldest paper in this Province is the *Hindustani*, always owned and edited by Hindus. It is the best Urdu paper through which alone the Urdu reading public was acquainted with all political activities....

The oldest paper in the Punjab is the *Akhbare 'Aam*, owned by a Hindu. The widely-circulated *Hindustan*, *Desh*, *Pratap* and *Milap* are also run by the Hindus. At one time the *Rahbar* of Moradabad which had gained some reputation belonged to a Hindu gentleman.

Without reckoning the light literature composed by the Hindus, we find that the Hindu authors have written standard works on serious and literary subjects and have produced numerous translations and compilations on science and arts.

—

Indian Nationalism and Communism

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *the Calcutta Review* on the leanings of the extreme left wing of Indian Nationalism towards Communism, and utters a word of warning as to the risk that it involves :

A section of Indian Nationalists, in their struggle against British Imperialism, is consciously or unconsciously inspired by what looks like the success of the Russian Revolution. Some of them are admittedly worshippers of Communism and believe that the Indian National Movement should, at least in matters of foreign relations, become an adjunct of the Soviet Russian Foreign policy. They advocate that the Indian National Congress should be *affiliated* with the Anti-Imperialist League, which regards the Indian Nationalist Movement, as represented by the All-India National Congress, as merely capitalistic and concludes that the masses—workers and peasants—of India consequently should not have anything to do with it, but, on the contrary, they should organise an "Anti-Imperialist League" in India towards the ultimate goal of the establishment of a Communist State in India.

These saviours of Indian workers and peasants believe that they should preach and practise "Class War" in India. They are anxious to propagate a doctrine, which carried into practice, will inevitably lead to civil war in India. Sincere Indian Nationalists should not forget that "civil war" in India was the principal cause of her subjection to foreign rule....

The principle which should guide Indian nationalists in their activities for gaining freedom is not "class struggle" but co-operation among the nationalists of all strata of life to make their country free and independent. National freedom is but a means towards the betterment of the condition of the masses of India. It cannot be denied that the Indian masses are victims of exploitation by Indians of a certain class while the people of India as a whole are being exploited by the British. Yet it will be a criminal folly, if Indian Nationalists at any stage of their struggle for freedom, make "class war" the principal issue or adopt it as their policy and an appropriate means for the attainment of their goal....

...Class War may be an effective weapon against their enemies. They however should not forget that the same weapon might be used against them ; and it may eventually undermine the very existence of the Nationalist Movement. Recovery of Indian freedom and promotion of of genuine welfare of the people of India is the ultimate goal of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Therefore Indian Nationalist activities should be directed in such a way as will lead to the harmonizing of the varied interests of the various strata of the vast population, affording the best opportunity for the development of national life. If the Indian Nationalist Movement is to become a factor for human progress, then the gravest responsibility for the Indian political leaders lies in the fact that they should not allow it to degenerate into activities for spreading class-hatred or race-hatred.

—

Women in Insurance

With the growing emancipation of women in this country, the question of the means by which those of them who desire to live independently or add to the earnings of their husbands might secure a livelihood, is coming more and more to the fore. A neglected field of their activities is pointed out by Mr. S. C. Ray in *The Insurance and Finance Review* :

In Western countries women have established successful positions for themselves in the insurance world. In England except one office all Insurance companies have a large number of women on their office staff and some of these workers are holding responsible positions. Three women are now occupying outstanding places in the realm of Insurance, *viz.*, Miss Edith Beesley, West-End Manager, Southern Life Association, Miss Marion French, Head of the Women's Section, Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Co., and Mrs. Bovill, Agency Manager for United Kingdom, African Life Assurance Society....

Women insurance workers have become more successful in America where quite a large number of women are employed on the agency staff of many insurance companies. One Insurance Company is running an agency department composed

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entirely of women who are sixty in number. During the year 1929 they secured aggregate new business amounting to one million pounds. Eight of these ladies secured personal business to the extent of £20,000 (Rs. 2·70 lakhs) or more each....

Time has come when women of our country should seriously consider this question. There are women who have to earn their own living; others may also enhance the happiness of the family by tapping some sources of additional income. Perhaps the most suitable line of work which they may take up is insurance. They can approach men through the womenfolk of the family. They can also approach women, as insurauce is as great a necessity for them as for men. And I have already stated that there are insurances companies who accept proposals on female lives without much restriction.

—

Insurance and Swadeshi

Indian Insurance contains an editorial note on the position of Indian Insurance Companies *vis-a-vis* their foreign competitors, in course of which it is said :

In respect to the general business, however, the position is still somewhat difficult because as against half a dozen Indian companies, we have in this country over 100 non-Indian insurance companies, who are all well established, financially strong, aggressive and able to compete. And every year some new non-Indian company or other comes and opens up offices throughout the country. We have repeatedly stated that India is such a country where any foreign company, be it insurance, bank, shipping or any other trader, can come and open up offices without let or hindrance. There is no properly constituted authority in this country who is competent to examine such new-comers as is the case in various parts of the world. Be these things as they may, the fact remains that in spite of these formidable rivals in the field, the Indian general companies are steadily coming up because the Indian public are rapidly rallying round these national institutions.

The Swadeshi movement which is now rapidly growing in this country is one which is bound to take firmer roots, and already this is having very good results. Be it said to the credit of those who are very actively championing this movement (we know it is our ex-President of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. V. J. Patel who has put his heart and soul into this movement), insurance has been given a prominent place in the Swadeshi programme. It is a very good sign of the times that every association representing trade and commerce of this country is behind this movement and if only the present resolution of the public is followed up in practice (as it is being done now vigorously) there is no business which can prosper like the insurance business.

—

The Message of the East

"The decay of religious belief in the Western world," says Mr. C. E. M. Joad in the opening sentence of an article on "What Eastern religion has to offer to Western civilization" in *The Scholar*, "is notorious, and I propose to take it for granted." The broad result of this fact is that in Europe life is found less satisfactory than might have been expected. Hence the aimless and pointless character of much of modern Western life :

In this impasse what assistance, if any, can we derive from the traditional wisdom of the East? Much, provided the wisdom of the East be stripped of the religious dogmas which have accreted around it. Common to all religions is the belief that the universe is in some important and fundamental sense, and, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, worth while. The appearances to the contrary include the everyday world and the everyday business of living in it. It follows that the everyday world is not the sole type of world; it may, indeed, be merely a mask or veil concealing a world of reality that underlies it. Further, it may be possible by living a certain kind of life to tear aside the mask and penetrate, however obscurely, behind the veil. Very well, then, it may be worth while to try to live the kind of life in question.

And here, I take it, we are within sight of the basic truth of all Eastern religions, which is that for those who live in a state of agitation, certain kinds of serene and lasting happiness, certain intellectual and creative processes, are impossible. Hence the religions of the East have insisted upon the systematic cultivation of mental quietness and the conscious pursuit of a certain way of life ; in a word, they have laid down rules for the attaintment of spiritual health.

Adopting them, we gain a criterion of value, a yardstick by which to measure and appraise the worth of our activities, which the current thought of the Western world fails to provide. Such a criterion of value invests our lives with significance by suggesting that it matters—and not only to ourselves—how they are lived. Given the belief that some kinds of activity are more valuable than others, we may go wrong, but we shall know that it is wrong, and that we might have gone right. Thus the belief in the intrinsic value of certain kinds of activity springs directly from the conviction of the fundamental worth-whileness of the universe. Lacking the latter, the Western world lacks necessarily the former. It has, in fact, lost the sense of value. Thus it prides itself continually on its ability to do things, without stopping to enquire whether the things are worth doing. Its boasted efficiency may indeed be defined as doing the wrong things in the right way.

—

Opium Policy in India

The opium policy of the Government of India is the subject of a memorandum prepared by a group, meeting in London, who are studying the opium policy of the Government. The following extracts from it, amply proving the unprogressive character of the opium policy of the Government is quoted

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from the reprint published in *The National Christian Council Review* :

1. It has been the practice of the Government of India for many years past to assert that it is undesirable to interfere with the moderate use of raw opium; for this policy the Government has the authority of the medical member of the Royal Commission of 1893; and in their 'Resolution,' issued on the 17th June, 1926, they reassert that policy, quoting the authority of the Royal Commission, and adding that they do not propose to take action to surpress 'an age-long habit, the temperate exercise of which has been pronounced by the highest authorities to be free from injurious effects.' That statement admits of one modification of the findings of the 1893 Commission, and only one, namely, that opium is not, as was thought in 1893, useful as a remedy for malaria. This is a very important admission, and it seems doubtful whether its importance has been sufficiently recognized. The Resolution of June, 1926, was referred to by Sir George Schuster, in September, 1929, as giving the latest statement of opium policy; it is therefore, assumed that it is still accepted as authoritative. The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest that it requires revision, in the light of the following facts :

2. In January, 1918, a statement was issued under the auspices of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, signed by Surgeon-General Evatt, Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, Sir Frederick Treves, Professor Sims Woodhead, Dr. Saleeby, and a large number of other Indian and British physicians of repute and with good experience of Eastern medicine, asserting that 'even a moderate use' of opium, as of other drugs and alcohol, 'is harmful, especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain.' It should be noted that the experience of many of these men is as wide as, and is based on much more modern knowledge than the few medical experts whose opinions supported the majority report of the Opium Commission of 1893.

In January, 1923, a joint sub-committee of the League of Nations Health Committee and the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, consisting of Dr. Carriere (Director of the Public Health Department, Berne), Dr. Chodz (Polish Minister of Health), Dr. Anselmino (German Minister of Health), and Mr. J. Campbell (representative of the Government of India on the Opium Advisory Committee), presented a report containing the following statement :

'After a detailed discussion, and in view of the fact that the sub-committee was instructed to draw up its report *solely* from the health and medical point of view, it was decided that medical use should be considered the only legitimate use, and that all non-medical use should be recognised as an abuse, and also that, in the opinion of doctors, the use of opium as a stimulent could not be considered legitimate even in tropical countries.'

This statement, strongly upheld by the three medical members of the committee, was objected to only by the non-medical member, Mr. (now Sir John) Campbell.

The League of Nations Committee, recognising that medical aid is sometimes not available in cases where the alleviation of pain is urgent, specially exempted Dover's powders from the restrictions applied to the other derivatives of opium. It has since been pointed out that quinine and coal-tar products can between them be used as household remedies for all the physical needs for which opium is used in India to-day, with much more benefit, and without the evil results that follow from the moderate use of opium.

America's Campaign Against Illiteracy

How America sets about to remove the evil of illiteracy is explained by Dr. Sudhindra Bose in course of an article in *The Citizen of India* :

The national census of 1930 will be upon us in the United States in April. After the census has been taken, the names and addresses of all illiterates in each of the forty-eight States will be given to the authorities to remove their illiteracy. This will be the first time in the United States that the census takers will be helping in actually fighting illiteracy.

A person is illiterate who cannot write in any language. At the last census taken ten years ago, it was disclosed that six per cent of the population in this land is illiterate. It is lowest in the State of Iowa where 99 per cent of the population is literate, and highest in the State of Louisiana, where less than 79 per cent can read and write. Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, even England and Wales, have much less illiteracy than the United States.

A nation-wide campaign against illiteracy is now being waged since the beginning of this year under the auspices of the National Advisory Committee on Illiteracy. The Committee was appointed by the Federal Government with the approval of President Hoover. The various State Educational Boards, working with the members of the National Advisory Committee are endeavouring to teach illiterates the rudiments of reading and writing before the 1930 census begins next month.

The National Advisory Committee has worked out complete and detailed plans for the purpose of carrying into the States and every home, the desire for education. The five Southern States where illiteracy is highest—Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama—are conducting hurried campaigns among their uneducated citizens to blot out the stigma of illiteracy. The state Superintendent of Education of South Carolina tells me that a State-wide fight for reducing the number of illiterates in South Carolina is vigorously underway. It is said to be the first State-wide effort of its kind in the history of America, but the other States are not lagging behind.

The method employed for teaching the adults is simple. The name of the illiterate is grooved into a soft substance with a hard pointed instrument, and then the pupil is required to trace the outline until he becomes proficient in writing his name. Later the pupils will probably be taught how to write more than their names, and then an effort will be made to teach them to read. The hardest task is to induce the illiterates themselves in learning.

The leaders of the movement do not contemplate

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ridding the country of illiteracy in a few weeks merely to make an excellent record in the next census. They are only taking advantage of psychological movement to advance the cause against ignorance. Few people in America like to be classed as illiterate in a census. Now that the time is near, it is hoped, that when they will have to face the census takers many who have heretofore been indifferent will abandon the joys of laziness and make a special effort to read and write. And they are taking it up with determined enthusiasm.

—

The Influence of Indian Thought in America

An account of how Indian thought has influenced some great American writers of the 19th ane 20th centuries is given in the editorial notes of *Prabuddha Bharata*:

Many of us are vaguely aware that some of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century America were profoundly influenced by Indian thought. The name of Emerson prominently occurs to us in this connection....The thinkers who were most profoundly influenced were Thoreau and Emerson. But there were also Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy and others.

Thoreau gives the sources from which he derived Indian influence : a French translation of the *Gita*, whose author must be Bournouf, although he does not mention him, published in 1840, and, more important, the English translation of Charles Wilkins, of which an edition had just appeared in 1846 with a preface by Warren Hastings...

It appears that in 1854, the Englishman, Thomas Cholmondeley, the nephew of the great Bishop Reginald Heber, visited Concord and became the friend of the whole intellectual colony. On his return to England he sent Thoreau a collection of Oriental classics in 44 volumes. Thoreau said that it was practically impossible to find any of these works in America.

How far was Walt Whitman influenced by Indian thought? No direct connection has yet been discovered between them, though some resemblances may be observed between his thought and Indian thought.

Poe had no less affinity to the spirit of India. His *Eureka* published in 1848, showed thought closely akin to that of the Upanishads. Some people, such as Waldo Frank, believe that he must in the course of his wanderings have come in contact with Indian mysticism.

The indebtedness of Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, can, however, be more clearly proved. It is enough to mention the little lexicon of philosophic and religious terms added by her to her Bible (*Science and Health*) in order to see the likeness of certain of her fundamental ideas to those of Vedanta.

Lastly, analogies to Indian thought are still more striking in the most important treatises on the mind-cure by Horatio W. Dresser, Henry Wood, and R. W. Trine. But as they date from the end of the century, that is to say, after the death of Swami Vivekananda, they may well have owed much to the teachings of the latter. They agree on all points with the rules of Yogic concentration and with the faith behind it. We have reasons to believe that some at least of the protagonists of Mind-cure and New Thought had attended Vedanta classes. William James said of the Mind-cure: "It is made up of the following elements: the four Gospels, the idealism of Berkeley and Emerson, spiritism with its law of the radical evolution of souls through successive lives, optimistic and vulgar evolutionism, and the religions of India."

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Parents and Children in the West

The Collegian and Progress of India publishes an article by Dean Inge on the revolt of youth, in course of which the Dean traces the decline of parental authority and the loosening of the family ties in the West.

Some time ago a pair of distracted parents consulted a magistrate as to how they were to deal with their refractory daughters. The magistrate could only reply that the law does not compel children to obey their parents. How strange this decision would have sounded in ancient times! In Greece, the father began by deciding whether his child was to live at all; if she was a girl, she was lucky if she escaped being put in a pot and buried. The Roman law originally gave a father the right to condemn his son to death. In other countries parents have been allowed to sell their children as slaves.

The emancipation is most complete in the United States, then in England. In the Latin countries the parent still controls his children in some very important matters. For example, marriages are still arranged by the parents, and there are some who think that though this custom prevents the romance of courtship as we know it, it also prevents a great many young people from marrying in haste and repenting at leisure.

By the French law, the father's consent to a marriage is necessary, and there have been unhappy instances where an English wife has been repudiated by a French husband on the ground that the marriage was not approved by his father, and is therefore invalid. The homage which the Frenchman continues to pay to his mother as long as she lives is not a legal obligation, but is part of an old tradition which in our country has been almost forgotten. We might say that the solidarity of the family is far more acknowledged in the Latin countries than in Northern Europe.

Economic independence has much to do with the break-up of the family. In the working class this independence is achieved at a very early age, there remains only a possible obligation on the part of the sons to maintain their parents in old age, and this burden has now been taken over by the state. In the professional class the son is, and feels himself to be, dependent on his father till the end of his education which may last till the age of twenty-three, and the daughter till her marriage.

Among the wealthy we find again more independence, the daughters, frequently living away from home on an allowance. But the enormous increase of careers open to woman has set free the daughters of the middle class. In countless instances they

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keep themselves as doctors, secretaries, teachers and in many other ways, perhaps paying only short and infrequent visits to their parents.

That the old proverb, 'My son's my son till he gets a wife. But my daughter's my daughter all her life,' is no longer true, and many parents, are bitterly disappointed ; they hoped, they say, that their daughters would have made them some return for many years of loving care and affection, and the daughters seem to acknowledge no obligation whatever. They "have a right to their lives :" and their parents have a right only to the withering leaves of their own lives, the flower of which was in part willingly sacrificed to the heavy though ungrudged calls of parenthood.

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Europeanizing of Turkey

Dr. Germanus contributes an article on the modern movements in Islam to *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, in course of which he describes the reforms introduced into Turkey by the Angora Government :

The National Assembly of Angora intrepidly proceeded to newer reforms and framed new laws with a complete disregard of the Koran, Hadith or Idjma. Legislation became a purely human affair ; a complete separation of the church and the state was effected. The *wakf* endownments were sequestrated by thc State, the dervish fraternities dissolved.

The Government edicted a series of new codes. It accepted the best codes from all nations : the penal code of Italy, the civil code from Switzerland and the commercial code from Germany. They were all translated into Turkish, put before the Assembly and after short discussions unanimously carried. As a consequence of these European codes many aspects of social and economic life imperceptibly underwent a deep change. Wine drinking is no longer interdicted, polygamy lost its legal sanction, commercial restrictions of shariat times are no longer valid, and many new customs were created by the acceptance of the codes. For example, in future, women and children will have to bear the name of the husband and the father respectively. It was inevitable that the new legislation would change the outward appearance of life in Turkey. Harem life and the veil disappeared, women go about freely in society, participate in social activities, dress in the European fashion and share all the amenities of life with their husbands.

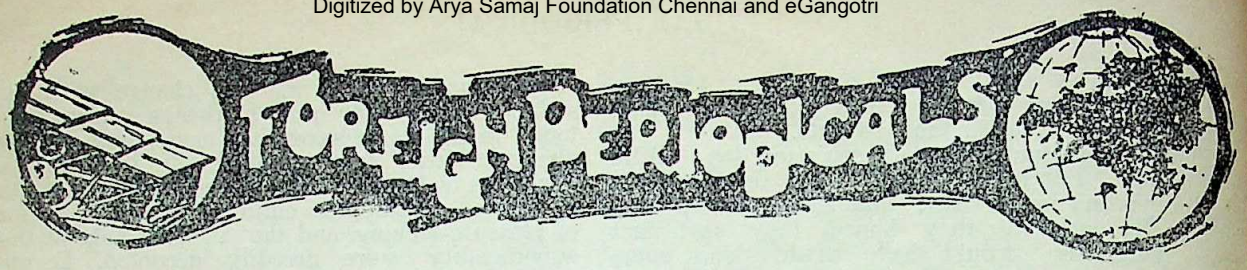
It cannot be denied that the change was a little sudden, and the war time hardships and privations found relaxalion in somewhat easy-going conception of life in large towns. Much of the superficial frivolities of European life were accepted at their face value as European culture. The lightest forms of pleasure-seeking, and the insipid outgrowths of superficiality were greedily accepted. European dancing in its modern hysterics found ready acceptance and was looked upon as a praiseworthy mark of progress. Fortunately, such conceptions are confined to a very small minority, and it is to be hoped that after the novelty has worn away it will soon subside.

A more striking change was effected in religious life. Before the war the streets of Constantinople were teeming with white-turbaned *softas* (students of the sheriat) and *hodjas* (teachers, priests). With their many-coloured cloaks they contributed largely to the picturesqueness of the town. Most of them enjoyed a modest living on the numerous *wakfs*, and being exempted from military service, spent their lives in studying Arabic, medieval jurisprudence and scholastic theology. The most capable hands were taken away from agriculture by their diversion to the mosques where they led an unproductive life. While firms could not be worked for lack of labour, the *imarets* (students' hostels) were filled with stalwart peasant boys cramming Arabic. With the sequestration of *wakfs* this wastage of productive material ceased. A fatal blow had already been administered to the *wakf* system during the war, when an edict suspended the exemption of such students from military service. It had become evident that most of them took refuse in religious studies in order to avoid military duties.

Mosques have again become purely places of worship and their *personelle* was restricted within the necessary limits. It must be confessed that the Turks do not appear to be very fond of going to mosques, as most of them are half empty. They pretend that the European dress hampers religious ablution and the posture of prayer on the ground. An innovation is to be introduced : pews and music, most horrifying to the pious ! Such innovations appear to be equally futile in the eyes of the sober-minded Europeans as well as to orthodox Muslims who consider them unnecessary. No Christian has ever left a mosque without being deeply touched by the noble simplicity of Muslim worship. An atmosphere of inspiration pervades the lofty cupola adorned with the sublime names of the Prophet and the four Caliphs, under which, facing Mecca, man, infinitely small compared with the powers of na ure, humbly worships his Creator.

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The Lesson of Revolutions and Dictatorship

Writing in *The Century* on the red dictatorship in Russia and its black variant in Italy, Mr. Jerome Davis says :

Perhaps the greatest lesson both of the Italian and the Russian revolution is that wherever there is wide-spread injustice, there liberty and democracy are endangered. The amount of radicalism and unrest is a barometer of the extent of injustice. The Russian Revolution was caused by the widespread injustice in the Czar's autocratic despotism. Again the opposition of Bolshevism to all religions because it has been used by a selfish minority in his own interests, should make the churches realize that a religion is in danger which does not translate its ethical precepts into the community life. A genuine religious spirit cannot permanently continue if it is contradicted by the dominant practices of the business world.

One great safeguard against both Communism and Fascism is universal free education. To-day America has an illiterate group five million strong and there is a growing tendency in some Eastern States to make the private school superior to the public, thus to some degree intensifying class lines. The most serious threat to democracy is class stratification plus the uninformed and unthinking average man. Both Italy and Russia have a large illiterate class : they do not understand democracy. To the extent that America can train her people to think intelligently for themselves, to that extent do we have a prophylactic against Fascism and Bolshevism. We must be sure that we have freedom of thought. of the press and of association. This is perhaps the most certain vaccine against the toxins of power. Concretely, it means that in time of strike or national emergency we must preserve the full right of the minority to express itself. H. M. Kallen went to Italy looking for a renaissance of the arts. "But what I saw and heard and read left me with the feeling that where art and thought are concerned, Fascist Italy is not alive, but drugged or dead. Amid the superlative inheritances from the past, I could find among all the pictures that I saw and music that I heard, no present breath stirring."

This throttling of creative work in art is one sign of rigid censorship and the absence of freedom. Freedom is written into our constitution because we once fought and died for it. As Justice Holmes of our United States Supreme Court so cogently stated in his dissenting opinion in the Schwimmer case, "Some of her answers might excite popular prejudice, but if there is any principle of free thought—it is not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom of the thought that we hate."

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The Rebirth of Germany

The rebirth of disarmed Germany is the subject of an article in *Current History*, in course of which Mr. George McClellan points out the achievement of Germany :

Germany offers the greatest economic object lesson of history. That national group, bled white by an unparallelled war exertion, stripped to depletion financially and physically, obliged to rebuild its national structure under depressed morale, general bankruptcy and political chaos, has rehabilitated itself, is a modern miracle. It is a monument to German resources and character.

Let us not miss the chief significance of Germany's achievement : The unanswerable proof that any developed nation or economic group need only be relieved of military aims and burdens and released to the free use of its inherent resources in order to achieve rapidly economic prosperity and social well-being.

The intellectual and cultural gain that has come to the Germans is not to be denied. The one time intellectual and musical leadership of Germany had become atrophied, martialized by the domination of the "All Highest" and his military clique. The stifling grasp of the military system paralyzed and froze the springs of national life at their source.

In the new Germany there is a democratization of education by eliminating the snobbery of private schools and by provision for universal schooling. Already there is a literary output that comes close to leading the Continent. The youth movement and the development of tennis, baseball, football and all outdoor life is a sound factor in Germany's new national growth, and may, perhaps, account in part for the 25 per cent decrease in beer consumption without the legal pressure of prohibition.

Reaction from militarism has made the German Reich in some ways more distinctly democratic than our own country. Her cartelization of industry includes representation for both labourer and consumer ; a great family enterprise, the modern Krupps, has labour representation on its board which contrasts with the exclusive control of a Henry Ford. Germany's general economic progress is indicated by a 35 per cent increase in savings deposits in the past year ; by a four-fifths replacement of her lost merchant tonnage, and by a new tonnage of four millions, which propably represents a better merchant marine than Germany has ever before possessed.

It may fairly be stated as a mathematical certainty that, if the present national policies of France and Germany are continued for a decade, the German Reich will have hopelessly outdistanced France, not merely in wealth and commercial power but in the culture and welfare of her people.

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Nor is that all. By her superiority in aviation and chemicals Germany will become potentially a greater reservoir of war power than France.

The world significance of the renaissance of the new Germany lies in this : That with modern inventions and productive capacity, any intelligent and resourceful people can rapidly produce a surplus of the material wants of life : that to do this they need only release their mental and economic activities from the burden of military establishments and the distortion of military aims ; that, given such freedom, they not only rise rapidly toward well-being and affluence but do so even under a heavy burden of reparation payments laid on their shoulders by a former misguided military régime.

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Arthur James Balfour

Earl Balfour was one of the greatest figures of late Victorian England. The following estimate of his career and personality is contributed to *Current History* by Mr. Angus Fletcher :

Among the generation of statesmen now passing away the late Lord Balfour was one of the most fascinating figures, not only in his long career as a political leader, but also in his personality and his intellectual qualities.

Arthur Balfour (as he was known to the English-speaking world for so many years) presented in the two sides of his character an enigma which is perhaps peculiarly English. True, he was a Scot of an ancient line, born within a few hours' ride of Edinburgh and some have seen in his metaphysical turn of mind a characteristic which is said to be peculiarly Scottish. But for all practical purposes he was an Englishman—the product of Eton—"the amiable dilettantism of Eton" and of Cambridge, and what is more, he grew up and flowered under the sheltering influence of the great English house of Cecil.

His mother was a sister of Robert Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, the last Prime Minister to direct the British Government from the House of Lords, and at that time still a personage of the weightiest influence. Had Arthur Balfour been exposed to the rough and tumble of life, had those powerful props not underpinned his early political career, it is question whether he would not have found his way to a chair of philosophy at one of the ancient universities rather than to the front bench of the House of Commons.

His interest in philosophy early made its appearance. By the time he was 30 he had published his well known *Defence of Philosophic Doubt*, and from time to time throughout his long life he offered considerable contributions to the literature of philosophy. His place among the leaders of philosophic thought cannot, it is true, be estimated as in the first rank, but his work has received undoubted recognition. His fame even here is perhaps due in no inconsiderable degree to his skill in dialectics, which was one of his outstanding talents. It is not without interest that the argument of his *Foundation of Belief* was primarily directed against the dominant philosophy of the day—not against science, properly so called, but against the construction put upon it—Naturalism, there was the enemy !" It is interesting also to know that the quality which he conceived as distinguishing man from the brute creation was the capacity of being influenced through the action of authority rather than through the exercise of reason. Perhaps this was not surprising in a Tory of the old school.

And perhaps it was the philosopher in him that enabled him to retain his youthfulness so long through a life which most people would regard as the best possible excuse for an inactive old age. His whole outlook was towards youth rather than in the direction of oncoming age. No words can express this essential feature of his character better than his own : "To be an optimist is to be a believer in youth. It is, after all, the young people who are going to do this work. Let us believe in them. I believe in them. Doubtless they occasionally have their weaknesses. And among these weaknesses sometimes is a very imperfect appreciation of the virtues of their seniors. But these weaknesses are always amiable : they always give me at least a great feeling of pleasure mixed with a slight touch of pathos. When I hear of the new art I know it is going to be the old art quite soon. When I hear that there is going to be a new school of politics I know that in a year or two its professors will be described as 'the old gang.' That, after all, is how the world is made, and, after all, it is not a bad way. If it were not for the young how would the world move ? Whatever the old people may think of themselves, it is inevitable that they should be somewhat petrified by long experience as well as taught by it, and that they should lose some of that flexibility of mind which is possessed by youth."

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Europe in Asia

The message on the Indian situation which Rabindranath delivered before the Friends Service Council in London was a plea for the co-operation of the East and the West. Rabindranath still has faith in the West, but he believes that the plane on which they have met in India and other countries of the East, is not where they could have come together to the mutual advantage of both. As he says :

But what is most unfortunate for us in Asia is the fact that the advent of the West into our continent has been accompanied not only by science, which is truth and therefore welcome, but by an impious use of truth for the violent purpose of self-seeking which converts it into a disruptive force. It is producing in the countries with which it is in contact a diseased mentality that refuses moral ideals, considering them to be unworthy of those who aspire to be rulers of men, and who must furiously cultivate their fitness to survive. That such a philosophy of survival, fit for the world of tigers, cannot but bring a fatal catastrophe in the human world, they do not see. They become violently angry at those who protest against it, fearing that such a protest might weaken in them the animal that should be allowed to survive

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for eternity. Doctors know that infusion of animal blood into human veins does not give vigour to man but produces death, and the intrusion of the animal into humanity will never be for its survival. But faith in man is weakening even in the East, for we have seen that science has enabled the inhuman to prosper, the lie to thrive, the machine to rule in the place of *Dharma*. Therefore in order to save us from the anarchy of weak faith we must stand up to-day and judge the West. But we must guard against antipathy that produces blindness. We must not disable ourselves from receiving truth. For the West has appeared before the present day world not only with her dynamite of passion and cargo of things but with her gift of truth. Until we fully accept it in a right spirit we shall never ever discover what is true in our own civilisation and make it generously fruitful by offering it to the world. But it is difficult for us to acknowledge the best in the western civilisation and accept it when we are humiliated. This has been the reason why the West has not yet come to our heart, why we struggle to repudiate her culture, because we are under the dark shadow of a western dominance. We need freedom, we need a generous vigour of receptivity which the sense of self-respect can give to us, and then only the mission that Europe has brought to the world will find its fulfilment in our people, and India will also proudly join in the federation of minds in the present age of enlightenment.

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The Alternatives in India

The situation in India is the subject of a leading article in *The New Republic*. The following extracts from it will give a fair idea of the more enlightened American opinion regarding this subject:

The situation in India is following the expected lines, and moving toward ever deeper tragedy. A considerable number of persons have already been killed—it is impossible to say just how many, because news-gathering facilities are inadequate and there is every reason to believe that the censorship is at work...

Many Americans who are in close sympathy with the general aims of the British Labour government are puzzled to understand the seeming apathy of Mr. MacDonald and his followers toward the danger of a world-shattering explosion in India. It cannot be laid to ignorance, for the Labour party for many years made effective campaign ammunition of the treatment of the Indian question by previous Tory or Liberal governments; Mr. MacDonald has himself visited India and is the author of two books on the subject. It is true that the Labour government has only a minority in Parliament, and that its strength has been still further depleted recently by the formal defection of the Independent Labour party; but if the Indian situation is as serious as it appears to be, and as expert observers like Mr. Andrews, Mr. Brailsford and Mr. Ratcliffe assert it is, a time-serving policy toward it is now as fatal as any other. It is the habit to explain that any new government in England is at the mercy of the permanent staff in the Indian Office, which knows all the ropes and goes its own way; but affairs are now at a stage where no subordinate official would dare to take action on his own initiative. Undoubtedly, the key to the government's failure to act can be found in two things: reluctance to yield under pressure, which is connected with the question of "imperial prestige" throughout the world; and the probability that in this crisis, Mr. MacDonald and his advisers are at a loss to know what is the best thing to do.

There are only three possible choices confronting the British government to-day. It can set India free; it can grant Dominion status; or it can appeal to the sword. Whatever we may think of the desirability of complete freedom for India it is at the present moment a political impossibility. Great Britain may yield something under pressure, but it is fantastic to suppose that she will yield as much as that in one sudden act. The extensive use of armed force, on the other hand, would plunge all India into a bath of blood, it would be accompanied by the moral reprobation of the whole civilized world, it would lay intolerable burdens on the British tax-payer, and it would have an outcome exceedingly dubious and not to be foreseen.

There remains, then, Dominion status as a logical step on the road to complete independence. It is true that Dominion status has been hinted at, ever since 1917, and was definitely promised by the Viceroy six months ago. The difficulty was that no time has ever been indicated at which Dominion status should come into effect.

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Religion in Soviet Russia

To the same paper Mr. H. N. Brailsford contributes an article on the position of religion in Soviet Russia. Extracts from the writings of competent observers of this question have been often quoted in these columns. If a further confirmation were necessary of the hollow character of the outcry against the Soviets on the score of religious persecution, it will be found in Mr. Brailsford's testimony:

In England a hot campaign against Russia is being engineered, with more than the usual apparatus of horrors, and echoes of it reach us from every corner of the world. Here its purpose is manifestly to discredit the Labour government, and to drive it to break off the diplomatic relations which it has resumed. That, if it could be compassed, would be a triumph; for if even the Labour party should have to admit that friendly dealings with the Revolution are impossible, the break would be permanent and the way would be clear to a policy, first of boycott and then of covert or open attack.

The ground is well chosen. In the name of religion men will perform every good deed save one: they will not weigh evidence.

May the present witness, who has been twice in Russia since the Revolution, give his own testimony, bluntly and frankly? One does not begin to get at the truth until one dismisses the whole of this mythology. The tortures are inventions,

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Murders did occur during the furious civil war, but if priests were sometimes executed, like many leaders on both sides, it was because they openly worked for the Whites, and not because they were Christians. It is certainly the policy of the Communists to discourage religion. They have disendowed and disestablished the Orthodox Church. They regard tolerance, as they do democracy in the Western sense, as part of the tradition of middle-class liberalism, which they reject. They are doing what no state has ever done since the French Revolution: they openly encourage free thought. Towards the priesthood their attitude (as that of the French Republic often was, before the War) is one of unconcealed suspicion and contempt.

All this is true, and yet it is a mistake to talk of "persecution." Belief is not an offence for which any man has ever suffered punishment. There is no attempt to suppress the Church, nothing indeed, that could compare with the much more ruthless struggle in Mexico. All the observances of the Church go on, freely and unmolested, and I, who happen to enjoy its music, can testify that I have visited many of its services, and found them well attended. Education is severely secular, but the law guarantees freedom for the performance of all the rites of the many religions of Russia. To this summary of the essential facts one must add that the official atmosphere is without question unfriendly to religion; that the Church suffers as does every organized body of opinion, save Communism, from the suppression of the free printing press, and that its leaders must do their work under the eyes of a vigilant police, which is prompt to cast them into prison if they do anything which can be called "counter-revolutionary."

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The Right and the Left Hand of the United States

Mr. Hugh Walpole, the famous English novelist, has delivered himself of a strikingly new judgment on the United States upon his return from that country after a lecture tour. Mr. Walpole's opinion is quoted in *The Living Age*:

What nobody in England seems at all to realize is that the right hand of the United States has no longer the slightest notion of what the left hand is doing. The right hand (which is the hand of the old, properly descended, colonial-ancestored, cultured, and civilized American) is to-day completely bewildered by the left hand (which is the logical grandchild of the wild two-generation-ago immigrant—immigrant from Italy, Poland, Hungary, Russia). Not only bewildered, but helpless. Every system arranged by the right hand for the decent governance of the country has broken down under the wild new independence of the left. Not only does the left hand scream with derision at Washington when it considers Washington at all, but it raises its fingers to its nose at any kind of law, order, or discipline, and is producing quite happily a kind of mediaeval bear garden that is alive, picturesque, romantic and the most libertine state of society that the world has seen since the Middle Ages.

The vigour of the left hand is everywhere. The clothes, pastimes, dwelling places, sports, newspapers of the left hand are overwhelmingly in evidence. The quarrel over prohibition has simply emphasized this. In Fifty-Third Street in New York there are fifty speakeasies. Well, and why not? The left hand knows what it wants and will see that it gets it. And it is from the left hand that the future America is coming. It is just now crude, ill-disciplined, half-educated, scornful, selfish, and rebellious. It will not always be so. It has more vigour than any other body of people in the world, save possibly Young Russia. It is eager, excited, violent. It is reading books of every kind. The drug stores in America, are filled with dollar books that are *bought*, not borrowed from circulating libraries. It goes to plays like *Berkeley Square* and *Street Scene* with eager enthusiasm. It despises the present system of American government and is shortly going to make one of its own. It cares less than nothing for the future or prosperity of Europe save in so far as they concern the New America.

And the right hand? There are no kinder, warmer-hearted people anywhere—but it is not with them that the future of America lies. They are bewildered and baffled as we ouselves would be in like case. It is of no use for any of us here to make our appeal to them. It is not in their hands that future decisions will lie

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The Troubles in India

We do not reproduce the following characteristic pronouncement of Lord Brentford, better known as "Jix," published in *The Daily Mail*, as a very wise diagnosis of the Indian situation, but simply as a specimen of the average Briton's thoughts about India:

The cause of all this trouble has been the practical abdication by Great Britain of her duty in India. It began with the Montagu and Chelmsford so-called reforms, and sedition has been permitted and played with for years.

When I was out there ten years ago Mr. Patel, the same gentleman who has just resigned the Speakership, was engaged in fomenting sedition. Gandhi has been notorious for years past and for months has been deliberately setting the Viceroy at defiance.

Why was there this delay in his arrest—because we would have thus made him a martyr? Believe me, that is all nonsense. In prison he will not be a martyr, he will become a mere memory, and that not for many weeks.

But worst of all, when all this was known, when the Press of India had become more seditious, perhaps, than any other Press in the world, when the parliamentary institutions were deliberately smashed as an instrument of government by the extremists, our present Government authorised or directed the Viceroy to issue in the summer of last year his ill-fated proclamation in favour of Dominion self-government. It was surely the maddest proposal that was ever made; *as well light your pipe on a barrel of gunpowder*

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as dangle before the eyes of rebels proposals of Dominion Home Rule.

I wonder what the Government thinks to-day of Dominion Home Rule for India, with the very same rebels in office as Dominion Ministers, with the same independence as Australia and Canada, with the same right to appoint their own Governor-General and to send their Ambassadors all over the world.

What would be the position of British commerce, British trade, and the British themselves in India? The masses of India are not civilised. They do not understand democratic government, yet they have been stirred out of their "pathetic contentment" by a number of the cleverest and bitterest seditionists that the world knows; clearly an intimation should be given that, however much Dominion Home Rule may be regarded as the ultimate goal of India in the far-distant future, it is quite impossible even to think of it at the present moment.

It is no good trying to placate the extremists and smooth down the sporadic riots and rebellions: India must be told quite definitely that England is not going to give up control, and as long as she is there she will rule the country.

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The French and the English.

The hesitations and the difficulties of the League of Nations as well as its strength and dignity, writes Professor Silvador de Madariaga in *The Spectator*, spring not always from external facts, but are also due to a considerable extent to a subjective factor,—the temperamental difference between its two great champions, the French and the English:

As it happens, there is perhaps no clearer contrast there than that between the two protagonists of the League. England and France seem to have been selected by Providence as the two pure antagonistic elements or poles of the international system, forming a couple of opposites comparable to the couple, acid-base, in chemistry, or to that of the masculine and feminine elements in human life. In Geneva everything gravitates either toward the empirical or toward the theoretical, toward expedients or toward principles, rule of thumb or general law, wait and see or foresight of all contingencies, English ways or French ideas.

In practically every argument between England and France the objective differences due to the inherent conflict of national interests are thus complicated by subjective divergences due no longer to a different perspective but to the different nature of the eye that observes. England brings to Geneva her empirical habits of mind. This means that England nearly always advocated the minimum of pre-established agreements to meet future contingencies. The empirical mind stretches thus as little as possible along the line of time. But it limits itself also in that mental dimension of the present which we call breadth. It shrinks from generalizations. Narrow and shortsighted, the Englishman remains firmly attached to the earth of realities.

The Frenchman on the contrary, comes to Geneva with a mind which nature and training have made an aim in itself. He approaches questions as problems, and while the Englishman is feeling a way out he has already thought out a solution. It is more often than not a perfect solution, applicable in all cases and at all times—so perfect in fact as to stagger the Englishman, who as an empirical man feels as uncomfortable in the presence of perfection as a sailor on land or a horseman walking. Generalization and foresight are the two qualities of the Frenchman's thought. His method is logic.

Furthermore, these profound differences of the English and the French characters as they manifest themselves outwardly are enriched by their very effects on the inner man. For it is obvious that the Englishman's picture of the Englishman and the Frenchman's picture of the Frenchman are bound to differ perhaps more profoundly still than their respective views of the outside world. The Englishman does not know himself at all. He is too well bred to be inquisitive. He *feels* himself and is quite satisfied that he is 'all right,' as every man with his record—public school, etc.—is bound to be. Whatever his empirical mind brings forth is therefore all right also, and this assurance enables him to come forth before the world with the most naively egotistical proposals presented with an impassive, earnest, and sincere face as universal boons. The Frenchman smiles and exclaims, *Ah, ces Anglais!* Yet *his* way does not lead to much greater concordance between professions and intentions. His mind is too active and clear not to know the inner man well. While the Englishman sees his intentions as nebulae seen in a foggy sky, the Frenchman sees his as clear stars marking the course of his action and thought. It follows that the Frenchman has all the qualities of the general staff of a good army. He plans in advance, calculates his marches, countermarches, and strongholds. He defines his aims accurately and proceeds toward them skillfully.

The result is curiously alike in both cases. The Englishman is always advocating England's interests as if the world were sure to die but for them, and the Frenchman always proving as mathemetical truth the particular principle which happens to fit at the time Marianne's little finger. But the Englishman gives the impression that he has more faith in his position, since, he seems less able to invent his arguments, while the Frenchman at times argues so perfectly that it seems unnessary to assume that he needs truth to be on his side.

—

British Propaganda in America

It is well known that there is nothing in the way of a purely moral censure that Great Britain fears more than an adverse public opinion in the United States. And public opinion in the United States has of

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late been inclined to be rather severe upon Great Britain about her policy in India. Professor Rushbrook Williams, one of the most skilful publicity experts at the disposal of the Government of India, is therefore sent post haste to America. The following editorial note in *The New Republic* on his arrival in New York requires no comment:

The good luck which proverbially serves the British Empire was never better exemplified than in the arrival of Prof. Rushbrook Williams in New York. Professor Williams is Foreign Minister of Patiala, India, and a well known authority on the recent history of that country. At the moment when American liberal opinion is gravely concerned over the turn of events in India, and inclined to be harshly critical of British policy, along comes Mr. Williams to assure us that all is, on the whole, well. The Indian unrest is about to end, he says, and will be all over by October. The outbreaks have been sporadic, the work of "the turbulent element" from the bazaars. Gandhi is not regarded as a real political leader. India cannot be unified because it is composed of many peoples and many cults. Mr. Williams is travelling privately, and it is of course sheer coincidence which causes him to bob up in New York at the moment when the British case so badly needs stating. It reminds us of the similar coincidence by which Sir Gilbert Parker arrived to tell us, during the War, how sweet and pure were the Allies and how dastardly the Germans.

—

Gandhi and Jesus

The comparison between the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Jesus has more than once been drawn. But from none else could it come with so much propriety as a Christian preacher. Mr. John Haynes Holmes draws the same comparison in *Unity* and incidentally draws attention to the opportunity lost by the Government of India by its arrest of Mahatma Gandhi:

In the New Testament we read of the arrest of Jesus of Nazareth in ancient Palestine by the troops of the Roman Empire which occupied the country as a conquered province. They "led him unto Pilate," runs the text,

"And they began to accuse him saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give taxes to Caesar."

In another place the story reads,

"And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place."

All this has a curiously modern sound as we read of what has been happening in India. On Sunday, May 4th—historic date!—Mahatma Gandhi was arrested by the soldiers of the British Empire which occupies his country today, as Rome occupied Jesus's country yesterday as a conquered province. Against Gandhi is brought the same charge that was levelled against Jesus—that he is "perverting the nation," which means, of course, turning it against the rule of the alien oppressor. "Stirring up the people," "forbidding to give taxes"—how familiar these phrases sound, and how perfectly they fit as carried over from the Christ yesterday to the Mahatma today! To be sure, the parallel is not perfect. Jesus was at least given the semblance of a trial, whereas Gandhi is held in prison without even so much as a hearing. Pilate showed a decent reluctance to punish a man whose nobility he seems instinctively to have recognized, whereas, Lord Irwin has no compunctions and does not even deign to look upon the heroic Indian whom he has seized and cast behind the bars. But it is the crucifixion episode all over again, and, if Gandhi dies, he will, like Jesus, rise again to vex the world forever.

"The peculiar force of the tragedy (in India) lies in the fact that the most civilized Empire of the West should have failed after a decade of opportunity to come to an understanding with a leader of Gandhi's supreme generosity and fairness."—New York *World*.

Lost opportunity is indeed the tragedy of India. With such a man as Gandhi exercising such control over the masses of the Indian people as no man in history has ever before exercised over any people, it needed but a little good spirit and a high degree of statesmanship on the part of Britain's leaders to settle the Indian question amicably and permanently. At any time in the last ten years co-operation with Gandhi instead of hostility against him would have brought about reconciliation and peace. Is it the irony and curse of empire that it cannot thus act? Twice at least in these ten years the door of hope has swung wide open. The first time was in 1919, when Gandhi, a loyal subject of the Empire, led his people in a glad and grateful expectation of reward for their fidelity during the Great War. Constitutional reforms had been promised. Any fulfillment of promises would have moved India to new loyalty: but these promises, instead of being fulfilled, were flouted by Lloyd-George, Liberal. The second opportunity came in 1924, when Gandhi, released from prison, retired from active political leadership, to take up the work of social and religious reform. Here was an unexampled chance to meet the Mahatma in his retirement and unite with his movement of internal reform an imperial movement for improved political relationships. This chance was thrown away by Baldwin and Birkenhead, Tories. Last year came a third and in this case the last opportunity to co-operate with Gandhi and thus avoid a catastrophe that may well wreck the Empire and shake the very foundations of the world. This opportunity was lost by MacDonald, Labourite. What difference does it seem to make, in the hour of great crises whether we have Liberals, Tories, or Labourites in office?

—

Gandhi and Tagore

The recent publication of two books of selections from the writings of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, both edited by

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Mr. C. F. Andrews furnishes Dr. Nicol Macnicol with the opportunity of drawing a comparison between the personalities, outlooks and modes of action of these two representative Indians, in course of an article on India to-day in *The International Review of Missions*:

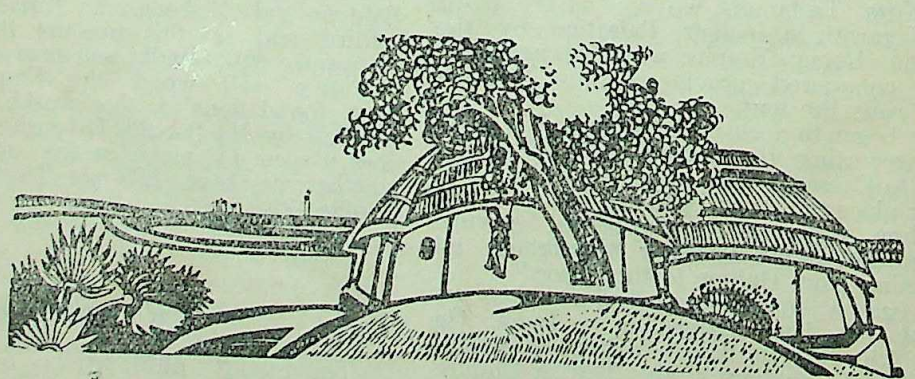
They represent two diverse types of personality, but both of them undoubtedly are great souls, *mahatmas*, and both are at the same time Indian through and through. Just because they are men of insight and spiritual genius, they hold the key—if only we can use it—to the understanding of the Indian enigma. India is peculiarly fortunate in possessing these two interpreters of her mind to the world and these two examples of the possibilities of achievement latent in her.

Their difference is, no doubt, in part due to the fact that the one belongs to Bengal and the other to Gujerat, and to their widely contrasting inheritance and interests. The one is a poet; the other we may provisionally describe as a prophet, and indeed a prophet in some respects distinctly of the Hebrew variety. But at the same time far deeper than their divergence is their essential agreement, and that because especially of two bonds that bind them together, their common Hinduism and their common love of their land and their people. It is interesting to contrast their Hinduisms. It is not possible to read the two books edited by C. F. Andrews without being impressed by this contrast. In spite of what might be expected in view of their inheritance and early environment, it is Tagore who is less of a theist and Gandhi who is more unmistakably one. I claim said Mr. Gandhi 'to be a man of faith and prayer,' and no one can contest his right to make that claim. The emphasis of his life is on the ethical in religion—on religion as a practice and a discipline rather than a body of truths.

Tagore, on the other hand, is essentially the philosophic Hindu. He speaks of himself in one place (Tagore, p. 175) as in danger of turning into a prophet, but that is not his role. He is a philosopher-poet. His desire is to reach the underlying unity of all things, 'the final freedom,' which he repeatedly describes as *Santam, sivam, advaitam*. 'The complete man,' his soul, he tells us, cries out, 'must never be sacrified to the patriotic man or even to the merely moral man' (Tagore, p. 115).

Both men have their roots deep in Hinduism—in the case of the one in what we might almost call caste Hinduism or traditional Hinduism, though caste and tradition must yield to moral claims; in the case of the other in philosophic Hinduism for which there is no such thing as caste or nation but the soul is all.

These comparisons and evaluations are not irrelevant to our inquest into the condition of India. They are not irrelevant for they show us on the one hand, how wide is the net of Hinduism which can hold within itself, as it undoubtedly does, two natures so diverse, two outlooks so opposed, and, on the other hand, how deep the affection India wins that can make these two one in their resentment of India's present humiliation and in their demand that she be set free But are they agreed as to what that demand implies? I think they are. The whole of Gandhi's programme for his 'country's liberation is summed up in his word *Satyagraha* ('soul force'). It is a programme that seems in essentials indistinguishable from what the poet in these letters is continually urging. Freedom can never be given as charity: 'Our most difficult problem is how to gain our freedom of soul in spite of the cramped conditions of our outward circumstances, how to ignore the perpetual insult of our destiny', (Tagore, p. 90). This 'perpetual insult' has inflicted a wound deep and, except in the healing atmosphere of freedom, incurable. Its pain is as deeply felt by him as it is by Gandhi. Perhaps more anxiously than Gandhi he watches that the freedom he desires shall be honourably won. He fears lest non-co-operation should outrage that 'ultimate truth of soul which is love' (Tagore, p. 133). It is this attitude of Tagore towards Gandhi's policy that makes Gandhi call him 'the great Sentinel,' 'warning against the approach of enemies called Bigotry, Lethargy, Intolerance, Ignorance and other members of that brood', (*Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 260).



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The Table Round

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Shade of King Arthur :

What is this I hear of my Table Round ?

Shade of Sir Gareth :

A fairy tale, Sir King, I'll be bound.

Shade of Sir Bedivere :

Nay, there are knights, so we be told ;

Shade of Sir Kay :

Ay, no spurs but purses jingling with gold ;
Knights that babble as the day is long
And confound the right with the wrong.

Shade of Sir Geraint :

Zounds ! are knights no better than clowns.
And belled caps pass for royal crowns ?

Arthur :

I mind me of my order and the Table
Round which we met in knightly fellowship ;
On earth bides the memory of our deeds,
But nor Table nor the clank of our arms.
The brand excalibur that I never drew
In cause unjust I left in safe keeping
With the mystic nymph of the mere.
Soft ! who comes here ?

[Enter the shade of Merlin.]

Here cometh Merlin the wise, the Wizard !
Hast heard of men now on earth
Sitting round my famed Table Round ?

Merlin :

Not thine, O king, not the oaken Table
Round which gathered thy gallant knights ;
But a hollow deal table round which
Sits a motley crowd. They sit and they talk
By the rood and the mile, and anon they
Move round and round in a circle
That never comes to an end. Rest in peace,
Royal Shadow, for the Table means nought ;
These mimic knights move in a maze
And their minds are filmed by a haze.

[Exeunt.

FINANCIAL NOTES

The Boycott of Foreign Cloth.

It is generally supposed that the boycott movement is most intense in Bombay ; but the following table of British trade statistics for April, 1930 shows that Bengal leads in the boycott of foreign cloth, the fall in the import of cotton piecegoods being proportionately greater in Bengal than in the rest of India :

Quantities and values of British cotton piecegoods imported during April, 1930 and April, 1929

Into	Quantites in million yards		Value in £ thousand	
	1929	1930	1929	1930
Bombay *via* Karachi	27	19	476	312
" *via* other ports	29	15	659	320
Madras	10	6	185	103
Bengal, Assam, Bihar & Orissa	88	42	1,455	649
Burma	6	3	157	83
Total for British India	160	85	2,932	1,467
Grand total for all countries	349	217	8,992	5,409

The above table brings out clearly in the first place what an important market India is for British cotton piecegoods and in the second, to what extent the boycott movement has affected this trade. Unfortunately, complete figures for May, 1930 are not yet available. But certain items for which figures have been published, show a proportionately heavier decline (when compared with the corresponding figures for 1929) during May than during April, when the boycott organization was naturally not so developed.

Studying the question from the Indian end, the following figures may be arrived at :

Aggregate imports of foreign piecegoods of different kinds during April, 1930 and April, 1929 in million yards

From	Grey		White		Coloured	
	1929	1930	1929	1930	1929	1930
United Kingdom	68	44	56	43	32	28
Other countries	34	30	4	5	20	14

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It is apparent that other countries have not been affected by the boycott to anything like the same extent as the United Kingdom. Nor can diminished imports from Lancashire be explained away by speaking of proportionately higher prices there beyond the purchasing power of Indian buyers. For, the index number of the price of cotton cloth in Manchester as given in Tattersall's Cotton Trade Review shows a heavy fall from 151 on 12th April, 1929 to 133 on 11th April, 1930, the base being 100 on 31st July, 1914 in each case.

How the movement has spread into the interior in the different provinces may be studied by analysing the figures of cotton piecegoods despatched by rail from the principal ports, as shown below:

Weight in tons of cotton piecegoods depatched by rail during the period

From	31-3-29 to 4-5-29		30-3-30 to 3-5-30	
	Foreign	Indian	Foreign	Indian
Calcutta	5,022	1,080	5,114	725
Bombay	1,638	7,362	1,288	6,798
Karachi	25	537	29	465
Madras	503	544	703	766
	7,188	9,523	7,134	8,754

Thus there has been no sensible decline in the despatch of foreign cotton piecegoods to the mofussil. It is clear that except in Bombay Presidency the boycott was not taken up in the mofussil to the same extent as in the ports and the importers there sent their goods up-country in the hope of better sales elsewhere. Recent statistics however show that the boycott is also spreading in the mofussil, and that the movement of foreign cloth up-country has been somewhat checked.

Finance of Local Bodies

According to the Government Resolution on the working of the District Boards in Bengal during 1928-29, "the District Boards are essentially carrying out the functions of promoting rural well-being which they were designed to fulfil." This faint praise is coupled with the following remarks:

"The problem of ensuring closer attention to financial regularity on the part of District Boards is one on the solution of which progress in the field of local self-government in the near future must largely depend."

The usual tirade against the "party in declared opposition to Government" is also there. While there is no question that all local bodies should devote their best attention to the duty with which they have been charged, and exercise effective financial control, it must not be overlooked that nowhere else except in India is responsible government sought to be denied on the score of alleged financial irregularities. When the sapient authors were indicting their pompous resolution, news was received in India of the hopeless financial embarrassment of the municipality of Chicago, the second largest metropolis in the United States, it being unable to meet pending obligations such as the salaries of the police, school teachers and other city servants or to raise money from any sources. According to the reports of the Citizens' Committee of Investigation, the interest charges on the unfunded or floating debt amounted to the formidable figure of $ 50,000,000 a day. For a number of years the city had been spending its income one year in advance. There were as many as 12 to 20 agencies with independent spending powers. But no one spoke about "superseding" the municipality. For the root cause of these irregularities is not responsible government *but its absence*. This great city is wholly under the control of the southern part of the State of Illinois, the entire State having a population of about 7 millions during 1928. Even if we leave out the areas in the adjoining States of Michigan and Indiana and take into account only the population of the Cook county which embraces the city of Chicago, we get a population of not less than 3½ millions. In spite of this fact, the city of Chicago has practically no say either in the government of the State or the management of its own affairs. According to a competent authority, "a clique in the State capital persists in maintaining this situation in the interest of legislation which the rural communities of the State want to impose upon Chicago." The same difficulty is present in India also. So long as franchise is not sufficiently wide and representation really effective, it is hardly fair to ascribe financial irregularity to responsible government.

H. SINHA

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Miss Arundhati Mitra and her sister Miss Renuka Mitra have both passed the entrance examination of the Indian Women's University, Poona, with unusual distinction, Miss Arundhati standing first in order of merit. Their achievement is all the more creditable that they have not had the advantage of a regular school training, but were educated for the most part at home.



Miss Arundhati Mitra and Renuka Mitra

We regret to announce the death of Lady Basanta Kumari Devi, the widow of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, a former judge of the Lahore High Court. She established and endowed the Basanta Kumari Widow's Home of Puri, an institution which is doing very useful for the upliftment of the condition of



Basanta Kumari Devi

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Miss Taramati Patel

Hindu widows. Until her death Lady Basanta Kumari herself lived in the Widow's Home and supervised all its work.

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Miss Taramati Patel B. A. LL. B. is the first Gujarati lady to pass the L. C. B. examination. She belongs to the Patidar community which still observes the *purdah*.

The World's Humour



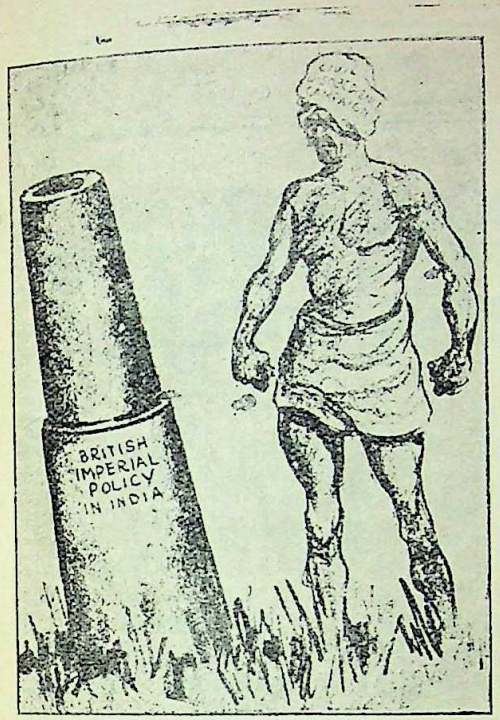
THE SNAKE CHARMER—
Pravda, Moscow



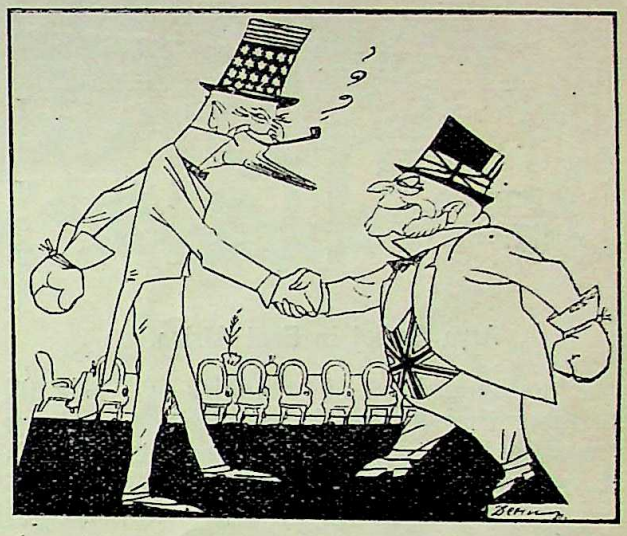
THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE
Izvestia, Moscow

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THE MAN AGAINST METAL
—*St. Louis Star*



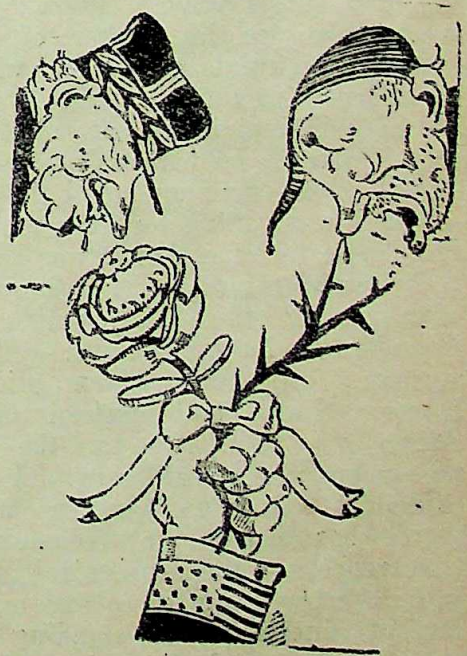
ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP
The hand-shake before the boxing match
Pravda, Moscow



THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA
John Bull: "This I didn't expect."
—*Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona



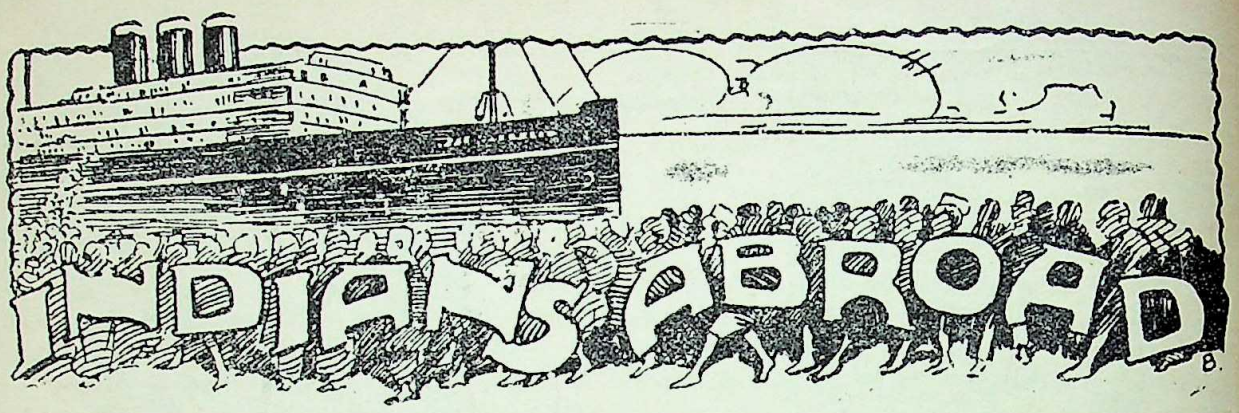
"JUST KEEP ON TRYING"
—*Philadelphia Inquirer*



THE YOUNG PLAN—as it appears to France and Germany.
Pravda, Moscow

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Arya Samaj in East Africa.

When speaking of colonies we should remember that the stuff that has gone there from all countries, European and Asiatic, is not at any rate of the best. The first to yield to the temptation to leave the shores of their mother-country are mostly people who find it hard to earn a decent living in the land that has given them birth. All praise to them for their love of adventure and romance, but very few among them represent in their character the most praiseworthy moral traits of the nation to which they belong. The majority typify in them the dark side of the picture. Somehow, it is ethical conservatism in which all virtues generally tend to centre. And those that venture on a voyage abroad are of nature the least conservative. In a strange land, where there are ties neither of love nor of hate, the restraints of society which are the main factor in the maintenance of virtue and morality in individuals are missing. One is free to live as he will and do what he lists. A fellow-passenger on board the *Karagala* by which I was sailing for the first time for Mombassa told me that it was only recently that teetotalers and vegetarians could be met with among the fashionable section of travellers to foreign shores. That line of steamers especially which plies its trade between India and Eastern and Southern Africa was marked by the absence of passengers who should care for any moral principles. Of late, however, when foreign travel has become a common, everyday occurrence and the economical conditions in India are becoming more and more stringent, men of education and standing have made for themselves a footing in a foreign land, have invited their relatives, and secured them a foot-hold, thus laying seeds of brotherhood which makes for love and fellow-feeling. In the absence of regard for elders and kinsmen whose love and respect one values most, a man of ordinary moral calibre has every chance of getting morally lax.

Such was the state of things when foundations were laid of the Church of the Vedas in some of the important centres of East Africa. The Arya Samajists at Nairobi, Mombassa and Zanzibar are some of the oldest Arya organizations. The Arya Samaj at Nairobi owns today a temple which may in its magnificence stand comparison with any Arya Samaj temple in India. It has a large membership and is conducting a girl's school, a reading room, a Young men's Arya Association and a Ladies' Arya Samaj. A short while ago it opened a night school for the natives. Adverse circumstances, however, first thinned the attendance, which had at one time risen to the high figure of three hundred, and then closed down the institution. As a result of the venture stray Negro lads may even now be met with who with folded hands shout *Namaste*.

The Arya Samajists at Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam owe their inception to Karsan Dwarkadas, a Gujarati gentleman of pluck and means. He is said to have had a mania for the Arya Samaj. Dar-es Salaam was before the last war German territory. I have brought with me a photograph of a mixed school of girls and boys which passed into the hands of the British and which this Arya Samajist enthusiast had started. At the time when Tanganyika passed into the hands of the British he had to undergo a good deal of trouble because of certain adverse reports against him. Time, however, dispelled all doubts and he was allowed to proceed to India where a few years ago he died. The memory of this Arya pioneer is yet cherished with feelings of deep affection and esteem.

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The Zanzibar Arya Samaj has today under its control a reading room and a girl's school and started in my presence two years ago a night school for Negroes and Indian artisans.

The Mombassa Arya Samaj was in a flourishing condition before the outbreak of the last war. Somehow the leading members of the Arya Samaj then fell under a shadow, being suspected of fostering treason against the British Government. A few of them had to undergo imprisonment as a preparation for execution, the paraphernalia of which were exhibited in public streets every day. Mr. B. R. Sharma on whom the sword of Damocles in this way haug is now-a-days in Nairobi. He is an active member of the Arya Samaj there and is esteemed among his fellow workers as possessing a wise head. He told me how he and his companions were without any fault arrested, put in prison, persecuted and at last acquitted and set at large. It required courage after this catastrophe to re-open the temple and own allegiance to its teachings. A small band of sincere believers has rallied round the banner of Dayananda again, and it may be hoped that old enthusiasm will again revive. The Arya Samaj at Kisumu is successfully managing a girl's school and only lately asked for the services of a permanent preacher and a mistress.

In Uganda only Jinja can boast of a Arya Samaj. But even there there is no temple. Lectures are held at Nanji Library, called after the premier Seth in those parts, who is president of the Arya Samaj. The members appeared to be earnestly determined to establish a *mandir* in a year or two.

Kampala had once a Samaj, but for lack of men with religious zeal is now going without one. Smaller Samajes are running at Machakos, Londiani and Lumbwa in Kenya Colony and at Tabora in Tanganyika Territory. There is scope for a few other Samajes in all these territories.

Of educational work among the Indians the Arya Samaj has been the pioneer. As I have pointed out above, most of the Samajes have girls' schools attached to them. Other communities too, have of late opened their own schools. At present the Arya community is contemplating the establishment of a Gurukula. The cause has been made popular and funds are being collected. More remarkable than the number of the Arya Samajes and their membership in their influence on the public life of the country.

CHAMUPATI

The South African Indian Woman and her Child —Glimpses

There is a growing tendency in most modern periodicals not to omit its women's column or page. For, the editors know, alas, too well, the dire consequences of their neglect! Women have become a source of news. Their news are quoted with avidity, now that the Indian woman, the Cinderillas of her sex, is quietly taking her place in this era, that daily spells more freedom for women. The Indian woman in South Africa has pursued her life with even placidity. The turmoil of the women's enfranchisement or the Native Bill spoils not her little dreams.

The history of the Indian advent into South Africa has of late years been so oft quoted that it would be wholly unnecessary here to dwell upon it. Lured by favourable South African conditions, the women (pioneers they were) with their husbands dared a hazardous and perilous voyage to this country. Everything was new to them. They came to a land of contrasts and extremes. If this land of sunshine and stress failed them they held their peace.

In the Cape, the Indian woman from India who has settled there, usually comes out, as the wife of the Indian trader. Her whole life is focussed round her home. Almost at once she lives in the midst of Malays, coloured people and Europeans. The change is rather violent at first but as time goes on she adjusts herself to her new conditions. She naturally learns Dutch or English. Gradually she finds it better to live in friendly harmony with her neighbours than to wait for the belated visits from her sisters from the homeland now settled in this country.

Most of the Indian women in the Cape adopt the European mode of dress and wear scarves like young Malay women. It is not a sign that they are losing their identity as Indians--far from it. For as long as they retain their love for their language they will remain Indians. They find that the *Sari* is looked upon as a strange mode of dress by the young South Africans, and in order not to attract undue attention they clothe themselves in European fashion. Some of those belonging to the more conservative

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mould still adhere to the Indian mode of dress.

It was in the Transvaal that the memorable scenes in the history of Indian women were enacted. It was in this very province, that the heroic band of women joined the menfolk in the passive resistance march. It was an inspiring moment. Those who feared hardship gave of their wealth unstintedly, whilst others of a heroic mould, suffered on that march. Such was the indomitable spirit of the Indian woman in the Transvaal. But the Indian woman in the Transvaal has suffered valiantly is spite of the overwhelming odds against her. Here, in this province, where Dutch is usually spoken, she has learnt to speak it and often fluently. She has tried to assimilate her European neighbours in the well ordered arrangement of her home.

But the Indian woman in the Transvaal still cherish their love for their own customs, mode of dress and religion. It is impossible to break down these deep walled prejudices in so short a space of time. If the Indian woman in the Cape has been made to feel a citizen of the Cape, her sister in the Transvaal has been treated as an alien. It cannot therefore be surprising that she cannot lose sight of her motherland. The little pictures on the walls tell of the deities which have been associated with her early childhood. She is loyal to this strange new country for she instils in her children love for the country of their birth, and reverence for her motherland. When she is sufficiently blessed with worldly goods there are occasional visits to India to revive old associations.

Natal, with its luxuriant tropical vegetation, seems to be a part of India transplanted in South Africa. No wonder the Indian woman in Natal cherishes Natal more, for, is it not reminiscent of far off India? Here the Indian woman on the whole has been transplanted happily. Life to her is a continuation of her life in India. Natal has aptly been named the garden province of the Union and it was partly due to the toil of these hard working Indian women and their men on the land that this province was transformed into a veritable garden.

The Indian woman in the Cape in most cases has come out as the wife of the Indian trader. The Indian population in the Cape is small and she was from the beginning a home maker. Her home was the centre of her activities. In most cases she lived away from her husband's place of business. She has imitated her neighbours in their mode of living. She has succeeded remarkably well and has a more Western outlook in social affairs than her sisters in the Transvaal and Natal. The Indian woman in this province mixes freely with the women of other races. For her, the benefits of an outdoor life do not appeal, but as time rolls on she will not demur when her children participate in sports.

Lured by the wonderful discovery of gold in the Transvaal, the Indian woman followed her husband to this land of sunshine. She too became a home maker. Of this country of strange contrasts, she soon became a part. She gradually settled down. It is true that she has not accustomed herself to South African conditions so rapidly as her sister in the Cape, but her progress has been gradual. As she is surrounded by many of her own kith and kin she feels happy.

In Natal, the Indian woman who settled there, has come from all ranks of life. Some from the working class: others from trading and agricultural classes. Many of the women worked with their husbands on the tea and sugar estates. The Indian woman worker was exploited in the field of unskilled labour. But that was not the end of her activities, she worked in the coal-fields and even was employed by the Municipality. The life of an Indian woman worker was not a happy one. Very often she was employed in domestic service. These toiling women physically unfit and financially impoverished had the treble burden of child-bearing, of domestic service in the home, and of work outside the home. Life to them seemed to be one of ceaseless toil. Could one expect these overworked, harassed and underfed Indian mothers to have an enlightened outlook in matters which matter today? But in spite of their difficulties these very women, by their toil, by their endurance and by their wonderful foresight have carved many a successful educational career for their children that redounds to the credit of the whole Indian community.

The opening of the Sastri College where Indian men and women are to be trained as teachers, will mark a new phase in the history of Indians in Natal. It will be a light in this province where the lamp of Indian education has been so dimly lit. There are few pioneering women who have

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been employed as teachers. With better facilities more Indian women will flock to the teaching and other professions. The dearth of Indian women teachers will then gradually disappear.

But work in child welfare and in nursing is in its beginings. It is here where the Indian women, with her womanly sympathy, her love for suffering humanity, and her experience in social service can render infinite help to her community. The need for Indian women workers is imperative. There may be willing workers, but the greatest obstacles, in the way, is the lack of training in such work. Indian charity and Indian workers will not be found wanting when training schools come into existence.

The child of today has become a topic of endless interest. Long before he gazes this world of clouded pain, his wants have been silently administered. After his birth, unflagging interest follows him until he reaches school-going age. The Indian child has come in for his share of interest, and he like his mother, leads a varied life in this land of vast spaces and unending interest.

It is only in the Cape where there is no educational diffrentiation between Indian and coloured children. The Indian child in the Cape benefits greatly by this healthy contact with children of other races. He immediately becomes alert. It is here in the school-room, where deep-walled barriers of race, of religion, and of caste are swept away. He is nurtured in an enlightened environment. This broadminded spirit is more in evidence in the Cape than in any other part of the Union.

The education of the Indian child in Transvaal is vastly different. The Indian child, in the elementary classes, is taught in the medium of one of the Indian vernaculars. He mixes only with Indian children in school but out of school the friendly companionship of the Malay and coloured children is his.

If the plight of the Indian child in Transvaal was bad, the Indian child in Natal fared no better. There were a number of schools, mostly Government aided ; such Government aided schools were mostly in the hands of Missionaries who were the pioneers of Indian education. Mosques have madrassas in almost all cases for the teaching of vernaculars and religion. There are vernacular schools conducted by others in some of which English education is given. But even these were not enough for this populous Indian community. There is, however one secondary school where Indian pupils are only received. The provincial Government instituted an enquiry into Indian education. Two experts were sent out from India, and as a welcome aftermath, a sum of money has been earmarked for Indian education this year. In spite of the scanty educational facilities, the Indians have striven in this land most heroically.

In this country of sunshine and of stress, of mixed races, the Indian woman has played her part quietly. For although the home is essentially her sphere in life, she has imbued the ideals of this land. She is smitten by the vigorous country, and strives against the walls of custom, of prejudice, and of ignorance to befit herself for her life in South Africa. If the time is is not nigh for her to discard these deeply rooted prejudices, she knows that her children will take their part with diginity as citizens of South Africa. The Indian woman has come to stay in South Africa for good. She knows that she cannot return to the village of her fathers, for life in this strange land is wonderfully stimulating and her children have imbibed some of the brooding spirit of the open spaces of this glorious young South Africa.

FATIMA GOOL.

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NOTES

The Political Atmosphere in India

The political thermometer in India does not give any indication of the cooling of the atmosphere, in spite of the breaking of the monsoon, though the Government machinery for maintaining "law and order" are at work with full steam up.

One of the objects of promulgating the Press Ordinance was that the civil disobedience movement should not be fostered by journalistic writings in its favour. Probably Government had an idea that it was an artificially galvanized movement and would collapse as soon as the externally applied artificial journalistic stimulas had ceased to operate. The Press Ordinance has prevented all newspapers, except perhaps Mr. Gandhi's two little organs (which are no longer conducted by him), from encourging the civil resisters. Government may now be in a position to judge whether the movement owes its strength (whatever its quantity) to mere agitation or to something in the heart of the people.

The few leaders of the movement who are still out of jail will also be able to judge what hold it has or has not on the heart of the people and what its inner strength is.

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Women's Part in the Movement

The part which women have taken in the movement has surprised friend and foe alike. It was perhaps expected that in Gujarat, which has felt Mahatma Gandhi's influence most, women would take an active part in the movement, as there is no purdah there. It was not unexpected, too, that in the other provinces where there is no purdah, women would be politically active. But even in provinces like Bengal, which are purdah-ridden, women have been sent to jail. In fact, in Calcutta women satyagrahis have given comparatively more work to the police to do than men.

It is noteworthy that some of those who, like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamala-devi Chattopadhyaya, are leading members of the women's social and educational reform movement, have been among the first to be sent to jail, showing that social, educational and political movements are inter-related.

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Simon Commission's Report

The first volume of the Simon Commission's report was published in advance of the second volume in order to impress the public with the enormous difficulties of framing a constitution for India, and in order that people, labouring under that impression, may consider the recommendations embodied in the second volume as a very generous dole bestowed on the Indian people.

The first volume has been written in such a way as to lend to it a deceptive air of impartiality. Some appreciation has been shown of educated Indians and their aspirations, but much more has been written having a contrary tendency. It is a regular feat of dancing on the tight-rope. But Indians can easily detect the trick.

As propaganda the first volume has been a great success in Britain, as most papers and people who have said anything about it have cried themselves hoarse in praise of its supreme excellence. But in India it has left all parties cold. That, however, does not matter. For the British people and their statesmen think they can afford to ignore and despise Indian opinion, the appointment of an all-white statutory commission having been a result and indication of that kind of British mentality. Britishers feel, however, that they cannot entirely ignore the opinion of European and

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American independent nations and of Japan. A proposal is, therefore, under consideration to translate the first volume of the Simon report into the principal European languages and Japanese. Money will not be wanting to give effect to the proposal, and it will not be surprising if the cost of these translations is drawn directly or indirectly from India. There is no Indian National Publicity Bureau to counteract the effects of British propaganda. British propaganda has an easy task to perform. For, the most powerful nations of the world to-day are imperialists like the British; and there is, therefore, much sympathy felt for Britain in her "troubles" in India by those nations, who all have similar "troubles" more or less. Moreover, all powerful nations are also manufacturing nations and profit by India's undeveloped condition, which is due to her loss of political autonomy. Therefore, for India to gain the genuine sympathy of any powerful *nation* is a very difficult and uphill task, though in every civilized country there are many *private individuals* who really sympathize with Indians.

If the Simon report has succeeded remarkably well in England, and perhaps in other foreign countries, too, its achievement in India has been no less unique in a different direction. The Simon Seven must be men of uncommon talent. For they have succeeded in drawing up recommendations which have pleased no Indian *party*, large or small. That is a remarkable achievement, unparalleled in the history of Commissions relating to India. No doubt, there are *individuals* whom no official thing emanating from British hands can possibly disappoint and displease. They are *sui generis* and must be left out of account.

Another achievement stands to the credit of the Simon Seven. Their report may or may not bring actual adherents to the civil disobedience movement from the ranks of neutrals and opponents, but there are strong indications to show that, owing to it, there have been conversions at heart *en masse* to the Gandhi cult in all provinces even in many very unlikely quarters.

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The Latest Ordinances

That seems to be the result also of recent Government repressive measures generally.

Ordinance No. V of 1930 makes the picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops a crime. Such picketing is characterized in the Ordinance as "molestation." There may be some kinds of picketing which amount to molestation. But certainly, to try to persuade people by polite argument and humble entreaty not to buy foreign cloth or liquor is not molestation. If any shopkeeper or any would-be purchaser thinks that he is "molested," the law should have left it to him to complain against the molester and get his remedy from a law-court. But picketing has been made a cognisable and non-bailable offence, and magistrates can take cognisance of it upon the written reports of facts made by a police officer. And as the picketing *satyagrahis* do not defend themselves when tried, they are all punished as a matter of course, whether they had molested any buyer or seller or not.

It is significant that when during many labour strikes factory-owners repeatedly asked Government to legislate against picketing, nothing was done to comply with that request.

Government has incurred particular odium by making the picketing of liquor shops a crime in India, where the two most largely followed religions consider drinking a sin. *The Guardian*, a Christian weekly of Calcutta, has observed in this connection that if any one tries to dissuade a man from visiting a brothel, the former may be sent to jail under Ordinance No. V; for the latter "has a right to do" it.

In the Statement which explains the reasons why the Governor-General has promulgated this Ordinance, it is stated :

> 2. The most common object with which picketing and other kinds of molestation and intimidation are being employed is for the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor. It is no part of the duty of my Government, and certainly it is not their desire, to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends. They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian Industries and it is perfectly legitimate for any person, in advocacy of this object, to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which Indian industry is capable. Nor have I anything but respect for those who preach the cause of temperance.
>
> But what is not legitimate is for those who desire these ends, proper as they are in themselves, to pursue them by means amounting in effect to intimidation of individuals, and to endeavour to force their views on others, not by argument but by the coercive effect of fear. When resort is had

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to such methods, it becomes necessary for Government to protect the natural freedom of action of those who may wish to sell and those who may wish to buy.

Lord Irwin declares definitely that "it is no part of the duty of my Government, and certainly it is not their desire to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends." What are "these ends"? In the words of the Statement they are, "preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor." Therefore, "the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor" is admitted as a legitimate purpose. But while this admission has been distinctly made by clear implication, the ordinance leaves no loophole for conducting "any legitimate movements," such as peaceful persuasion, "directed to these ends." This is a strange inconsistency. However, the effect of the ordinance has been to intensify and extend picketing.

Similarly, though social boycott of Government servants and asking the police and sepoys to give up Government service had been thought of before, the civil resisters have begun to follow these lines of activity more actively after the promulgation of the ordinance. For, in their present temper the civil resisters perhaps think that whatever is forbidden is *the* thing they must do. So it might be more statesmanlike on the part of Government to think of other means to gain their ends than the promulgation of fresh ordinances. But we forget. "Government" also is constituted of human beings, who probably would in their present temper suspect all non-official suggestions to be prayers for mercy and would not, therefore, even consider them.

Ordinance No. VI of 1930 is meant to provide against instigation to the refusal of the payment of certain liabilities.

To cut off supplies by not paying taxes has been long recognized as a constitutional means of obtaining rights or redress of grievances. Of course, non-payers of taxes have had to suffer the consequences of their action. But the promoting or conducting of a no-tax campaign had not hitherto been considered a crime. Now it has been made criminal.

But it is idle to expect that *satyagrahis* who are not deterred by *lathi* blows and worse assaults would be scared away from their contemplated methods by the prospect of imprisonment. They, in fact, want to fill the jails to bursting.

What is curious is the inclusion "within the purview of the Ordinance certain liabilities (for instance, the rent of agricultural land) which, although not included in the dues which form the present announced object of attack by the Congress, have been mentioned by them from time to time as coming within the scope of the civil disobedience movement and would indeed in many parts of the country form the inevitable object of attack if any movement were initiated to withhold payment of revenue to Government." This inclusion of the rent of agricultural land is intended perhaps to serve as an inducement for landlords to keep aloof from the civil disobedience movement themselves and to discourage others from joining it. *The Servant of India's* comment on this inclusion is: "In the language of lawyers, it is a 'retainer' to the landlords; in vulgar language, a bribe for their support. To legislate by ordinance for possible contingencies which do not affect the safety of the Government is meeting the Devil half-way" (June 5, 1930).

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One Thing at a Time

For our part, we do not remember to have read any Cengress resolution or any writing of Mr. Gandhi's in which non-payment of rent to landlords has been advocated, though some prominent or non-prominent members of the Congress have, in their individual capacity, declared themselves socialists and against the existence of privileged classes like ruling princes, landlords, etc. Whatever movement we may or may not support, we have always advocated the undertaking of one fight at a time. At present the struggle is for winning political freedom for the whole nation. For gaining that object the Congress has started civil disobedience, and the Liberals and others have adopted other means. The struggle for freedom is serious enough to engage the whole attention and require all the energy of each party and all parties. Whether after freedom has been won, landlordism is to be ended, as in Ireland, by buying off the landlords and peasant proprietorship is to be established, or whether there is to be nationalization of land, are questions which can wait. We presume, therefore, that even

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the extreme left of the Congress have never contemplated the non-payment of rent on agricultural land at the present juncture.

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"Police Excesses"

The last June 5 issue of *The Servant of India*, the organ of the Servant of India Society founded by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale and presided over at present by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, contains an article with the above heading. That paper does not, it need not be said, support the civil disobedience movement. On the contrary, it opposes and criticizes it. The editor begins the aforesaid article thus :

In his reply to Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru over the latter's resignation of membership of the Legislative Assembly, Lord Irwin denied the charge of police excesses and reiterated that only the minimum of force was used on occasions when force had to be used. Mr. Kunzru was not alone in making such a complaint. Several others, and among them the Bombay Liberals, have made such charges. It is futile to deny them in toto and profess to be innocent. We have no desire to base our charge of police excesses on mere propagandist literature, nor are we impressed that the Government communiques contain the whole truth and nothing but it. But when responsible leaders of public opinion, who are no friends of civil disobedience or of law-breaking, some of whom were actually in charge of the departments of law and order in Provincial Governments not long ago, when such people, with a full sense of responsibility, support the charge against the Government, it is, to put it mildly, foolish on the part of the Government to content themselves by just denying it.

Our contemporary gives the following advice to the *satyagrahis* :

If the satyagrahis are serious when they wish their campaign to be peaceful and non-violent, they should take every care to prevent crowds gathering and getting out of hand and behaving like anything but satyagrahis. If it is going to be "war" between them and the Government, let them see to it that the non-combatants do not defeat their non-violent purpose, and are out of sight and danger.

The article concludes as follows :

It is open to the Government to contend that, since the object of the civil disobedience movement is to overthrow the present Government, since it means civil war between the Government and a section of the people and since its sponsors have not hesitated to call it "war," they are exempt from the restrictions imposed by the ordinary law of the land and that they are free to use the maximum of force to preserve their status. It is further open to them to say that those who break laws have no right to expect the Government to act within the law, and that in "war," all is fair. But they may not pretend that they are acting within the law, that only the minimum of force was being used and that they are respecting the ordinary canons of public administration. The Ordinances are standing refutation of such pretences.

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'Incredible If True"

The Servant of India, in its issue of June 19, 1930, has an editorial paragraph with the above heading in which it is said :

In the last issue of *Young India* Mirabai *alias* Miss Slade writes a distressing tale of the excesses alleged against the police. No head so cool, no heart so callous but must be stirred to indignation and pity by the tale, if only a part of it was true. She sums up her charge as follows : *lathi* blows on head, chest, stomach and joints, thrusting *lathis* in private parts, abdominal regions and into the anus ; pressing and squeezing testicles till a man becomes unconscious ; dragging of wounded men by the legs and arms and throwing them into thorn hedges and into salt water ; riding horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground, thrusting pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious, and beating them after they had become unconscious, besides hurting the most sacred feelings of the satyagrahis by the use of foul and vile language. It is rather a formidable and ugly indictment.

We do not wish to pick out from this paper only such extracts as contain allegations against servants of the Government. We give below without any comment the remaining part of the paragraph, which contains "very strong disapproval of the action of the Congress" also.

Even if allowance were made for the rough methods and crude psychology of the average policemen even when controlled by I.C.S. officers on the spot, whose own tempers were sorely tried, what are we to say of magistrates sitting in their courts cooly and deliberately sentencing young boys to rigorous imprisonment for trivial offences? The *Hindu* of Madras reports that at Bhimavaram a boy aged 12 was arrested and sentenced to two years' stay in the reformatory school for cutting palmyra spathes ! Another Congress volunteer was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for a similar offence, the cutting of the spathes of palmyra trees !

While we indignantly resent these disgusting actions of the Government and their agents, we cannot conceal our very strong disapproval of the action of the Congress in exposing innocent and excitable young men to such brutalities and indignities. It is positively criminal to exploit the zeal, enthusiasm and idealism of youth only to subject them to such wanton suffering.

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Rabindranath Tagore at Oxford

The Manchester Guardian writes :

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's last Hibbert Lecture at Manchester College to-night was more crowded than ever in spite of the counter-attraction of Eights

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Week and the burst of applause at the close lasted several minutes. Afterwards Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, expressed the deepest gratitude of the audience.

No series of Hibbert Lectures that has been delivered in recent times has had such an enthusiastic welcome and such an overflowing audience as those which have been given by Tagore. Though the subject was difficult to follow yet it was rendered luminous throughout by bright gleams of humour and remarkably lucid illustrations. Above all, the personality of the poet as he spoke with the sunshine falling on his white head and lighting up his beautiful face made comparatively easy even his most difficult thoughts. Indeed they would have been often hard to understand if they had not been thus interpreted by his living voice and glowing spirit.

Oxford has rarely received such a gift from the East as she has received during these last ten days owing to the visit of Rabindranath Tagore.

On Sunday, when Dr. Tagore preached at Manchester College Chapel the congregation was so great that many had to remain standing around the walls and others found seats on the steps leading to the pulpit.

The Christian World says:

The brief series of three Hibbert Lectures at Manchester College, Oxford, have now been completed and probably no previous series has attracted such marked popular attention.

These lectures will be published in book form after the Poet has delivered them in America in the autumn.

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"Spurious Saint of Gujarat"!

Assuming that there is some truth in the saying, "No man is a hero to his valet," some one has observed: "That is not because the hero is not a hero, but because the valet is only a valet."

Lord Zetland is reported to have spoken of Mahatma Gandhi as the "spurious saint of Gujarat." He did so, not because the Mahatma is not a true saint, but because Lord Zetland does not possess the capacity and freedom from prejudice to appreciate Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

The Marquis of Zetland further displayed his heroism and his good breeding by referring to the Mahatma's "blind, insensate folly." History will show who is blind, senseless and foolish. In the meantime the Marquis will do well to reflect whether he could have mustered enough courage to speak of a Frenchman, an American, or even a Japanese of much less eminence than Mahatma Gandhi in the way he has spoken of Gandhi-ji.

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Why England Holds India

Your British Imperial Bounders are more likable than your mealy-mouthed sanctimonious British philanthropists, because there is no humbug about the former. When Sir William Joynson-Hicks, now Lord Something, said, "We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is cant...We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain...We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire goods in particular;"—he spoke the honest truth. Under the influence of a similar onrush of honest truthfulness, which is not the usual characteristic of Viscount Rothermere, that Lord wrote in the London *Daily Mail* (June 3, 1930):

Foolish people in this country talk about the evacuation of India as if it would make no more difference to the prosperity of our Empire than the abandonment of British Guiana.

They do not realize that the step they so lightly contemplate would be *the end of Britain as a Great Power*. Their hazy minds are incapable of understanding that the loss of India would bring immediate economic ruin to this country; that instead of close on two million unemployed we should have four or five millions, for whom no relief could be provided, and who would soon be faced with sheer starvation.

India is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports, and our imports from there are second only to those from the United States.

Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants, and all the other state allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence.

These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India.

At least four shillings in the pound of the income of every man and woman in Great Britain is drawn, directly or indirectly, from our connection with India.

But this veracity was only a temporary aberration. For, a few paragraphs below, the Viscount said that "Dominion Home Rule would place the administration of justice in hands notoriously opressive and corrupt." This is as black a lie as even Lord Rothermere is capable of uttering. He displayed his crass ignorance of Indian history by saying: "Since history began, India has

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never experienced a single day of democratic freedom."

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Simon Commission Report on the Recruiting of Sepoys

With reference to the paragraphs published in Vol. I of the Simon Commission Report, the attention of our readers is drawn to two articles on the Indian army the first of which is published in this issue. These will show to some extent why Indians from all provinces are not in the army.

The Commissioners make much of the fact that even during the last great war, when recruiting was undertaken in all provinces of India, most provinces furnished an insufficient number of soldiers. They use this fact against India having self-rule. But the causes of such a state of things should be understood by our countrymen. The discrimination made between "martial" and "non-martial" races is not a sufficient explanation. In *The Times* Special India Number (Feb. 18, 1930) it is observed :

"The Sikhs are a martial race of good physique, and make fine soldiers." P. xiii.

But as regards their recruiting, it is stated :

"Service in the army is popular and there is no lack of recruits, although military service is no longer quite as attractive to certain classes, especially Sikhs, whose prosperity has been increased by canalization measures or who are beginning to turn their attention to industrial pursuits." *Ibid.*

This is an indication that, either for the economic reasons given above or owing to some other cause, recruiting among Sikhs has perhaps diminished. If this process continues the Sikhs may ultimately cease to be classed as a martial race. So, may not economic causes have led to the people of some provinces, which formerly supplied sipahis, being called non-martial ?

If recruiting be disproportionately small from a certain class, that does not necessarily show that that class is unfit either for self-rule or for the army. For example, the following paragraph appeared in *The Literary Digest* for June 17, 1916, when the great war was going on and when in India, too, efforts were made to obtain soldiers from all Indian provinces :

"An important feature of the dispute between the English and French Canadians in the schools of Ontario is the discovery that the recruiting statistics of the various provinces show that out of a total of 3,30,000 men enlisted, French Canada, with more than a quarter of the entire population of the Dominion, has furnished fewer than 14,000 men."

Proportionately, French Canada ought to have furnished at least 82,500 men. Instead of that it supplied about one-sixth of that number, in spite of the fact that France, the motherland of the French Canadians, was in danger of being invaded and defeated by Germany. England is not the mother country of Indians, and India's freedom was not jeopardized by the great war, as she was already under subjection. So, if Britain could not get a sufficient number of recruits from most provinces of India (which formerly furnished sepoys and, being subsequently 'de-martialized,' had ceased to look upon the army as a career or a source of income), these provinces were no more disqualified for self-rule than French Canada. As French Canada's insufficient quota of recruits did not prove that her inhabitants had not the ability to fight in defence of their hearths and homes, so the fact that most provinces of India did not supply a sufficient number of recruits cannot prove that their inhabitants cannot or will not fight in self-defence.

The fact is, in those provinces of India which have become politically conscious of their subject condition and in which the standard of living and average income are such that mercenary soldiering is not an attractive proposition, it is possible to raise only a citizen army if the political status of the people rises to the desired level. This is not a mere theoretical assumption. The political status of the people of a country has been found in history to have much to do with its effective man-power.

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Political Status and Man-power

Even in independent states history has proved the difference in man-power between a country whose people possessed the franchise in very large numbers and a country where the franchise was confined only to certain sections of the people. Major Cartwright in his pamphlet, *The Commonwealth in Danger* (1795), contrasts England and France as they were during the Revolutionary War. The French Republic, relying on the populace, had more

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than a million men under arms. Great Britain was "a disarmed, defenceless, unprepared people, scarcely more capable of resisting a torrent of French invaders than the herds and flocks of Smithfield." How, then, could the danger be averted? "Solely," he replied, "by trusting the people and by reviving the ancient laws which compelled householders to bear arms. But this implied the concession of the franchise." "Behold," he said, "make the kingdom a commonwealth and the nation will be saved.....A million of armed men, supporting the state with their purse, and defending it with their lives, will know that none have so great a stake as themselves in the Government. Arming the people and reforming Parliament are inseparable."

In *William Pitt and the Great War*, H. Rose writes in similar strain:

"By the talisman of trust in the people France conjured up those armed hosts which overthrew all Europe..[Instead of] trusting and arming the people, Pitt was fain to plod along in the old paths, and use the nation's wealth, not its manhood." Pp. 280-281.

Hence Pitt's failure.

If it be objected that even the highest political status will not give the "unwarlike" races of India the courage and endurance needed in war, the question may safely be asked whether at any time in history any class of soldiers displayed greater fearlessness and power to bear extreme anguish than the "non-martial" *satyagrahis* of Gujarat.

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The Function of the Army in India.

The Simon Commission's suggestion that the control of the Army in India should be vested in the Imperial Government, India paying only a fixed annual sum for its maintenance, throws unexpected light on the question of the real function of the Indian Army.

Indian opinion has always been, and still is, too prone to hold that the Army in India is an army of occupation, a foreign garrison stationed in India to keep her people in their present political status. This is no doubt partly true, for a portion of the Army in India is permanently alloted to *internal security*, a phrase the real meaning of which we should have no difficulty in fathoming. Yet one would be inclined to say that in this matter our political pre-occupations have really put us on a false scent. The idea that the principal function of the Army in India was to prevent popular outbreaks in India, was once no doubt widely current, even in military circles; but in the light of the practice of today, it belongs, we should say, not even to the military thought of yesterday, but to that of the day before.

Though the Indian Army is still the mailed fist behind the civil administration of India, we do not think the British authorities envisage the task of governing India quite as a military problem. If they did so the outlook for us would have been much more cheerful So it happens that as far as internal security arrangements are concerned, the duties of the 'district' and 'command' commanders in India are confined to taking an annual stock of the domestic situation and earmarking a certain number of troops for this purpose. The rest is left to policy and the police. And again, the strength of the Army in India is so regulated that any calculable internal disturbances in the present disarmed state of the country, far from immobilizing the covering force or the field army, will not even touch a fringe of their war organization.

Lord Haldane once said that in order to organize an army, it was necessary first of all to ask what was to be its objective. In the case of the Army in India, there have been three shiftings of point of view as regards the major rôle it was intended to play. In the post-Mutiny period it was the prevention of armed outbreaks on the part of the Indian people. When Lord Kitchener undertook the reorganization of the Army in 1903, he defined it as the protection of the N.-W. frontier against an aggressive enemy. And the third shifting of the point of view has come from the terrible fiasco of the Mesopotamia campaign.

It was during the great war that the Army in India was first employed for Imperial purposes in a major operation of the modern type, and in course of it it was found that the limited objective for which the Indian Army was trained and maintained had imposed upon it an organization and equipment which was wholly inadequate for the much more extended needs of the actual situation. This was the seed idea which bore its full fruit in the post-war reorganization of the Indian Army.

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To this consideration must be added others, far more serious, arising out of the changed strategic requirements of the British Empire. Before the war the military and naval policy of Great Britain was dominated by the obsession of the great German army and the newly created German navy. With the destruction of both, the strategic centre of gravity of the British Empire has shifted from the North Sea and the Franco-Belgian frontier, and has become, so to say, distributed over its whole length and breadth. The practical re-orientation of Imperial stategy in accordance with the changed requirements of the situation began immediately after the war, though its final shaping and the apportionment of their responsibilities in this matter to the various component states of the Empire was not undertaken till the Imperial Conference of 1923.

It was in accordance with this new outlook that the building of a battleship base at Singapore was begun. And it was also, in accordance with this policy that the re-equipment of the Indian Army on absolutely modern lines was undertaken by Lord Rawlinson in 1920. The commercial interests of Great Britain, the lapse of the Anglo-Japanse Treaty, the re-awakening of China, the growth of the American power in the Pacific, the exposed military situation of Australia and New Zealand, incapable of defending themselves without the help of the mother country, imperatively demand that an efficient and powerful military force, absolutely under the control of the Imperial authorities, should be ready in the East to embark at a moment's notice to supplement the efforts of the British fleet. Neither the resources nor the constitutional position of the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand permitted their use for this purpose. The only alternative within reach was therefore India, in whose favour it was an additional argument that the cost of maintaining such an army will not have to be borne by the British tax-payer.

It is this that explains the feverish activities of the Army Headquarters to give to the Indian Army modern machine guns, modern Q. F. field-guns and howitzers, medium artillery of the standard British type, tanks and armoured cars, aeroplanes, and the still more recent introduction of anti-gas training and, possibly, training in the use of poison gas also. The same reforms have no doubt been carried out in the Dominions armies and all of them brought into line in organization, equipment and tactical training with the army of the United Kingdom. But there is a gulf between the methods employed in the case of India, and those made use of in the case of the Dominions. The close co-operation of the Dominions armies and the Home army is secured by the exchange of officers in the two services, their common training in the new Imperial Defence College, and their representation on the Committee of Imperial Defence. The co-ordination of the strategy and training of the Dominions armies with the policy enjoined by the Imperial General Staff is accomplished by the respective ministries of defence of the Dominions. But in the case of India nothing is left to good will or co-operation. The Army in India is commanded and staffed by officers who acknowledge no *practical* allegiance to the Government of India. In all matters connected with military policy and organization they are the agents in India of the Imperial General Staff, with whose policy and plans of action they keep themselves closely in touch. All of them, even those who belong technically to the Indian Army, are to all intents and purposes members of the close trade union of the officers of the British Army.

The present irresponsible character of the Central Government in India permits this "constitutional convention" to be observed. But it will give rise to extremely awkward situations with a more popularly controlled Executive. And since this could hardly be avoided in the long run, nor the breaking of the whole eastern front of the Imperial defensive system by transferring the supreme authority over the army to Indians be dreamt of, the Simon Commission wanted to solve all difficulties by transforming the present practical autonomy of the military authorities into an open constitutional principle.

The recommendation of the Simon Commission also shows that the Commissioners do not contemplate that a time may ever come when India may have the same status as Australia or Canada with her people exercising the same control over the army as these Dominions have over theirs. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri also says that "an ingenious solution is put forward as regards defence which will erect an insuperable obstacle in the way of the country's attaining Dominion status."

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The *Financial Times* writes that Britain will not be able to spend anything for the army in India. That paper evidently wants that, while Britain is to use and control that army for her own purposes, India should pay the whole expense, or worse still, that India should pay the greater part and Britain and "the other States under the Crown" should contribute the remainder. For that is the meaning of the suggestion that "the subject may be submitted to the Imperial Conference in an endeavour to find means by which the Empire and not the Chief member of it only shall accept the responsiblitity." That would practically mean that India's army and therefore India would be under the control of not only Britain but also of "the other states under the Crown' ! A very cheerful prospect indeed !!

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The Problem of India's External Defence

The question of India's external defence at which the Simon Commission points so threatening a finger has always been dangled before our vision as a task of almost insuperable difficulty, and the whole problem is worth a little detailed analysis. The requirements of the external defence of a country are conditioned by two capital facts : first, its geographical situation and secondly, the state of its foreign relations. As regards India, the military obligations imposed upon her by her geographical position will, of course, remain the same whether or no India forms a part of the British Empire. But we have no means, at present, of estimating the full extent of the military burden imposed upon her by her political position. She has no foreign policy of her own today. All the international rivalries, enmities and alliances into which she finds herself drawn are those of Great Britain, and they all arise out of the latter's position in European or international politics. With an India, freed from the British connection, all this might altogether be changed.

We shall, therefore, leave aside, as purely hypothetical, the question of India's future military needs arising out of her relations with Persia, Russia, China, Tibet, Japan, French, Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies, only observing in passing that they all lie beyond the natural frontiers of India and India in no way affects their full politica and economic development. Of all th limitrophe countries of India, the case o Afghanistan, perhaps, deserves in some way an exceptional treatment. But with a modern ized and settled Afghanistan and a neutra Central Asia the settlement of this questio need not be very difficult.

The question of defending the actual frontie of India is, however, of more immediate practica interest, and can be considered apart fro the intricacies of international politics. Thi task comprises, in a sense, the *nature* military requirements of India, the require ments, that is to say, imposed upon her b her geographical position and the backwar political and cultural development of som of the peoples on her frontiers.

British military authorities never weary of telling us that the existence of innumer able savage and warlike tribes all along he frontiers constitutes a first class militar danger to the settled population of Indi and make the task of defending this countr a peculiarly onerous one. In point of fac however, the British Government in Indi does not employ a single battalion of th Regular or the Auxiliary and Territorial forc for the protection of more than three fourth of the total land frontier of India. Starting fro the point where Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan Sinkiang and India meet, the whole norther frontier of India is considered absolutel safe from the military point of view. Further on, the frontier from the eastern boundar of Bhutan to the 26th parallel is also con sidered secure. The next two sections o the frontier from the 26th parallel to th 24th parallel and from the 24th parallel t the frontier of French Indo-China, thoug inhabited by fierce and warlike tribes, ar only protected by nine battalions of th Burma military police, while the last sectio of the frontier running along French Indo China is of no military importance whatever The task of defending the frontiers of Indi thus resolves itself into the much mor restricted problem of defending the N.-W. frontier.

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The North-Western Frontier

The military importance assigned to thi frontier is something of a puzzle to th detached outside observer. If we are t believe the British military and civ

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authorities, the defence of this frontier constitutes as vital and important a question of security for India as the defence of her North-Eastern frontiers against a possible attack by Germany is for France. Yet the military potentialities of the Pathan tribes living within as well as outside the administered border seem hardly to justify such an assumption. They might be very warlike and very jealous of their independence. But their number is limited to some hundreds of thousands, the population of one of the larger Indian districts; they are armed only with rifles, swords and knives; their supply of ammunition and arms is precarious; they have no artillery and cannot make any use of the automatic weapons as by fortunate chance fall into their hands. Their presence undoubtedly constitutes a very troublesome political problem, but to proclaim that it requires the maintenance of a permanent army of 2,73,468 men armed with the most modern appliances of war at a cost of about fifty crores of rupees a year, is to put up a gigantic advertisement of one's political and military failure.

Britishers do not know or forget that before they conquered or occupied the Punjab and the N.-W. F. area, the frontier problem had been practically solved by the Sikh rulers and generals by their valour and statecraft. The Sikhs still exist.

We are aware of course of the amusing legend that, as India has more than once in the past been conquered and settled by warlike tribes from beyond her frontiers, who have poured down upon her plains through the N.-W. passes, such an eventuality might again be in store for her in the future, and the fierce Afghans and Pathans—tribes who have not forgotten history—are only holding themselves ready to swoop down upon India, once the army on the frontier is weakened. But no one, we think, will blame our intelligence if we refuse to lose one night's sleep over these chimeras. The impossibility of a second irruption of Huns into India, it does not require a very profound knowledge of history to see. The Scythian, Hun, Turki, Mongol and Tartar invasions of India were caused not by any circumstances on this side of the Hindu Kush, but by ethnological disturbances in the Central Asiatic steppes. The clashes of the nomadic tribes of those regions resulted in the surging out of these barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples over the plains of Russia, China, Persia and India. All these countries had to suffer more or less from the incursions of these tribes, and if an exodus of nomadic tribes of Central Asia such as had taken place in the past, were again to be feared, the countries which would suffer most from them are as likely to be Soviet Russia and China as India. But no one we think advances such a manifestly absurd proposition for the consideration of the General Staffs of the Soviet or the Chinese Armies. It is reserved only for the consumption of credulous Indians and Britishers.

The fact is, with the settling down and civilizing of the nomadic tribes of Russian Turkestan and the expansion of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, the prospect of a nomadic invasion of India or of any other country has vanished into the limbo of superannuated fears. The very source, so to say, of all widespread ethnographic disturbances in the North-West has dried up. There is thus, every justification for regarding the problem of the frontier tribes as a local and restricted problem of policing, civilizing, and educating. If the worst comes to the worst it may mean a campaign of three or four years' duration with the expenditure of a few crores of rupees. So far as the control of the Pathan tribes is concerned, the British authorities themselves have adopted this policy. Why they are unable to treat the whole question of defending the frontier as a comparatively unimportant—speaking from the military point of view—task of frontier policing is explained not by anything inherent in the tribal organization, but by the presence, beyond the Oxus of the arch-enemy of Great Britain, the Russian Empire.

The rivalry of Russia and England is one of the great motive forces of 19th century diplomatic history, and strange as it may seem, it has been inherited by the Bolshevists from the Czarist regime. Under the threat of the German menace, it slumbered for a period of ten years from 1907 to 1917. But with the advent of the Bolshevists to power it has broken out again in all its old fury. This must not, however, be taken to mean that Russia intends to invade India through Afghanistan. As far back as 1907, General Palitsin, the Chief of the Staff of the Russian Army, assured the British Military attaché at St. Petersburgh that the idea of a Russian invasion of India was a phantasy which had never been seriously entertained by responsible

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Russians. This opinion is probably shared by the chiefs of the Bolshevist Army also. But that does not prevent Bolshevist diplomats, as it did not prevent their Czarist predecessors, from making full use of their capacity to create trouble in Afghanistan and the North-Western Frontier of India with a view to extorting concessions from Great Britain in other matters and other regions.

It is this possibility which makes the North-West frontier the subject of so much watchful solicitude on the part of the Army authorities in India. The tribes too knowing the strength their position between two great powers show a boldness which they would not have dreamt of showing had they stood by themselves alone.

In conclusion, we do not deny that the trans-frontier No-man's-land is a convenient ground for practical military training and military exercises.

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Allegations Against the Police and the Military

Since the inauguration of the civil disobedience movement, the papers have contained numerous allegations of police excesses and some excesses of soldiers. Some of these allegations have been confirmed by public men noted for their high character and calm judgment. Some of them are not themselves *satyagrahis*. By saying this we do not mean to throw any doubt on the veracity of *satyagrahis* as *satyagrahis*. Our opinion of the truthfulness of sincere *satyagrahis* is quite different. What we mean is that those who have accused the police and the military in some places and on some occasions of committing excesses, wholly from their own personal knowledge as eye-witnesses or partly as eye-witnesses and partly from knowledge gathered from reliable sources, belong to different schools of political thought and action.

In a few cases, there have been official contradictions in *communiques* issued by some provincial Government or other. We have read many of these contradictions—some we may not have come across.

After reading both non-official and official statements we are inclined to conclude that the non-official statements are substantially correct. The Governments concerned, which issue the *communiques*, have to depend for their information on subordinate officials—sometimes some of the very officials whose conduct is complained of. It cannot be claimed that these anonymous officials, because they are officials, are more sober, accurate and careful observers of occurences, have better memories and are more truthful than even some of the best of our public men.

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Report of the Contai Enquiry Committee

At a conference held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on May 21, 1930, a Committee of Enquiry was appointed to enquire into the alleged violent and unlawful acts on the part of the Police and of the Executive Administration in the district of Midnapore and in other districts of Bengal and to make a report embodying the result of such enquiry. Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A., Advocate, Calcutta High Court and Professor P. R. Sen agreed to act as Secretaries of the Committee. Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.C., solicitor, President of the Indian Association and leader of the Liberal Party in Bengal, acted as the chairman of the Committee. Some members of the Committee visited several villages in Midnapore.

"Some members visited altogether nine houses in connection with which complaints had been made that local officials and their subordinates, including excise officials and peons, had forcibly entered private houses and had assaulted the inmates without any provocation and had damaged or destroyed the belongings of the villagers. They also visited six sites where general assaults by the police were said to have been committed. Altogether one hundred and twenty witnesses were examined, of whom seventeen were women."

We have received a copy of the report of this Committee. It is a very temperately worded document, as befits the standing in public life and the character of the signatories, *e. g.*, of Messrs. J. N. Basu, Priyaranjan Sen, J. N. Maitra, K. C. Neogy, etc. We presume copies of this report have been sent to the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, the Governor of Bengal and some Members of Parliament.

We cannot find space for the entire report. But it is necessary to make a rather long extract to give the reader an idea of the difficulties placed in the way of the visiting members of the Committee making the enquiry with which they had been entrusted. They did not, to say the least, receive courteous treatment from the local officials concerned. *They were even placed under arrest by the sub-divisional officer!!*

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But they remained calm throughout and did their work with perfect self-control. But let us follow this part of the report.

At about 7-30 A. M. on the 25th May, 1930, the visiting members left for Picchaboni, which was at a distance of about 6 miles from Contai and which was one of the localities in connection with which complaints had been made.

When they were nearing Pichhaboni, several villagers came up to the cars in which the visiting members were travelling and requested them to stop. Many of the villagers, who appeared to be in a state of panic, complained that some officials and policemen had visited their houses that morning a short time previously and had beaten them with *lathis* and had destroyed a great part of their belongings at their houses. Some of the men showed fresh marks of assault on their bodies. With a view to ascertain the truth of the statements about destruction of property, the members decided to visit the houses of some of the complainants. They crossed some fields on foot and went to Subarnadighi, which was the village nearest to the point where their cars had stopped. They saw at a distance some officials and some policemen passing near the village with *lathis* and guns. The visiting members went into the hut of Bhim Charan Samanta, where they found very recent signs of a raid. Most of the domestic articles were scattered about and many were broken. Parched rice and ghee were found scattered on the ground. Some gunny bags containing seed grain and other grain had been torn open and a large part of the grain had been scattered about the courtyard. We were told that policemen had entered the house that morning and, though there was no resistance or opposition of any kind from the inmates of the house, the policemen had without any cause destroyed the belongings which mean so much to a villager.

While the members were thus engaged in inspecting the nature and extent of the devastation inside the hut, an official entered it followed by some police constables who carried guns and hatchets and asked them as to what they were doing there. He was told that the members had come from Calcutta to make an enquiry to ascertain the truth of complaints made in connection with certain happenings at Contai, and they were inspecting the house to ascertain the truth about the complaint regarding loss of and damage to property. The official, who was the sub-divisional officer and whose name was Mr. Gaffar, stated that the members were inciting the people. He was told that his statement was not correct and that the visiting members were only ascertaining the facts. At the time of the inspection there were in the house of Bhima Charan Samanta two or three persons only, besides the visiting members. There was no crowd at the house or near it. In fact, when the members were in their cars and men were coming up to the road and laying their complaints before them the men were told that if they wanted a full and careful enquiry, they should go back to their respective houses, as the members intended to go to the villages to see the state of things themselves and to hear the evidence locally. The men that had gathered near the cars had thereupon dispersed.

Mr. Gaffar, however, repeated more than once in a loud voice that the members were inciting the people. He ended by saying that he put the members under arrest. He asked them to go with him to his camp at Pichhaboni. The members proceeded with him to his camp. In doing so, they had to pass a pit where a large number of men, about five hundred to six hundred in number, and several women had assembled, and some of them were engaged in manufacturing salt. On arrival at the camp, Mr. Gaffar again repeated that the members were inciting the people. He was again told that the only function the members had come to perform was the function of enquiry, and the little work they had done was in connection with such enquiry, and that he could depute a police officer or other officer to accompany them in the course of their enquiry. Mr. Gaffar made no response to these suggestions. After some discussion, he asked the members to induce the crowd that had collected at the pit to disperse. The members informed him that they had nothing to do with the collection of the crowd and did not know if the crowd would disperse at their request. They, however, expressed their willingness to request the persons that had assembled at the pit at Pichhaboni to go back to their homes in order that the enquiry might be facilitated. Mr. Gaffar thereupon said that he had no objection to that and he also said that he released the members. The members went in their cars to a place on the road not far from the pit, where they found men and women engaged in the manufacture of salt. Intimation was sent to them to come up to the members. A number of them came up to the cars one by one. They were told that the members had come from Calcutta to enquire into alleged cases of oppression and that if those that had collected dispersed to their villages, the visiting members would go round to ascertain their grievances, if any, and make enquiries about any complaints they might have to make. The assembled men and women upon being told what the members had stated, began to go away to their villages. As the villagers were dispersing, some of them came up to the cars and showed marks on their bodies of hurt inflicted by the police, which they stated had been inflicted without provocation. Some of the wounds were fresh and looked as if the same had been inflicted within a short time. One man, who was unable to move and appeared to have been severely beaten, was crrried on the shoulders of three persons. His name was Paina Prodhan of Beltolia. An aged man, named Indra Jana of Bagdiha, said that he had been assaulted that morning by the police without provocation while he was following Mr. Gaffar and the visiting members of the committee at a distance, as they were proceeding towards Mr. Gaffar's tent. They found Indra Jana's wound fresh and his cloth and person had fresh stains of blood. An elderly woman named Surja also showed us her arm, which had been severely injured, causing bleeding and swelling.

After the men that had assembled near the Pichhaboni pit had dispersed, the visiting members proceeded some distance towards the north in their cars and proceeded on foot over fields to Subarnadighi village. They entered the house of Mahendranath Samanta and made notes of the

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damage which they saw there and which was said to have been done by the police that morning. They found that a large number of earthenware vessels in the house had been broken, some books and papers had been scattered about in the verandah and the courtyard, a part of the thatch on the roof with the framework had been pulled down, some paddy bags had been cut open and a part of the contents had been strewn about and some pumpkins smashed.

The members next visited a house close by where they found a girl about eighteen years old in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Her name was Ambu. She was lying down on the verandah, apparently still suffering from shock and pain. She was breathing with difficulty. Her eyes were closed with tears trickling. She made her statement with some difficulty. She complained of her breasts being twisted and of her being kicked on the hip. While her statement was being recorded, a subordinate official came from the Sub-divisional Officer and asked the members to proceed again to his tent, as he had a letter to show them. The members informed the messenger that they would see Mr. Gaffar after they had completed inspection of some more houses in the locality, as some of the villagers who had come up to them had said that there had been similar destruction of property that morning in nearly every house in the village.

While the members were speaking to the messenger, Mr. Gaffar came up in a car to a point on the road nearest to the house they were then in, and sent another messenger over the intervenning fields to the visiting members requesting the members to see him. Mr. J. N. Basu went up to Mr. Gaffar, followed later by the other members. The Sub-divisional Officer showed a letter from a Sub-Inspector of a distant station in the Sub-division, stating that he was expecting trouble. Mr. Gaffar requested the members not to proceed further with their enquiry that morning but to accompany him to Contai. He said that he wanted to show some papers which were in his office and which would show the treatment the police had received. The members told him that they were being prevented from continuing the local enquiry in the villages in the neighbourhood, but the Sub-divisional Officer pressed them to accompany him to Contai, which they did. At Contai he showed them some signed letters addressed to him by villagers informing him that they would manufacture salt on certain dates in certain localities and expressing their willingness to suffer any punishment that might be meted out to them. At Contai, Mr. Gaffar also told the members of an incident at Gopinathpur which had taken place a few days previously, during which it was alleged that the police had been chased by the villagers into a school-house which had been set fire to by the villagers, the police being rescued by some local men.

The members left the Sub-divisional Officer's Bunglow at about 11-30 A. M.

The above details as to the itinerary of the visiting members have been given in order to [describe?] the work that was done by them on the morning of the 24th May, 1930 and the difficulties encountered by them in prosecuting the enquiry and recording evidence. The villagers were willing to place evidence before the members, but the local officials were reluctant that the visiting members should see more than what they had seen or heard. Though at the request of the members the persons engaged in the manufacture of salt near Pichhaboni pit suspended their activities in order to enable the members to obtain direct information about the conduct of the local officials and the police towards the inhabitants of the villages, the officials were anxious that the members should not proceed with the enquiry. A local enquiry at that stage would have been of great help in ascertaining facts, as the assaults and raids were said to have been committed within the previous hour or thereabouts, and there would have been no difficulty in ascertaining the nature and extent of the injury said to have been inflicted on the villagers. The Committee were surprised that anxiety should have been shown by the local officials for stopping a careful enquiry at a time when the events had only recently happened. The presence of the visiting members led for the time being to the discontinuance of manufacture of salt. There was no ground for the unfounded statement of the Sub-divisional officer that the visiting members were inciting the men of the locality. They recorded statements, observed wounds and inspected damage to property. They succeeded in dispersing a gathering of people, in order that the enquiry might proceed in a calm and judicial atmosphere. They acted with forbearance when obstructed by local officials. But though the local officials found that the presence and attitude of the visiting members led to the amosphere becoming peaceful, with the absence of all incitement to violence, yet they tried to stifle the enquiry in the locality where evidence tendered by the villagers against the local officials and the Police was fresh and the physical signs had not been obliterated. The Committee regret to notice such want of administrative sense and executive capacity in the local officials concerned.

Some of the conclusions of the committee require to be reproduced.

(a) Assault :—

The evidence of the persons examined by us showed that there was assault by the hands or by kicks and also by canes or *lathis*. In two cases the beating was so severe that the persons beaten had fainted. The assault was unprovoked. The persons assaulted consisted mostly of villagers who were in their homes at the time of the assault or passers-by in public places where salt was being manufactured. There were also among the witnesses a few who were satyagrahis or volunteers or who were villagers who desired to offer Civil Disobedience by the manufacture of salt. In none of the cases we found that any provocation had been offered to the police or any violence had been shown or directed to the police or the officials. The scars of the wounds in some cases were so well-marked and large as to show that the beating had been very severe.

We found some cases where women had been beaten with canes and they bore marks of assault on their bodies.

At Kholakhali seven women were examined, all of whom complained of severe assault by canes, fists, and kicks. Their clothes had in some cases been torn off their bodies.

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At Subarnadighi, the girl in an advanced stage of pregnancy was found to be breathing with difficulty, tears trickling down from her eyes, and she bore marks of molestation on her person. It is surprising that a case like this should have happened with a Magistrate accompanying the police party. The girl was not physically capable of creating such trouble as might lead to her being assaulted. She had also no time to concoct a story, as the members arrived at her house soon after the police had left the house.

In some cases the assault was directed not only to physically hurt the person assaulted but to humiliate him in the eyes of others. Some men were made to hold their ears and to stand up and sit down several times. Some men were also made to rub their nose on the ground.

(b) *Damage to or destruction or removal of property* :—

The Police and Excise officers have the right to make house searches under certain specific circumstances. From what the visiting members saw with their own eyes, they found that in the cases in which the Police and other officials had entered the houses of the villagers, there was no circumstance which could lead to a house search. If the entry into the houses was meant for the purposes of search, it was strange that such entry was not peaceful and was followed not by a lawful search, but by the destruction of property and beating of the inmates. There appeared to be no justification for such violence and interference with elementary personal rights.

The Committee do not see any justification for the breaking up of the pots and pans, the destruction of domestic stores and foodstuffs, the smashing of vegetables and the scattering about of grain at the houses of villagers. They fail to see how the smashing of conch bangles, the making of which is a local industry, or the pulling down of a thatch from the roof of huts could have been of any use.

There were also several complaints of loss of small cash which the villagers keep in their houses. One wealthy villager complained missing as much as Rs. 1,307. About 10 of the witnesses complained of loss of gold and silver ornaments from their houses after Police had entered them and had destroyed or damaged their belongings. The causing of damage to and destruction of property was fairly general in some of the areas visited by the Committee. If the object was to terrorize the villagers, the method adopted could not and did not succeed. As regards the shooting at Protapdighi on the 1st of June, 1930, the Police had, prior to the shooting, raided some houses in three or four villages one after another and had damaged or destroyed property in those houses. Having regard to the value the villagers set on their small belongings and the great labour they had to undergo to earn the same, it can easily be understood as to what exasperation they feel when they see that those belongings are wantonly destroyed or damaged or taken away. The incident at Pratapdighi is unfortunate, but the acts of the Police probably created a situation to meet which resort was had to shooting men, who had no arms and had not even stone or brickbats, to use as missiles. It should be remembered that the villagers are ordinarily of a peaceful disposition.

17. The villagers who mostly suffered from the oppression and who were examined by the visiting members of the Committee were not guilty of any violence. Some of them were engaged in the manufacture of salt, but they did not offer violence, and were prepared to suffer the consequences of their action. The local officials appeared to forget what law was and what their duty was under the law. They suffered acts to be done which were in breach of law and of the elementary rights of individuals. The conduct of the local officials has led to widespread embitterment of feeling.

—

Widows' Right to Inherit

The following resolution was unanimously passed at a meeting of the Ladies of Calcutta held at the Mary Carpenter Hall under the auspices of all the Indian Women's Organizations of Calcutta, namely, the Mahila Samiti, Nari Sikhsa Samiti, Mahila Rastriya Sangha, Gujarati Stree Mandal, Bharat Mahila Samiti, Bhagini Samiti, Arya Nari Samiti, Silpa Samiti, Saroj Nalini Nari Mangal Samiti, on the 24th of February, 1930. Mrs. Kamini Ray, the greatest of Bengali poetesses, was in the chair.

"This meeting of the women of Calcutta held under the auspices of all the Indian women's organizations in Calcutta supports the principle of the Hindu Widows' right of Inheritance Bill of Sreejut Harbilas Sarda as a step towards restoration of the original and just rights of Hindu women over inherited properties under the Hindu Law."

Widows undoubtedly have a right to inherit property.

—

International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden

The International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden is to last this year from May to October. Hygiene, with its closely related sciences, its many different social branches, extensive health practice—all these important matters requiring every one's deepest and most personal attention—is laying a vast foundation for our modern generation, and Dresden has become the centre of attraction for social workers this year. Ordinarily, too, Dresden is counted one of the foremost of cities owing to its splendid educational institutions of art and music, and its highly artistic atmosphere.

Twenty nations will take part in the exhibition. India ought also to participate.

Whether we like or dislike the mechanization and the rush of modern times, we have to accommodate ourselves to them, and,

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what is more, we have to search for ways and means of making our manner of living under these new conditions as suitable and hygienic as possible, so that we may remain fresh, healthy, energetic and ardent.

We understand Dr. Dwijendranath Maitra is getting ready to visit this exhibition. As he was the founder of the Bengal Social Service League and the pioneer in the preparation and exhibition of sanitary, hygienic and demographic pictures and charts, it is natural for him to be eager to acquire new knowledge and fresh ideas on these subjects, by which the country will benefit. It would be a pleasure to hear that the Bengal Government, or the Calcutta Corporation or some other public body had deputed him to represent them at the Exhibition.

—

Indian Insurance Institute

That Indian insurance companies are getting to be resorted to more and more by our countrymen is what ought to be. For, foreign companies not only take away all their profits to their home countries, but the funds in their hands are lent to or otherwise invested in manufacturing and mercantile concerns which exploit and drain away wealth from India. We, therefore, wish all possible prosperity to Indian insurance companies under Indian management. But they cannot flourish as much as they ought to, unless they co-operate with one another. Such co-operation will now be practicable owing to the establishment of the Indian Insurance Institute, with Mr. Surendranath Tagore as president and Mr. S. C. Roy as general secretary, and with its office at 20 Strand Road, Calcutta.

—

"Change of Heart"

Dr. Bhagavan Das of Benares is well known as a scholar and author, and also as a distinguished member of the Theosophical Society. His replies in *New India* to two questions asked by Dr. Annie Besant in the same paper, therefore, possess more than a passing interest. In the course of an article on "Change of Heart" in that joural he writes :

In *New India* for May 1, 1930, on p. 3, the venerable Editor puts these questions : "When the Salt Tax ... (has) been abolished, how much nearer shall we be to the Freedom of India ?... Are we going back to the pre-Home Rule days, fritter away our time over Salt Tax and Forest Laws, while our duty lies in striking off the fetters from our Mother's limbs, and setting her free as Britain is free....?"

I most respectfully submit the counter question : "How much nearer were the U.S. Americans to their Freedom, when they had flung the Tea Boxes into the sea in December, 1773? Was it not their duty to strike off the fetters from their Mother's limbs and set her as free as Britain was free, instead of frittering away their time over Tea Boxes ?"

Dr. Bhagavan Das next tackles another question asked by Dr. Besant.

She asks, "Is it not time to stop wasting strength on fragments of bondage, instead of breaking that bondage once for all, meeting Britons as their equals, not as their inferiors, and clasping hands of friendship.. for the helping of the world?"

But what is the magic *mantra* by which all this marvellous change of heart and change of spirit may be brought about, and Britons induced to regard Indians as equals and not as inferiors, without any travail in India, with ease and comfort to all ? Is innocent childlike trust in the words of British diplomats, repeated at fixed intervals, like the chimes of a clock, that "our policy still stands, as it has always stood," such a *mantra* ? Is not this the very mischief, that the policy still *stands* as it has *always* stood, keeps at a standstill and never moves forward, so far as India's real progress is concerned ? And what policy is it that stands so perpetually and so immovably ? Is it not the policy of exploiting and burdening India ever more and more, and keeping Indians talking endlessly over meaningless announcements and proclamations ?

Surely the revered Editor knows full well that there can be no *Siddhi* without *Tapas*, no achievement of powers without much trial, and much tribulation, and much self-denial.

Dr. Bhagavan Das wrote these words before the publication of the Simon Commission's Report. If the recommendations of that report give any indication of British policy, then according to even "co-operators" like Sir Hari Singh Gour, that policy has not even stood still but has gone back to the Morley-Minto reforms, thus contradicting the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and placing them in a false position.

Dr. Bhagavan Das corrects Mrs. Annie Besant on another point when he writes :

I have read with deep distress, in the same issue of *New India*, on p. 2, the editorial note saying that Mahatma Gandhi "has been advising Indian boys to get their heads broken for India's freedom," that any one who advises others to face head-breaking should say "come" and not "go," and implying that Mahatmaji has not been saying "come" but only "go". Surely, this must be a very inadvertent slip of my loved and honoured friend's pen ;.....surely she was not really thinking of Mahatmaji when she wrote those words ; for not even the present Governmental regime has said

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any such thing against him; and all the world knows that he has been *leading*, marching *in front* and in advance of his special band of volunteers, saying to them, not "go" but "come *after* me, and if you determinately wish to, otherwise not," all the time, till taken captive by midnight attack on his ascetic's hut.

—

Mr. C. F. Andrews prefers Independence

In the article on "Rev. C. F. Andrews in America" by Dr. J. T. Sunderland published in our last issue, it is stated: "As between independence and dominion status, he declared his preference for the latter" (p. 683). With reference to this statement Mr. Andrews has sent us the following telegram from England:

"*Kindly correct one statement in Sunderland's generous article. I have always advocated Independence, not Dominion Status.*"

—

Health and Wealth of a Bengal District

The January issue of the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*, which is very late in coming out, contains much instructive and interesting reading, not merely of an academic character, but also on matters vitally affecting the survival of our people in full vigour of mind and body.

In his "Report on Medical Conditions in the Birbhum District," Dr. Harry G. Timbres, M. D., writes:

During the last month I have visited a score of villages in the immediate vicinity of Santiniketan and Bolpur, and several others at some distance. The economic and health conditions in these places are appallingly bad. The two conditions of Poverty and Disease go together. The peasants say that the disease came first and caused poverty, but I cannot help but feel that each one follows the other in a vicious circle.

The following is a general description of a village in Birbhum:

In the village what first strikes one's attention is the overgrowth of vegetation (jungle) and the deserted houses. The latter remind me of nothing so clearly as the deserted villages I saw in Central Russia during the Great Famine in 1921-1922. The empty houses, making up as much as half or two-thirds of the total number of houses in the village, are for the most part in a state of disintegration. The roofs are gone, the mud walls are broken down, and the wall surrounding the house and yard is also half destroyed. Jungle fills the yard. Whole streets may be made up of such houses. The exuberant jungle grows in between them and pushes out over the street. Tanks and pools of stagnant water (*dobas*) are everywhere in evidence, ideal breeding places for the malaria-breeding mosquitos.

Around the tanks and pools of water is a heavy growth of jungle. It even extends into the tanks, adding to the density of the growth of the water plants already there. Only at the places from which water is customarily removed is there an absence of vegetation. Tanks which are regularly and extensively used are not usually very heavy sources of infection with malaria, since the disturbance of the surface of water is inimical to the mosquito larvae breeding there. It is the unused or the infrequently used tank that is the source of greatest danger. These are identical enough in any village, many of whose inhabitants have died, leaving their houses and tanks to fall into a state of disrepair. Very few villages are supplied with wells for drinking water. The family gets its drinking water from the same tank in which it bathes and does its laundry, from which its fields of rice are irrigated, and upon the sloping sides of which altogether too frequently its excremental material is deposited. A latrine is practically never seen.

As for the general appearance of the villages Dr. Timbres writes:

So much for the physical aspects of the village. In the worst villages one often walks through one or two streets without seeing a single inhabitant. In other villages, the inhabitants, including dogs, pigs, children, and chicken, are often numerously manifest. The people, however, are not in good general physical condition. Their appearance of lack of energy is striking. The pot-bellied child is the rule, the healthy-looking child is the exception. I did a spleen examination on many children in every village I visited. I often performed this examination in the schools. An enlarged spleen is a sure indication of infection with malaria in a epidemic area. In the best villages the spleen rate was 30%, in the worst, often every child examined had a large spleen. Sometimes the spleen was so large as almost to fill the entire abdominal cavity. Such a high splenic rate in the children is positive evidence of a similarly high rate of infection with malaria in every member of the village. In one village, Raipur, with a population of 350 families, forty are said to have died of malaria during this session.

He gives many details relating to the incidence of Malaria, Leprosy, etc., and the deplorable conditions under which child-birth takes place. He is careful to add:

A cursory glance at the villages, however, might not reveal to a casual observer that they are veritable museums of nearly every disease known to mankind. He would see the jungle, the desolation, the disorderliness and the under-nourishment, but outside of these observations, he might even think that the villagers were in a fairly good condition. When I first came to Santiniketan, I was told by several people, Indians and Europeans, that they did not think a doctor would find much material for work, as they regarded this part of Bengal as an especially healthy place. Santiniketan is healthy but the surrounding district not. A little prodding

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beneath the surface is needed to reveal the slow death that is creeping over the countryside, a death, which if it be not checked, may easily spread to other parts of Bengal and India. The Poet has seen this condition coming for many years, and it is one of the greatest sadness of his life.

The writer has something to say about the former flourishing condition of Bengal and its Birbhum district.

There is ample evidence on every hand that as short a time as fifty years ago the district was quite prosperous. Historically it is recorded as having been very prosperous. Bernier, travelling through Bengal in 1660, writes :

"The knowledge I have acquired of Bengal in two visits inclines me to believe that it is richer than Egypt. It exports in abundance cottons and silks ; rice, sugar and butter. It produces amply for its own consumption wheat, vegetables, grains, fowls, ducks and geese. It has immense herds of pigs, flocks of sheep and goats. Fish of every kind it has in profusion. From Rajmahal to the sea is an endless number of canals, cut in bygone ages from the Ganges by immense labour for navigation and irrigation, while the Indian considers the Ganges as the best in the world."

When Mr. Cheap, commercial agent for the East India Company 1787-1824, flourished in this district, it was probably the wealthiest in all Bengal. Home industries of all kinds, such as spinning, weaving, dyeing indigo culture, etc., prospered. The district was full of artisans of the highest skill, from whose deft fingers ornaments and wearing apparel went out to deck the rich and royal of the world.

He passes on to discuss the causes of the decay of the district and of Bengal generally. Then he strikes a hopeful note :

Whatever the causes, the fact remains that the conditions around Santiniketan are bad, unspeakably bad, but not so bad that they cannot be remedied. Did I not believe this latter fact I should indeed be discouraged. The ultimate solution will have to come eventually from the country as a whole, at least from the Bengal Government. Already half-convinced of the value of Dr. Bentley's and Sir Wilcock's suggestions, the Government is beginning to make a survey of the province for the purpose of improving the irrigation and drainage. But before that scheme comes to fruition, all the inhabitants may die. In the district of Birbhum, as in the rest of Bengal, the Department of Public Health carries bravely on under extremely adverse conditions, chief of which is the lack of an adequate staff and income. The Civil Surgeons of the district are also inadequately equipped, and there are less than 75 hospital beds in the entire district.

He pays a well-deserved tribute to the work done by the Visva-bharati village workers and to the workers themselves.

The most encouraging work which I saw is that which is being done by the village workers at Sriniketan under the direction of the Visvabharati. All of these workers are young men filled with ideals of serving their country in a practical manner. They work at great personal sacrifice, on very low salaries, performing the fundamental tasks of organization of health work. This work is one important part of the general scheme of village uplift which has its centre at Sriniketan. Inspired by the Poet's ideals and aspirations for his country, they work on the principle that if the level of village life can be raised through the co-operative efforts of villagers themselves the village would once more become an attractive and healthy place to live, and the people would not desert it for the profitless soul-quenching life of the city. So workers are trained in village industries, night and day schools for children are conducted, co-operative banks loaning money at low rate of interest are organized, and health societies are formed.

The health work has been organized in eight of the surrounding villages. Already signal effects can be recognized. I proved by actual examination of the children that the incidence of malaria is lower in these villages than in surrounding ones. Also the general state of nourishment of the children is better. The health societies collect membership fees in money, kind, and labour, and apply these fees to clearing the jungle, draining the roads, cleaning and kerosenizing the tanks regularly, filling up the pools of stagnant water, regularly distributing quinine as a prophylactic measure during the worst of the malaria season, and in instructing the villagers by lectures, posters, etc., in the elements of sanitation and hygiene. It is all a splendid work being done along proper lines without waste of effort, by men whose inspiration is of the highest and whose patience in doing the necessary little things is infinite. The difficulties obstructing their work must appear at times to be insurmountable. The lack of adequate funds is the main difficulty. Then the prejudice of the villagers must be overcome. This was at one time strong but is getting less now. When the malaria is very bad it seems as if their measures are having no effect, but they keep bravely on in the face of no little danger to themselves from diseases with which they come daily into contact and to which their own state of under-nourishment renders them more than usually liable. No matter, their courage and patience are unflagging.

We have tried to give some idea of Dr. Timbres' article ; but the whole of it deserves to be read.

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The Poet's University

The foregoing Note will not come as a surprise to those who know what Visva-bharati is trying to do, but it may serve to correct the wrong impressions of those who cherish an *a priori* conclusion that being a Poet's University, it is concerned mainly with things of the imagination and partly with things academical and intellectual. But as a matter of fact, the Poet's University has been trying to grapple with the hard realities of life as well.

The very name University calls up the

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idea that it has to do with the Universal, which includes the Local and the National. We are familiar with the cheap gibe that the Poet is concerned with *Visva*, the whole Universe, and has no thought to spare for his neighbours and his countrymen. Those who know him and his work know how untrue and unjust such insinuations are.

We do not know of any University in India which touches life at all points as Tagore's University has done. No doubt, with its united resources, it cannot attempt to do all things nor are all its arrangements free from flaws and defects. But it does not lose sight of, ignore or exclude any aspect and department of education. We were reminded afresh of this fact by the Annual Report of the institution published in the recently published January issue of the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*. The mere mention of the various departments and sub-departments of the institution serves to show the wide range of its interests, ideals and endeavours.

The Vidyabhavana (Research Institute) provided for lectures on Tibetan, Buddhism, Buddhist philosophy, Sanskrit, Nathism, Yogi Cult, Bengali, Comparative Philology, Old Persian, Avesta, Vedic Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic, Persian, French, Islamic culture and history, Chinese, German, English and Prakrit. There were students to attend these lectures. Research work done both by members of the staff, members of the Santiniketan staff and students is described in the Report. The collation of the Mahabharata MSS. was continued as usual in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona.

The Santiniketan College taught both its own courses and the courses of the Calcutta University. There were 37 men and 13 women students, all in residence, separate accommodation being provided for them. The new Sree-bhavana (Girls' and Women's Hostel) will accommodate 80 students.

The work of the College Department underwent a number of changes during the year under review. The College and the School were completely separated and conducted as distinct units for purposes of administration. Nalin Chandra Ganguly remained in charge of the College as Principal throughout the year. The remarkable progress shown by the College is entirely due to his enthusiasm and personal exertions.

Patha-Bhavana (School Department) made all-round progress.

The Founder-President took great pains to create among the members of the staff a real enthusiasm for his ideals and his system of education; he directed the work in detail, daily devoting a considerable part of his valuable time and energy for this purpose.

Self-government is a special feature in the training of students. In order to dovelop their sense of responsibility and to make them participate in the different activities of the Asrama, an Asrama Sammilani office was started through the activities of the students, and has been run entirely by them. This has worked very satisfactorily. Manual training received special attention and good progress was made in Carpentry, Weaving, and Gardening. A number of exhibitions of the work of the students were held and were greatly appreciated. Classes in music, vocal and instrumental, were regularly held. Two teachers were engaged to teach the students, especially the girls, Manipuri dances, and the progress has been very satisfactory. Every effort was made to give the students firsthand experience of village problems through regular organized visits to Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction. The senior students paid a number of visits to Ballavpur, a centre of rural reconstruction work, and got practical experience in rural economic survey and reconstruction.

Kalabhavana (School of Art) was under the charge of Nanda Lal Bose. It has now got a new building specially constructed for the purpose.

The main building has been designed to serve the purpose of a museum. The art collection was removed there from the library building, and all the paintings, archaeological specimens, and examples of art-crafts have been carefully catalogued. The want of furniture, however, stood in the way of their proper display for purposes of study.

The students have been provided with three separate buildings to be used as studios. Of these, one is available for the women students, the others for men. During the current year the need for accommodating the clay modelling section became so pressing that a new shed, which was not provided for in the original plan, had to be constructed.

The Founder-President wishes the whole group of the Kala-bhavana buildings to be known as "Nandayan." The inauguration ceremony was held during the Pous Utsava.

Methods of Instruction.—In our method of instruction chief emphasis is laid on studio-work. Students are given individual attention by the teachers in turns. It is also our constant aim and effort to explore the possibilities of imparting to the students, according to their abilities, a knowledge of allied arts and crafts besides the usual instruction in painting and modelling.

Works from our school were exhibited in numerous parts of the country: Delhi, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur, Mysore, Madras, and Masulipattam. In Santiniketan several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which displays of wood-block printings, clay-modelling and embroidered works were shown. These exhibitions brought the visitors and the residents of the place into a closer contact with the activities of the Kala-bhavana. In June last we arranged, for the first time, a public exhibition in the Town Hall, Darjeeling, which was very kindly opened by

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Sir P. C. Mitter. The success of the Darjeeling exhibition has given us confidence, and we hope to organize other public exhibitions in future.

Other activities.—One of the regular features of our activities is to help in the organization of the festivals of the Asrama, such as the Full-moon, the New-moon, the "Dol-Purnima" (The Spring Festival), "Varsha-Mangal" (The Festival of the Rains), "Briksha-Ropan" (the Arbour Day), "Sita Yajna" (the Ploughing Day). This year the services of the Kala-bhavana were also utilized in the production of the "Tapati" in Calcutta for four successive days in September. In this connection we acknowledge our debt of gratitude to Srimati Pratima Devi who rendered valuable help to us.

About the Library we learn that

The total number of books on the 31st October 1929 was 36,639, including General 32,347, V. Sastri's Library 948, Vakil's Library 200, and Manuscripts 3,144. There was an increase of about 1,305 books only during the year under report. Besides the above, the number of unbound periodicals, journals and pamphlets would come to about three thousand or more.

In December, 1928 the Kalabhavana Museum and Studios were removed to the new building, and the rooms in the upper storey of the Library Building became available for the Library. They have been arranged as seminary rooms in the following subjects for use by the research workers of the Vidya-Bhavana :—(1) Sanskrit, (2) Tibetan, (3) Mahabharata Collection work, (4) Buddhist and Jain, (5) Arabic and Persian, (6) Chinese, and (7) Philosophy.

The Library at Sriniketan contains mainly books on Agriculture and Rural Economics. The Village Circulating Library at Sriniketan however does not form a part of this library, but belongs to the Village Work Department there.

About Sreebhavana it is stated that the new building is a large two-storied house with extensive grounds of its own and is equipped with all conveniences.

The number of boarders at the end of 1929 was 47 of whom 40 came from Bengal, 2 from Madras, 1 from U. P., 1 from Gujrat and 3 from Ceylon. The distribution according to departments was :—School 26, College 12, Kalabhavana 9. Miss Hembala Sen was in charge as the Lady Superintendent practically throughout the year.

Then there are descriptions of the kitchen, the hospital, etc.

In the sports department the new feature is Jujitsu.

The Founder-President during his recent visit to Japan was able to secure, for a period of two years, the services of Mr. Nobuzo Takagaki, a distinguished exponent of Jujitsu (known in Japan as Judo) Mr. Takagaki was formerly Japanese State-scholar at the University of British Columbia, and before coming out to India held the post of the Ju-Jitsu teacher at the Nippon University and at the House of Representatives (Japanese Parliament). He is a qualified medical practitioner in Ju-Jitsu form, and is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Kodokwan which is the official training centre in Japan. At present there are very few men with his qualifications even in Japan.

A new gymnasium was built and properly equipped for the Jujitsu classes. Mr. Takagaki joined the institution in November, 1929, and immediately started his classes. The progress made during the short period has been most encouraging. *An outstanding feature has been the interest and progress shown by girl students.*

Arrangements have been made to hold special classes for the benefit of students coming from Calcutta and other places.

Sriniketan, which is the Department of Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction, gives practical training in agriculture, sericulture, rural reconstruction, and weaving, tanning and various other arts and crafts.

The whole of the land comprising seven hundred acres, which the Government of Bengal had acquired on behalf of the Visva-Bharati, finally came into our possession in February, 1929. It was rather late in the season, and arrangements were made very hurriedly to lay out the fields and cultivate as much as possible for growing a fodder crop. About 25 families of Santal labourers were given a plot of land to the east of Cheap's Kuthi for starting a Santal Settlement. These new settlers together with the Santal inhabitants of the 3 villages which came into our possession by the Land Acquisition were allotted about 200 bighas of the Khoai and low land for the cultivation of paddy. These paddy fields are expected to yield a good income after three years. A Fordson Tractor was purchased, and with its help about 300 bighas of high land unfit for paddy cultivation were ploughed up and sown with fodder-seed. A new road was constructed connecting Santiniketan with Cheap's Kuthi, and giving access to most of our newly laid out fields. Rs. 700 approximately were spent for the above purposes.

A Crafts Section was opened last year. It includes Lacquer Work, artistic Book-binding, Pottery, Leather embroidery etc. It has already made good progress. The Chemistry, Physics, and Botany laboratories were equipped for holding practical classes for regular students as well as for light analytic work. The installation of the Power House, and the laying out of Mechanical Workshops were also completed. A set of Meteorological instruments were purchased, and regular observations have been started. The starting of the Brati-Balak Magazine devoted to scout work at the beginning of this year by the Village Work Department also marks an important advance.

Daily observations are being sent to the Alipore Observatory, and we receive "The Daily Weather Report" of the Calcutta Meteorological office free of cost.

We have at present the following instruments in the observatory :—Mercurial Barometer (Fortin Type), Dry Bulb Thermometer, Wet Bulb Thermometer, Maximum Thermometer, Minimum Thermometer (all these lent by the Calcutta Meteorological Office), Barograph, Wind Vane, Anemometer, Stevenson Screen and Rain Gauge.

Non-instrumental observations are also recorded regularly,

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The Visva-bharati is famous for its *utsavas* or festivals.

In the village welfare section of the Report accounts are given of the Brati-balak or boy scout; the women's associations in villages teaching sewing, cutting, child welfare and maternity work; the eight night schools; the Sriniketan girls' school; village lectures; training camps for studying and teaching scout organization, cottage craft, first aid, elementary agriculture, co-operative and village organizations; etc.

General talks were also given by Dr. Dhirendra Mohan Sen (The Child Mind and Mental Fatigue) and Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal (Co-operative Work), and a lantern lecture by Rai Saheb K. P. Roy (of the Bengal Govt. Health Department) on Food in Bengal Homes.

Sriniketan has a dispensary and arrangements to give medical relief to villagers in the neighbouring villages. The Rural Survey of Raipur was completed during the year, and the report will be published at an early date. Rural surveys of Goalpara, Bandhgora, Bhubandanga are also progressing. The Report gives a full account of village reconstruction work done during the year in several villages, consisting of sanitation, rendering medical help, anti-malarial work, vaccination, maternity work, treatment of snake-bites and killing of snakes, education, boy scouts work and training, adult education, arbitration, bank, fields and garden, tanks, irrigation and fishery, weaving school, tanning, poultry, women's association, co-operation with the neighbouring village, propaganda work, etc.

In the Agricultural Department there are farm, poultry, dairy, etc.

In the education section there are student apprentices, and the Siksha-satra for giving free education to a number of pupils on practical lines. In the industrial section weaving, tanning, carpentry, lacquer work, tile making, pottery, book-binding and tailoring are taught.

There are besides, a publication department and the Santiniketan Press.

As regards the needs of the institution, the Report states:

Our most pressing need at the present moment is (1) an additional income of Rs. 1,5000 a year for the institutions at Santiniketan.

Our immediate capital requirements consist of:—

(2) Rupees one lakh approximately to clear accumulated liabilities and restore the Life Members Fund.

(3) Rs. 50,000 for the construction of a new power plant, and a modern system of water works.

Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committees

Two committees, one official, and the other non-official appointed by the Congress, have already taken much evidence on the origin and incidents of the Dacca disturbances. The dead cannot be revived by the conclusions of these committees, property looted and burnt cannot be restored, though broken and wounded limbs may get cured without their help. If means can be found for the prevention of similar disgraceful, deplorable and inhuman occurrence in the future, the committees would not have sat in vain. But if that has to be done, the origin of the disturbances and their unchecked continuance for more than a month up till now have to be explained and the instigators and perpetrators of the black deeds punished in a condign manner. The least that the committees can do is to publish in full *all* the written and oral evidence placed before them. The public will then be able to form their own conclusions. We have received copies of some of the written statements. They make very painful and amazing reading. We may deal with them hereafer, if necessary.

—

Dacca Then and Now

In his *Topography of Dacca*, published in 1839, Dr. Taylor wrote of Dacca:

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*." Chap. ix, p. 257.

The condition of Dacca in 1930 need not be described.

—

"Get Swaraj," "Go to the Congress"

Many witnesses before the official and non-official committees of enquiry at Dacca are reported to have said that if Englishmen were applied to for help they replied: "Go to your Gandhi and get Swaraj." The telegram sent from Dacca by the Associated Press on June, 24 states that in the course of Babu Radhikamohan Basak's evidence before the official committee he said, "He went to the Police for help, but got none. A Habilder asked him to go to the Congress for help." "Six more witnesses of the locality whose shops were looted were also

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examined. They said they received no police help, while on the contrary they were asked to go to the Congress leaders for help."

If these allegations be true, they must be considered additional grounds for making all possible efforts to get Swaraj, and what sane European and Indian officials are reported to have said must be treated not as sarcasm, but as serious exhortations.

Again, should the allegations made by these witnesses be true, then the origin of the Dacca disturbances must in part at least be sought elsewhere than in mere communal feeling.

—

Power of the Police to seize Weapons

Numerous statements have appeared in the Press that in many places at Dacca the police took away licensed guns from the Hindus who had used them for defensive purposes. If these allegations be true, the police, while not giving or unable to give protection to the Hindus, deprived them of the means of self-defence. Have the police legal power to do so? If so, the law ought to be changed. No one who possesses any weapon under a licence should be deprived of it before it has been proved in a law-court that he has made an illegal use of it. If the police have no legal power to take away licensed guns of which illegal use has not been proved to have been made, then, the owners of such guns are not legally bound to give them up to the police. We do not know what the law is.

—

Educational Institutions and the Present Situation

In many provinces official circulars have been issued having for their object the dissociation of school boys and college students from all aspects of the civil disobedience movement. The issuing of such circulars is natural for officialdom. But whether the object aimed at will be gained, is another matter.

As school boys are mostly minors, we have all along been opposed to their taking any part in politics. As for College and University students, most of them being over 18 years of age, we have advocated a greater freedom being allowed to them. Of course, if by taking part in any procession or any meeting, they violate any law, ordinance or executive order, they must be prepared to take the consequences. But we would by no means dissuade them from taking part in processions or meetings which are legitimate or lawful. They are to be the future citizens of the country. And so they must not remain quite ignorant of and out of touch with legitimate political movements.

The above mentioned circulars have directly to do with the boycott of foreign cloth and the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops. The statement appended to ordinance No. V admits that temperance work is laudable and the promotion of Swadeshi industries is laudable. And without any official statement telling school boys and College students that they are laudable these youngsters have known this fact all along. If now their instructors are *required* by any circular to order them not to do even certain perfectly moral and non-violent thing to promote total abstinence and Swadeshism, these preceptors are placed in a rather invidious position which cannot but lose them the respect of their pupils. For, except the use of force and threats, it cannot be proved that every other means of preventing drinking or the use of foreign cloth is clearly immoral. And teachers ought not, from the point of view of moral education, to be obliged to tell their students not to do anything which is not immoral. Let the law take its course by all means. But teachers should not be made limbs of the law in any sense. They do not belong to the C. I. D. If teachers are to be dissociated from politics, they should be dissociated from the politics of the Government also.

Government are, of course, at liberty to make all possible efforts to crush any political movement which in their opinion is undesirable. But we cannot admit that *every* such effort made by them with that object in view is made in the interest of the school-going and college-going population.

—

Biography of Hakim Ajmal Khan

The Board of Trustees of the Tibbiya College, Delhi, has recently sanctioned a proposal to get the life-history of the late Masihulmulk Hakeem Ajmal Khan compiled under the supervision of a committee consisting of Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Babu Ram Pershad Sahib, Financial Secretary to the Board, and Hakim Md. Jamil Khan. The last named gentleman appeals to all interested and particularly to personal friends of the

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late Hakeem Sahib to help the committee by offering all available information and by lending him any letters and autographs they may happen to possess. Even the most unimportant details will be welcome.

To give our readers an idea of the lines on which the work is to be compiled, the following passage is quoted from the memorandum which was laid before the Board :

".....No scheme of work will be suitable or complete which does not provide a through exposition of the current history of India with special reference to the life of the late Hakeem Sahib. Apart from the Unani medical science and its allied subjects which owe much of their progress to the great efforts made by the late Masihulmulk there are so many departments of public life—politics, social reform, education and literature—which must form an integral part of Hakeem Sahib's biography. The Urdu literature is sadly deficient in the art of biography and very few writers, excepting perhaps "Shibli" and "Hali" have ever touched the subject in a scientific manner. Biography in Urdu stands on a very low level indeed. If the life-history of Masihulmulk is to be ever written it should be compiled in a way so as to merge contemporary history into the every-day life of Hakim Sahib, making it possible to present a historical portrait on every page of the book interwoven from day to day, with the progress of events. The object of such a pen-picture should be to prepare a background of conditions and circumstances in which the late Hakeem Sahib's life evolved and acquired eminence. Such a combination of history and biography must be something quite different from the cheap literature which we can always purchase at four annas a copy at any shop in the bazar. Nothing will be more derogatory to the memory of Hakeem Sahib than such a cheap and commonplace production.

Hakim Jamil Khan (Sharif Manzil, Ballimaran, Delhi) appeals to all his friends and to those who, at one time or another came in touch with him to help the Committee by giving "notes" on :

(a) their personal relations with the late Hakeem Sahib, (b) important incidents of his life with which they had personal connection or which they personally witnessed. (c) his thoughts and views on public affairs, and—(d) on his personal and intimate friends who are likely to possess first-hand information.

—

Political Prisoners' Food in Sabarmati Jail

Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society has clearly analysed all details of the food supplied to political prisoners and their price in an article in *The Bombay Chronicle*. He comes to the conclusion :

All stories of heavy food allowances for politicals are a myth. At no time did any A class prisoner receive more than Re 0-9-10 per day ; it was subsequently reduced to Re. 0-7-6 but which really at bazar rates meant Re 0-5-0 only per day or at the most Re 0-6-0. But at present for the last full month they live upon only Re 0-1-4½ per day and have denied themselves anything from outside.

Thus any ordinary European criminal does receive specially prepared food worth Re 0-9-10 while Indian patriots of every type eat prison food worth Re 0-1-4½ a day in Sabarmati Jail to-day !

—

How the Press Ordinance works

As illustrations of how the press ordinance is worked, some of our contemporaries have cited the cases of the deposits demanded from "*The People*" and "*Bande Mataram*" of Lahore, many days or perhaps weeks *after they had voluntarily* suspended publication. Such demand of deposit has been considered unreasonable and illogical. But it is not so. Dead men never come back to life. But defunct papers or papers in a state of suspended animation may resume their normal functions again. The Lahore officials concerned may have for that reason informed the conductors of those papers that if they want again to run a race with other journals they must start with a handicap.

—

A Brief Survey of the "Dharasana Raid"

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, Ahmedabad, has published an illustrated booklet giving a brief survey of the 'Dharasana Raid'. It reproduces may photographs of the wounded volunteers and contains a brief historical survey, civil disobedience programme, the salt campaign, meaning and power of Satyagraha, the Satyagrahi's duties in various situations, what the "raid" meant, the Dharasana "raid," independent opinions on what the police did at Dharasana, what the Doctors say, etc. The price is six annas. It contains 107 pages. The pictures are separately printed.

—

Memorial Procession on Deshbandhu Anniversary

Srimati Urmila Devi (sister of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das), Srimati Bimal Pratibha Devi, Srimati Mohini Devi and Srimati Jyotirmayi Ganguli have been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment each, and Babu Padmaraj Jain and another gentleman to six months' rigorous imprisonment each in connection with the procession taken ou

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on the death anniversary of the late Mr. C. R. Das. As no licence had been obtained from the Police for the procession and as all processions had been forbidden by the Police Commissioner, a technical offence had undoubtedly been committed. But the sentences are excessive, particularly as the procession was a sort of funeral in which the sister of the eminent deceased took a leading part. Severe sentences in cases where no moral turpitude is involved, taken with severe sentences where such turpitude is involved, tend to give people an idea that law is not much concerned with the ethical aspect of actions, which is not correct.

—

Srimati Indumati Goenka

Srimati Indumati Goenka is probably the first lady *satyagrahi* in Bengal to be sent to jail.

—

"The New Republic" on the Indian Situation

The New Republic of America (June 4) writes :

No vote was taken at the end of last Monday's debate on India in the House of Commons ; but if it had been, there is no doubt that the MacDonald government would have been overwhelmingly sustained. It is hard to see how the defence of its Indian policy differed from that which might have been made by any Liberal, or even Tory, regime. Wedgwood Benn, speaking for the government, insisted that India is not in revolt and that the troubles are local and unimportant. He recited numerous figures about her trade, tending to show prosperity, and cited the fact that Indian bonds are higher today on the London Stock Exchange than they were on January first. The tone of his speech was not unexpected, in view of the recent actions of the government ; but thousands of Americans who have been admirers of Mr. MacDonald and his group will continue to feel that a far more generous and conciliatory policy was to be expected, and would have had better results.

The government is pinning all its hopes on the round-table conference which will meet in London on October 20 next ; but it is by no means sure that the Indians who will attend that conference will speak for more than a negligible minority of their fellows. Meanwhile, in an important interview with Mr. George Slocombe, correspondent of the British Labour newspaper, *The London Herald*, Mr. Gandhi has outlined the terms on which he is now willing to endorse the conference and recommend to the Indian National Congress the suspension of the civil-disobedience movement.

These terms are well known in India. The American paper continues :

In conversation with Mr. Slocombe, Mr. Gandhi stated that a Dominion status like that of Canada would fulfil his definition of "the substance of independence." We think our readers will agree that his terms are reasonable and, in view of the conditions under which he puts them forth, statesmanlike to the last degree. It takes a great human being to speak in quiet tones with the roar of the mob in his ears. If these terms are not accepted by the MacDonald government as the basis for the coming conference, it will put itself under suspicion of betraying its most important principles for the sake of remaining in power.

There is one sentence in the *New Republic* which requires a word of comment. It says that, though most of the leaders, "including Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu, are now in prison, violence continues on an increasing scale. The number of killed is rapidly mounting into the hundreds, the great majority of whom are Indians shot by police." The leaders had never anything to do with encouraging or winking at violence, and what the journal says about the increase of violence in their absence proves that fact.

—

Proposed Increase of Postage etc.

Mr. Sims of the Post office is said to have suggested that the postage on registered newspapers and the price of post cards and embossed envelopes and the charge for press telegrams should be increased. The reason alleged is that the Post office has been working at a loss. This is an old official complaint against the Post office which has never been proved to the satisfaction of the public and the subordinate postal staff. We have no inner knowledge of the working of the Post office, but we find that the Post office in Japan charges lower postage and carries a much greater number and quantity of postal articles.

In Japan the cost of living is higher than in India. Yet post cards there cost 4½ pies, in India 6 pies The lowest postage rate for newspapers in Japan is half sen or one and a half pie, here it is three pies. There are differences in other items, too, all to the advantage of Japan. For this reason and because Japan is a free and wholly literate country, though it has a much smaller population than India, the number of letters, post cards, newspapers, parcels and packets dealt with by the Indian post office is very much smaller than the volume of ordinary (as apart from the foreign) mail-matters handled by the Japanese post office, as the following table shows :

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Country	Population	Postal articles	Year
India	318,942,480	1,244,425,235	1924-25
Japan	61,081,954	3,806,120,000	1920-21

Assuming that the Indian post office is working at a loss, the wiser course would be, not to increase the postage rates, but to cheapen them, to make the country rapidly literate and to give greater freedom to the people and the press.

At present postal revenue has most probably fallen; for a great many newspapers, some with large circulations, have suspended publication. But for this journalists are not to blame, the Press Ordinance is. So the newspapers which are still carrying on ought not to be indirectly fined for what they are not responsible for. And increase of postage on registered newspapers and of charges for press telegrams may not, after all, increase revenue. For, if the increased postage is added to the present subscription rates, the circulation of newspapers may decrease to some extent, and the dailies may cut down the length of press messages to keep the expenses of their telegraphic services equal to what they are at present.

Increasing postage rates amounts to levying a tax on knowledge and the amenities of civilized life, and is, therefore, not advisable.

—

Working of the Bengal Ordinance

Some weeks ago Mr. Wedgwood Benn informed the House of Commons that the number of persons in Bengal deprived of their liberty without any trial, according to the Bengal Ordinance, was 129. Perhaps this number has increased by now. Can any M. L. A. or M. L. C. ascertain the number, and also ascertain where and how these detenus are kept? So long as their guilt is not proved, they are entitled to be considered innocent persons who have fallen victims to police suspicion.

—

"MacDonald and Gandhi"

The World Tomrrow (New York) for June writes editorially under the above caption:

To see a government headed by Ramsay MacDonald sanctioning the imprisonment of Gandhi is not a particularly heartening experience. The reason given for this action is that while Gandhi disavows the use of violence he is unable to restrain his followers from its use and must therefore be held responsible for actions which he does not condone but which his campaign of disobedience makes inevitable. Obviously a specious argument.

No. It is not even a specious argument. For Gandhi's followers *do not* use violence. To what extent non-officials who are not Gandhi's followers and officials are, respectively responsible for the acts of violence done every day in India, it would be beside the point to discuss here.



TOO MUCH FOR GANDHI

Gandhi: "But they haven't put any salt in the soup."

Warder: "It's your own fault. You don't like government salt."

—*Guerin Meschino*, Rome.



SAFE FOR THE PRESENT

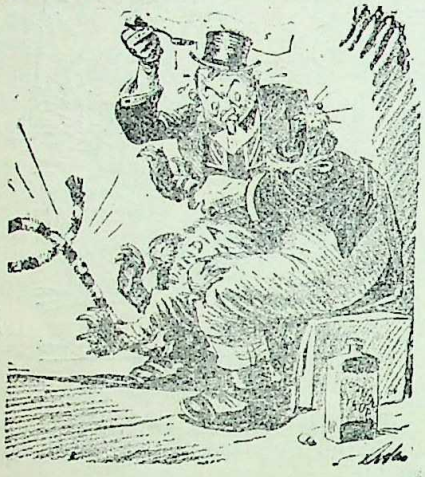
—*Brooklyn Citizen.*

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Our American contemporary continues:

Gandhi was not molested at the beginning because there was no immediate prospect of success for his cause; nor could the government be certain that his arrest might not fan the flames of revolt. But as his campaign won increasing support among the masses, his imprisonment became increasingly imminent.



'ARD TO 'ANDLE.—*New York Post.*

The journal then comments on the Labour Government's 'standstillism' in relation to the problem of Indian freedom.

It is easy enough to realize that the Labour Government is not in a position to give India complete independence and might justly hesitate to take such a step if it had the power to do so. But that does not explain why Britain has not made a single move which would give the Indian nationalists some reason to repose greater confidence in the Labour Government than its predecessors. It committed itself to the Simon Commission before its advent into power, a mistake for which it must now pay dearly since its hands are tied by this commitment. It has pledged Dominion status to India, but has refused to enlarge upon this offer in such a way as to quiet the suspicions of the Indians that this is simply a meaningless gesture, the fulfilment of which might be indefinitely postponed as the American promise of independence to the Philippines has been postponed. It has failed to make any real concessions that might have been used by the moderates in India to dissuade the more revolutionary groups from immediate action.

In conclusion *The World Tomorrow* indicates how the British Labour party's unwillingness or failure to perceptibly advance the cause of Indian freedom will injure the cause of peaceful political progress everywhere else, too.

"If the British labour party continues to play the old imperial game with only such slight modifications that they are hardly perceptible, it will do the gravest injury to every political interest based upon the faith that modern society can reorganize its life without resorting to violence and without subjecting a complex industrial world to social convulsions."

—

Brahmachari Kuladananda

Srimat Kuladananda Brahmachari, a disciple of the late Bejoy Krishna Goswami, passed away on June 26, at the age of 63.

He came of a Kulin Brahman family of Bikrampur and in his student life came under the direct influence of the Goswamiji who was then the Acharya of the Dacca Brahmo Samaj. Kuladananda led the life of a Brahmachari.

For about 15 years he was in company of Bejoy Krishna. The experiences of his religious life have been embodied in his diary published in five volumes under the name of "Sree Sree Satguru Sanga."

The teachings of Kuladananda contributed a great deal towards building up a regard for national tradition, culture and faith which are essential for a spirit of nationalism.

—

After Gandhi—Motilal Nehru

At the very last moment of our going to press comes the news of the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Allahabad.

We have not the time to comment upon this event at length, but what we would like to ask the Administration is whether it is by such measures that they wish to create a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference.

As for the Panditji we do not think he would have preferred anything else.

—

India's Architecture

Japan's independence goes back to hoary antiquity. Yet, the West recognized her as a civilized country and began to praise her art only when she had beaten a great Western power in war. So, one should not expect typical Anglo-Indians to recognize that India has or had any styles of architecture of her own, until she has become independent and at least equal to Britain in political power—particularly as in their mother-country there is no style of architecture peculiarly British.

It is true that in her long history parts of India have been repeatedly conquered just as Britain was conquered, in her comparatively brief history, by Romans, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes and Normans and England got her kings from Denmark, Normandy, Anjou, Scotland, Holland and

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Hanover. But if India, as alleged by some Anglo-Indians at the Rotary Club and in their papers, got all her architecture from foreign conquerors how is it that these conquerors were so altruistic as to keep their architectural genius for India and that they did not build such splendid edifices in their motherlands as are to be found in India? No one contends that all Indian style of architecture are free from foreign influence. Of no civilized country is this true.

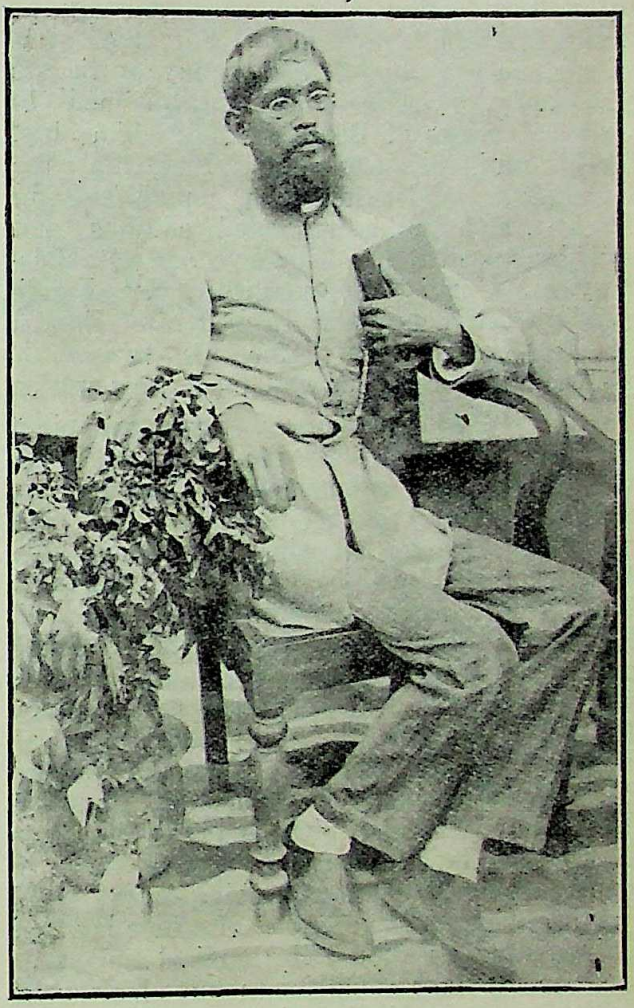
—

Mahes Chandra Ghosh

Babu Mahes Chandra Ghosh, who had been living in Hazaribagh for many years as a teacher in the Government School there and also after his retirement from service, died last month. He was sixty-two years of age at the time of his death. As he never enjoyed normal health, it was not expected that he would live even so long as he did.

In him the country loses one of its great scholars He had a profound, extensive and up-to-date knowledge of Western and Indian philosophy and theology. Hindu and Buddhist philosophy he had studied in the original Sanskrit and Pali. He knew Vedic Sanskrit also. He had a deeper and more extensive knowledge of Christian theology than the general run of Christian missionaries, foreign and Indian, in India. He had learnt Greek in order to study the New Testament in the original. We had once heard that he had acquired a working knowledge of Hebrew also, but of this we are not sure. Had he lived longer, he would have perhaps learnt Arabic also. But he partly made up for his ignorance of that language by studying the Quran in eight translations. This we came to know by asking him a certain question relating to the life of Muhammad. He had studied the Avesta also, we believe, in the original. In order to obtain help in understanding the Zoroastrian scriptures, he learnt Gujarati, in which, we are told, there are some commentaries on those sacred books.

His studies were not confined to philosophy, theology and the scriptures of different religions. He had read general literature, including fiction, not less than the average readers of books. We remember that in Bankura, where he was a teacher for a good many years, one of his nephews, who is now a professor in Lucknow, when a mere boy, had read from his uncle's library all the classical works of fiction in English and some translations of French novels also. As Babu Mahes Chandra was all his life a poor teacher, it is obvious that he did not buy books as mere furniture. He read whatever he purchased. And to the last, he received by every mail from England the latest



Mahes Chandra Ghose

books on philosophy and theology. Of such literature alone his library contains not less than 4,000 volumes, worth not less than Rs. 20,000. This collection he has presented to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, of which he was a member and an ornament, with a sum of money for their proper care. Some of his other books he has presented to other public institutions and to his relatives.

He lived and died a bachelor. He was a teacher by profession. At Bankura, the home of the editor of this journal, he worked for years as a teacher. We knew him there intimately, and often enjoyed the hospitality of his eldest sister and himself. He was a most attentive, kind and genial host. As a

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teacher, he was well known for his success in teaching mathematics, in which he was very proficient. To his students he set an example of a stainless life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and good works. He had written a good text-book on algebra; but it remained unpublished, as he made little effort to find a publisher, having no desire for wealth or fame. For the same reason, he has not left behind any work on philosophy, which he was well qualified to write. Readers of Bengali know him best for his numerous papers on the Gita, the Upanishads and Buddhism, published in *Prabasi*, and for his annotated editions and translations of the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads, published by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. To readers of English he is known mainly for his reviews of philosophical, religious and theological works.

He led an abstemious, pure and pious life of active beneficence. He was well versed in the homoeopathic system of medicine and gave medical advice and medicine free to all who sought his help. When at Bankura he also administered a Charity Fund, collected by himself and his friends. Probably he continued such benevolent activity in Hazaribagh also. He was very methodical, self-reliant and hard-working. He was minister of the Brahmo Samaj in Bankura and Hazaribagh. He was a great *Sadhak* and a man of unaffected humility. The fame of his piety had so spread in Hazaribagh that he was once asked how he could live without taking any food. Having abundant sense of humour, he enjoyed the question. He laughed and said that he did take some food; but had great difficulty in convincing the questioner that he really did not live on air. The fact is, he took a very small quantity of food.

Even when his income was sufficient only for his frugal life, he gave his nephews and nieces a good education. He stinted himself without their knowledge.

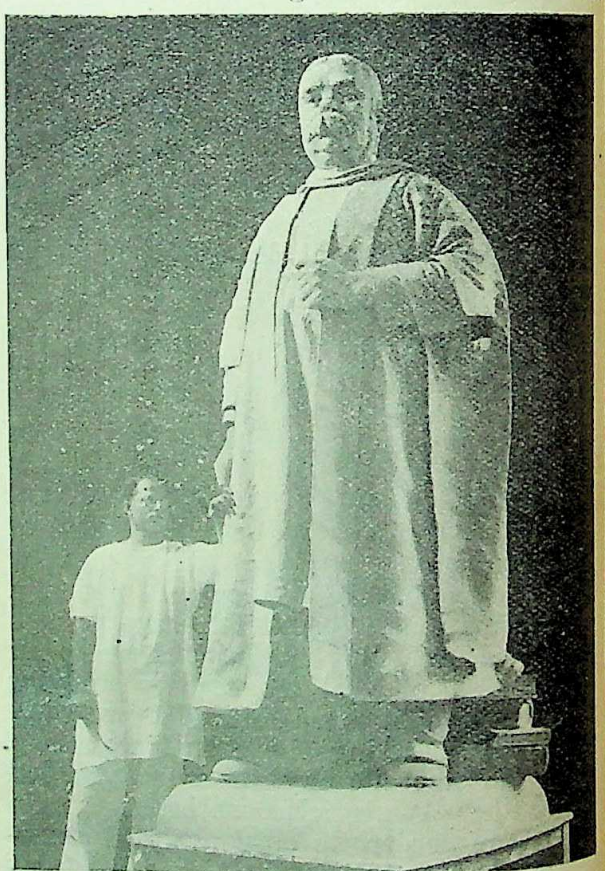
Cheerful in his life throughout, he was also cheerful during his protracted illness. Not a single murmur or groan, expressive of suffering, ever escaped his lips. Till even two hours before his death, he was quite conscious, and continued to take thought for others, not for himself.

Having little knowledge of the Indian scriptures and of philosophy and theology, we often sought his help by letter for the removal of doubts. Promptly did he always reply, throwing sufficient light on the questions asked. Regarding his scholarship it will suffice to say that once Dr. P. K. Ray, Professor of Philosophy at the Presidency College, Principal of that College and, later, Inspector of colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University, told the present writer years ago: "I have visited all colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University, but nowhere have I seen so great a scholar as Mahes Babu."

—

A Bengali Sculptor's Work

Mr. Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri, the well-known Bengali sculptor and painter, is now



The statue of Sir Asutosh Mukherji, with the Sculptor standing by the side of his work

engaged on a statue of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, which when completed will be erected at the junction of the Chittaranjan Avenue and Chowringhee in Calcutta. The funds for this memorial statue as well as the site have been secured through the public-spirited enterprise of Raja Sir Manmathanath Ray-Chaudhuri of Santosh, the President of the Legislative Council, Bengal.

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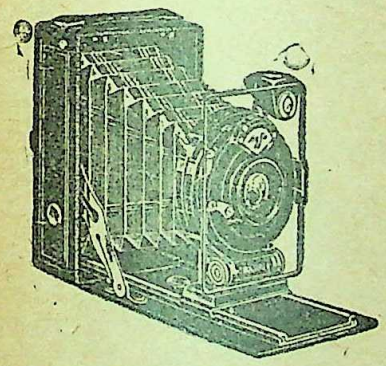
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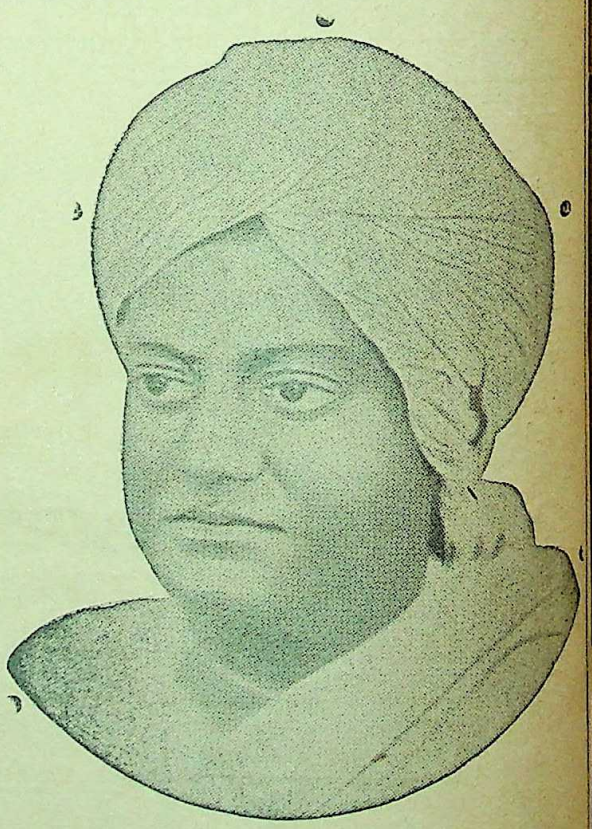
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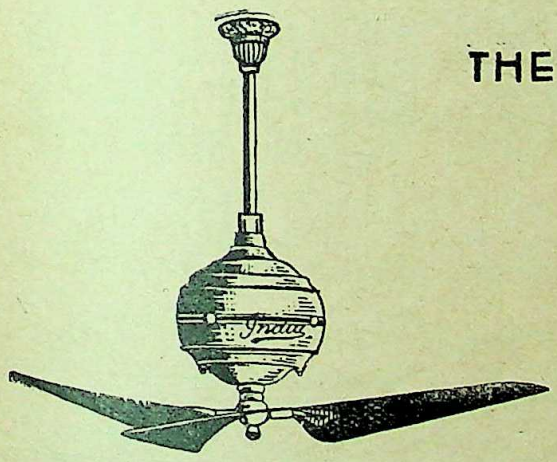
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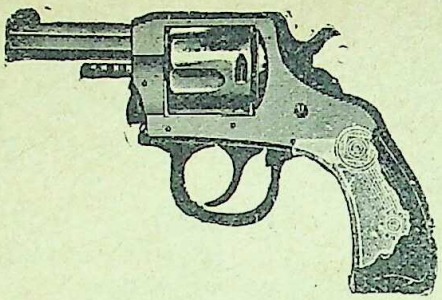
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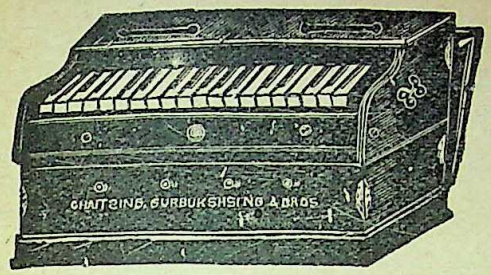
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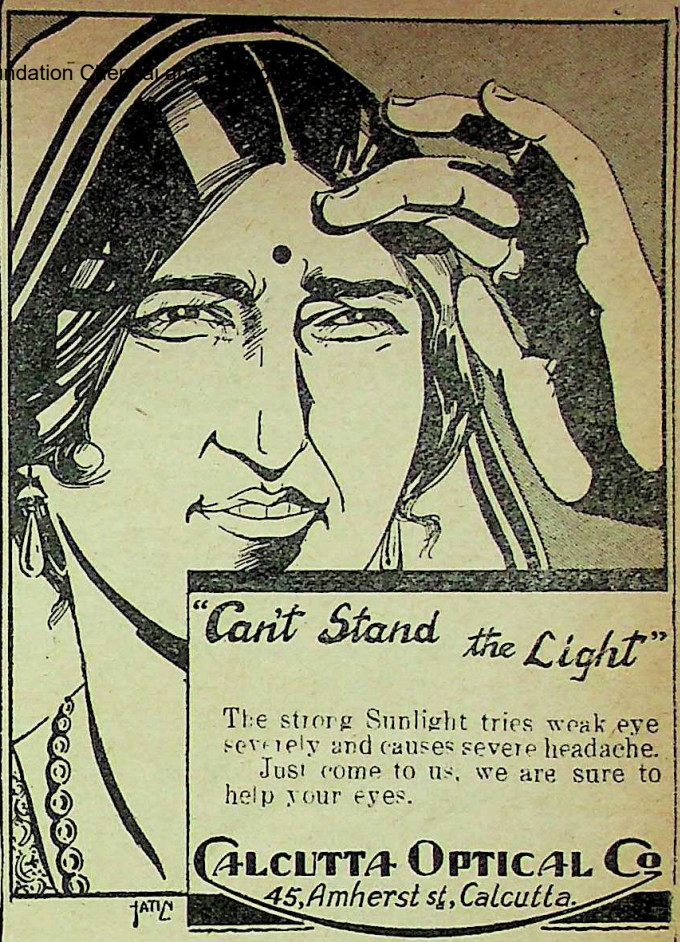
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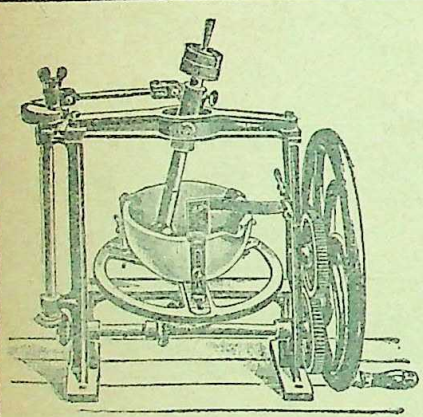
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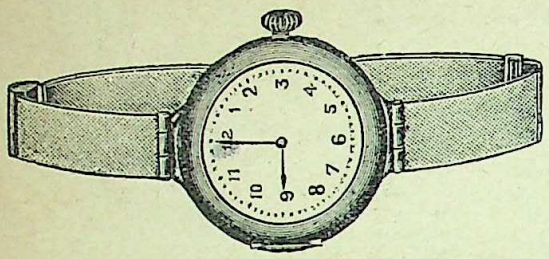
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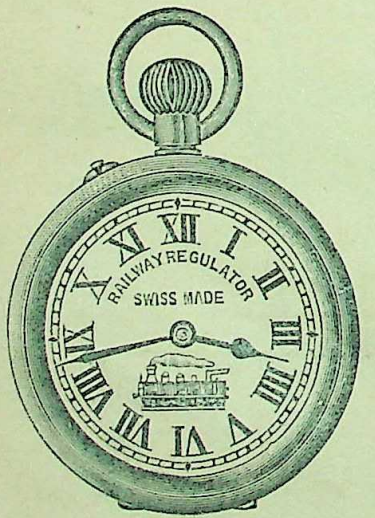
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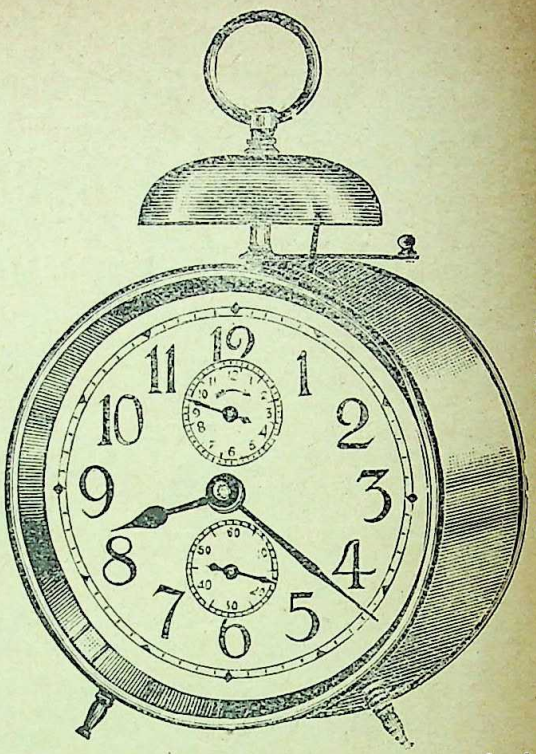
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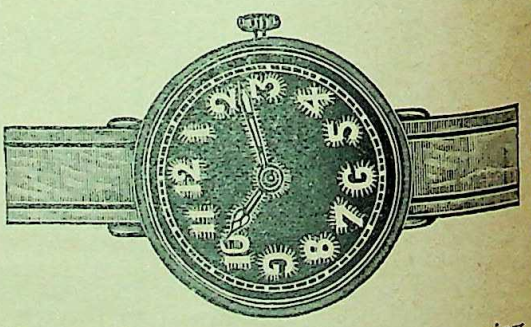


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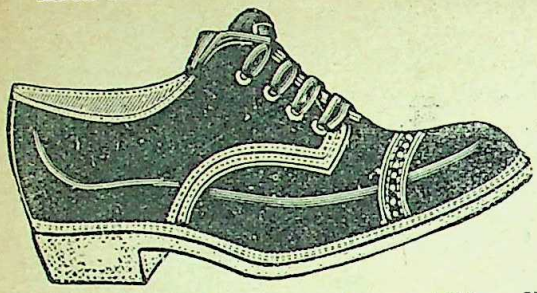
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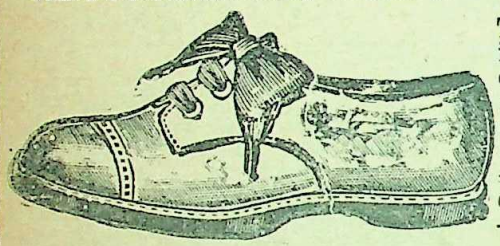
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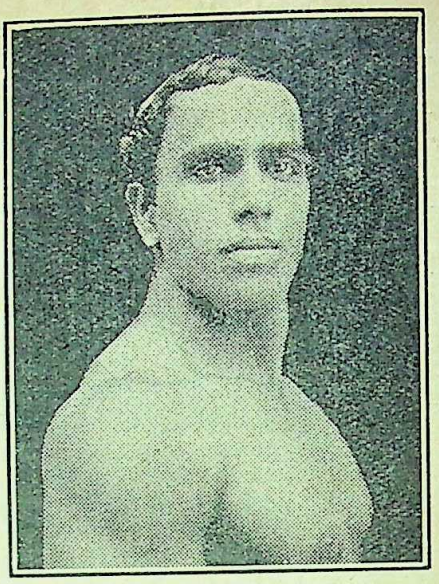
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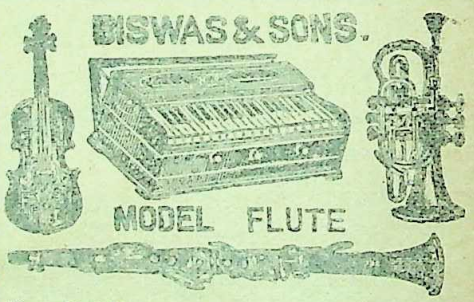
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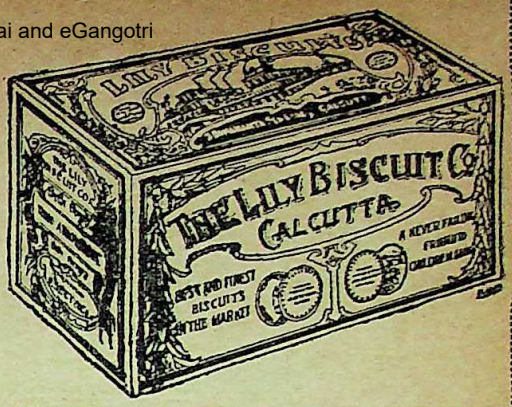
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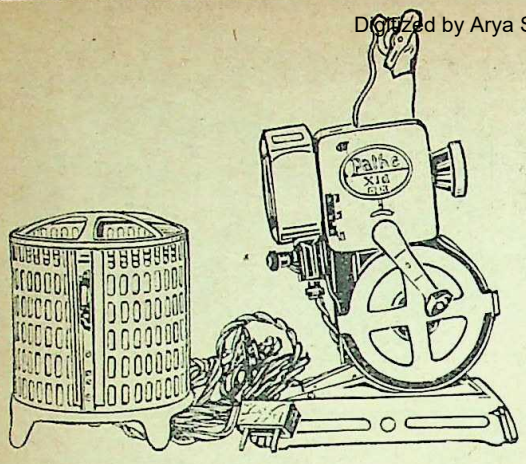
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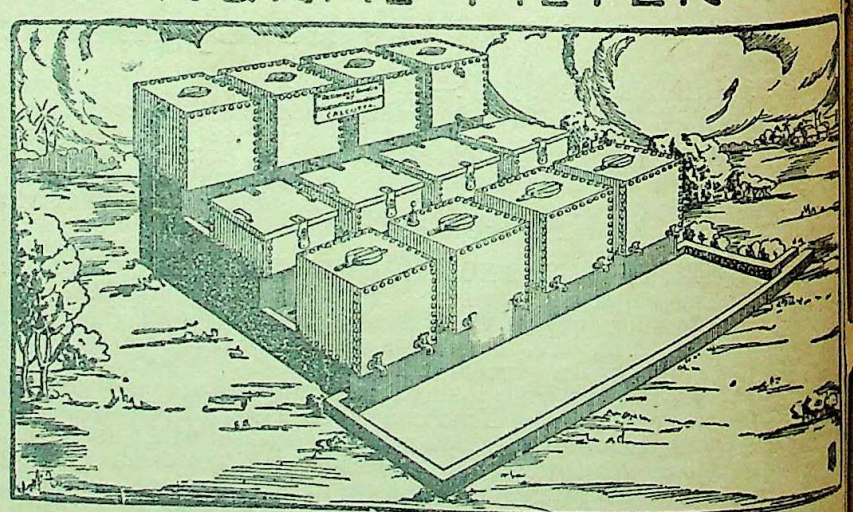
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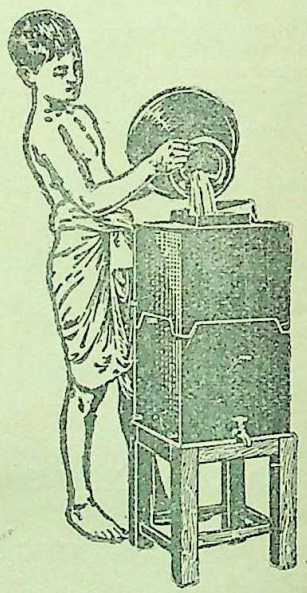
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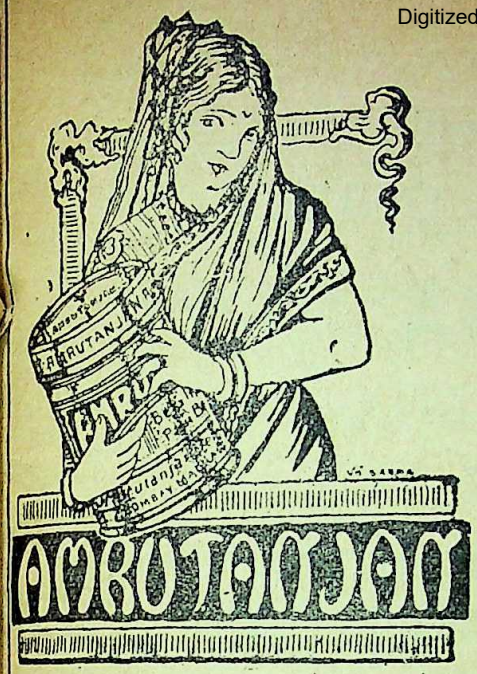
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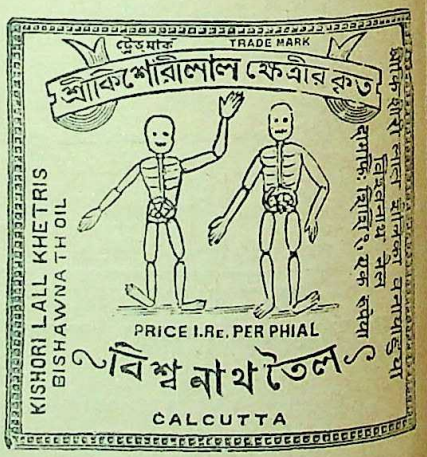
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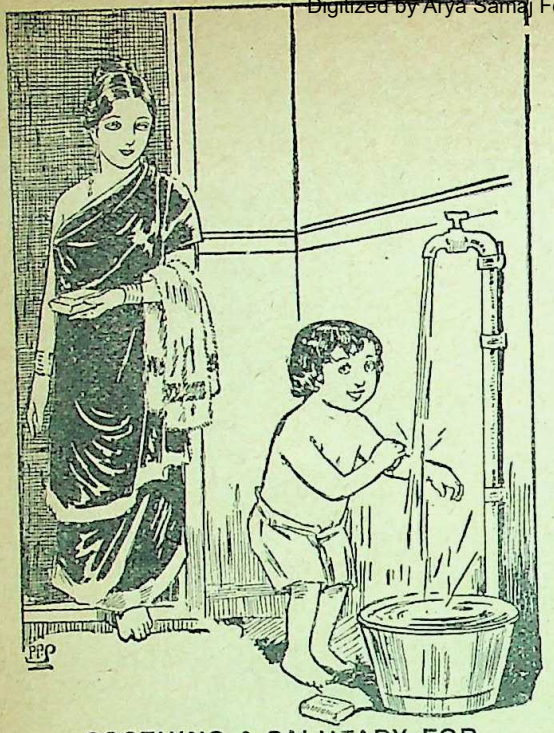
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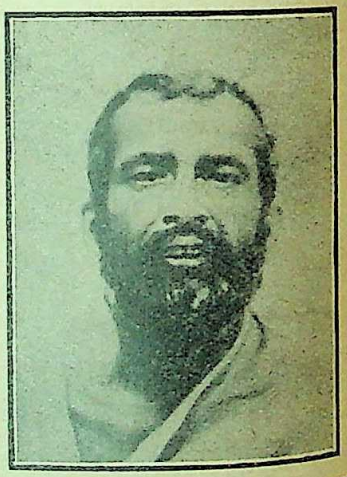
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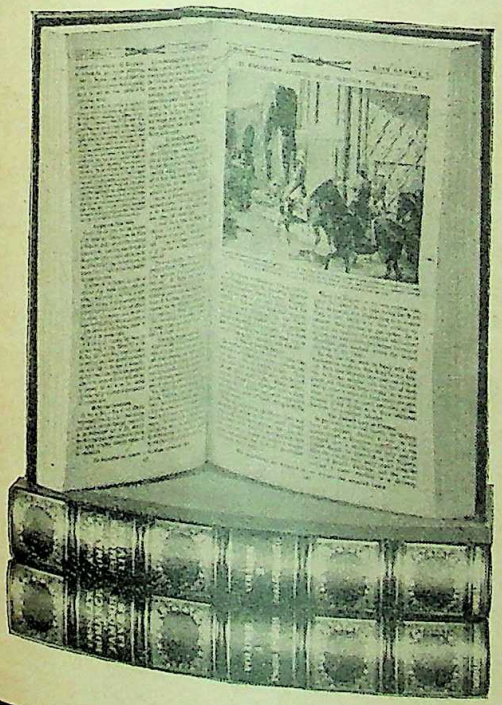
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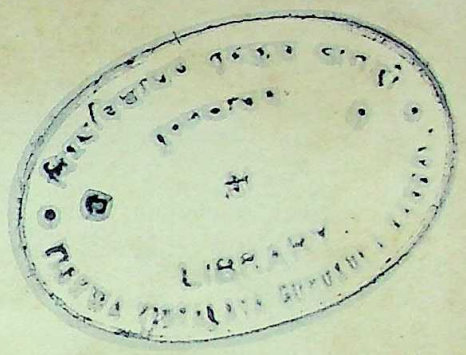
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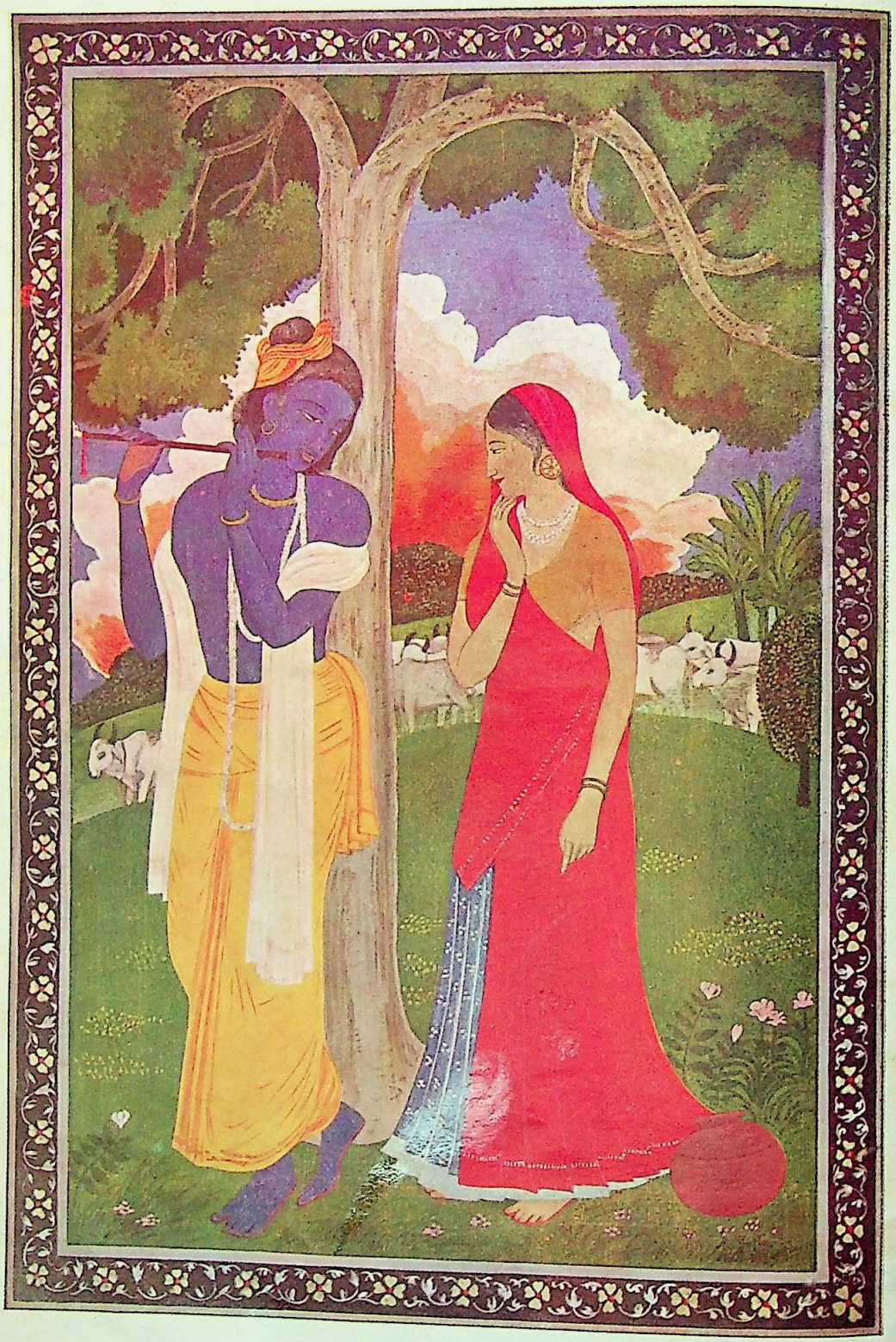
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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The Christ and the Mahatma

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

A comparison between Christ Jesus and Mahatma Gandhi, or rather, Mahatma Mahandas, to be accurate, would not ordinarily occur to an Indian, nor was such a comparison first made by an Indian. Indian Hindus are brought up in a spirit of reverence to the prophets of all creeds, but for purposes of comparison it is not necessary for them to go out of India. The designation Mahatma (great soul) is not rare in this country; in former times it was applied to several great men and some are called Mahatma even at the present day. The designation Christ, which means the Anointed, the Messiah, has been applied to only one individual, Jesus of Nazareth. No other man can be called by that appellation.

Mahatma Gandhi has been compared to Christ Jesus by Christians, clergymen and laymen. He has tasted of the cup of bitterness in two continents, but it has left him wholly unembittered, firm and steadfast in faith. The first slight suggestion of a comparison between Jesus and Gandhi will be found in a little book written by the Rev. Joseph J. Doke, Baptist Minister, Johannesburg. The book is incomplete and does not contain the full history of the South African struggle which brought the name of Mr. Gandhi into prominence. Mr. Doke was a personal friend of Mr. Gandhi; much of the material of his book was obtained first-hand by questions put to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Doke became a great admirer of the Indian leader. In a postscript dated October 16, 1908, Mr. Doke writes that on the previous day Mr. Gandhi was sentenced for the second time, during the year, to imprisonment for two months with hard labour. A few days later convict Gandhi (his number is not mentioned) was transferred from Volksrust gaol to the Fort at Johannesburg. "When he reached Johannesburg, dressed in convict clothes, marked all over with the broad arrow, he was marched under guard through the streets, before sundown, carrying his bundles as any convict would."

Mr. Doke's reflections on this march are worth reproduction. "His face was 'steadfastly set to go to Jerusalem,' and he saw nothing but that. I wonder what he saw in that long march. Not the immediate Jerusalem, I imagine—the place of crucifixion. I know of no vision more terrible than that. The Fort, with its cells and its hateful associations. These long files of prisoners. The white-clad, brutal native warders, swaggering along with their naked assegais. The lash for the obdurate, and the criminal taint for all. A city whose secrets may not be told; from whose dens children emerge criminals, and criminals infinitely worse than they entered."

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In the prison the criminal savage and the conscientious Indian were herded together without distinction. Mr. Doke writes that the experiences of Mr. Gandhi during the first night in Johannesburg Fort were 'extremely shocking.' "As a native prisoner of the criminal class, he looked into a cell with native and Chinese convicts, men more degraded than it is easy to imagine, accustomed to vices which cannot be named. This refined Indian gentleman was obliged to keep himself awake all night to resist possible assaults upon himself such as he saw perpetrated around him. That night can never be forgotten."

In the 19th chapter of the first Book of Genesis it is written how two angels came to Sodom and spent the night in Lot's house. As the two angels had taken the shapes of men the men of Sodom, both old and young, compassed the house round and wanted to force their way in to assault the two guests of Lot. Whereupon the angels smote the assailants with blindness. On the night that Jesus was taken he was mocked, and they spat in his face and buffeted him, but it is not mentioned where they kept him till the morning when he was dragged before Pilate for trial. But in death he was undoubtedly associated with malefactors, for at Golgotha he was crucified between two thieves, "the one on his right hand, and the other on his left. And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors." Law and order, whether Roman or Hunnic, of the Persians and Medes, or any other, have ever stood for righteousness, and the Christs and the Gandhis are always among the transgressors. In the eyes of the Romans in Judea Jesus was merely a Jew, and to the British in South Africa Gandhi was only a coolie.

Mr. Gandhi was a Barrister of the Inner Temple, 'a cultured gentleman in every sense of the term', according to Mr. Doke. In England he had met with kindness everywhere. He went first to South Africa on a professional engagement, but found Natal somewhat different from London, and even unlike Bombay. On the day after his arrival he was rudely ordered to take off his turban in court. In the railway train he was travelling first class with a first class ticket; he was forcibly ejected and his luggage was thrown out. In the Transvaal, then under President Kruger (Bom Paul of beloved memory), the Dutch guard of a coach ordered Mr. Gandhi to sit down at his feet. On Mr. Gandhi's refusal to do so, he was struck a brutal blow in the face and a second knocked him down. The Dutchman threatened 'to do for him,' but the passengers intervened and asked the Boer to 'let the poor beggar alone.' There was no room for him at any hotel. The sentry kicked him off the footpath in front of President Kruger's house. It was in this pleasant land of the Boer and the Uitlander that the first cross was laid upon the Mahatma's shoulders and he cheerfully resolved to bear it, though the Mount of Calvary was not in sight.

In the wilderness Jesus was tempted of the devil, who first asked him to change stones into bread and next invited him to cast himself down from the pinnacle of a temple. Finally, the devil took "Jesus up into an exceeding high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. And the devil said unto Jesus, All these things I will give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then said Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." As a young boy and a young man Gandhi passed through a religious crisis and for some time he was practically an atheist. But he never lost the habit of truthfulness. Mr. Doke writes:—"It was then, as it is now, a part of himself. He could not lie. Oth-r anchors were lost; this held." Later, Gandhi found his lost faith and now to him God is the Truth. As a lawyer he prospered, but the time came when he renounced all property and gradually he stripped his body even of clothing until the loin-cloth alone was left, and it was thus that Mr. Slocombe, a newspaper correspondent, found him in the Yaravada Central Jail near Poona in the Bombay Presidency. "He was as the world knows him—bare except for a loin-cloth, brown and emaciated like an anchorite of the desert." Mr. Slocombe further declared "that the imprisoned Mahatma now incarnates the very soul of India." Between the Gandhi who led the movement of passive resistance in South Africa and the Gandhi who leads Civil Disobedience in India from behind the prison bars, there is no difference except that in the intervening years he has added several cubits to his moral and spiritual stature.

When a Pharisee invited Jesus to eat with him a woman came in weeping. She washed

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the feet of Jesus with her tears, wiped them with her hair and anointed them with ointment that she had brought in a box of alabaster. She was a sinner, but Jesus said unto her "Thy sins are forgiven." At Durban Gandhi was assailed by a fusillade of stones, fish and rotten eggs; a burly European kicked him till he became nearly unconscious. "Then," writes Mr. Doke, "a beautiful and brave thing happened. Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the Superintendent of Police, recognized him, and opening her sunshade to keep off the flying missiles, courageously went to his assistance, and when he attempted to go forward she walked at his side." Mrs. Alexander acted like a noble Christian woman.

Jesus Christ taught, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." The law in Cape Colony was that Indians should be registered for a fee of £ 3 per head and they should give their thumb impressions. Mr. Bertillon's method was undoubtedly intended for criminals of Mr. Gandhi's type who repeatedly had to be sent to prison because they broke the law. But when the Second Boer War broke out in 1899 Mr. Gandhi organized the Indian Ambulance Corps. They were only stretcher bearers and were more than once under fire. General Buller described Mr. Gandhi as "Assistant Superintendent." When the mistake was pointed out to him General Buller replied that he had meant it as a title of courtesy. In the plague epidemic of 1904 Mr. Gandhi and his devoted workers worked incessantly without any thought of personal danger. The prompt measures taken by them saved Johannesburg. The Zulu rebellion of 1906 saw Mr. Gandhi at the head of another Stretcher Bearer Corps and this time he was offered the rank of Sergeant-Major. One of the features of this rebellion was that many Zulu prisoners were severely lashed. Mr. Doke writes:- "Mr. Gandhi speaks with great reserve of this experience. What he saw he will never divulge. I imagine it was not always creditable to British humanity. .... This Ambulance Corps, tenderly ministering to the wounded or cruelly-lashed Zulus—with the son of an Indian Prime Minister at their head—is worthy of an artist's brush."

Jesus was a child-lover, not of the variety that writes pretty verses about children but has very little to do with them, but one who declared that children were the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, and no one could enter the kingdom of God unless he was like a child. "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God." Again:—"At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them. And said, Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." Mahatma Gandhi, even in the midst of his bitter struggles, has been a constant and consistent lover of children. Mrs. Polak writes that in South Africa she repeatedly saw Mahatmaji 'walking up and down a room with a young child in his arms, soothing it in the almost unconscious way a woman does,' and all the time discussing intricate questions with the utmost clearness. At the Sabarmati Ashram no amount of work prevented his playing with the children for some time every day, and one of the first letters he was permitted to write after his latest incarceration in the Yaravada prison without any charge having been formulated against him, was addressed to some children at Sabarmati. It was a beautiful letter couched in the fairy language of children and addressed from 'Yaravada Palace.' Similarly, when he and his people were filling the Transvaal gaols he wrote that they had been sent 'to partake of the hospitality of King Edward's Hotel.' Whether in prison or out of it his cheerfulness never flags or falters.

Jesus Christ has rightly been called the Prince of Peace, yet he said, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." This is of course metaphorical language, because Jesus set his face against violence and taught, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Mahatma Gandhi has never advocated the use of violence either in metaphor or parable. His cardinal creed is non-violence.

The first time that Mahatma Gandhi was likened unto Jesus Christ was in the course

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of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes to the congregation in the Community Church at Park Avenue, New York. The entire sermon was devoted to an exposition of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and it concluded with the following striking words :—"When I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life ; he speaks his word ; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth." In another sermon delivered quite recently Dr. Holmes spoke with clearer conviction and greater emphasis. The theme of the sermon was "Gandhi before Pilate." The opening words are of impressive solemnity. "Why talk ye about God and the son of God and His resurrection on this earth when He is here ?" In symbolic answer to his own question the preacher placed upon his head a Gandhi cap made of Indian Khaddar cloth in pledge of recognition and devotion to the Indian leader who, Dr. Holmes believes, is now taking Christ's place in this world. As he put on the cap he continued, "This cap is a symbol of human devotion as sacred as the cross. As the early Christians lifted the cross in token of Christ's triumph over shame and death, so the Indians are wearing this cap in token of Gandhi's triumph over tyranny and force. Why should not this cap go around the world, as the cross has gone around the world ? For there are millions of men in all countries today who see in the Mahatma the true redeemer of our modern world. More than any other man since Jesus, Gandhi manifests that spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save us." The Gandhi cap is at present banned in certain places in India ; in other places, it has been snatched off from the heads of the wearers, who have been severely beaten for wearing it. Dr. Holmes likened the Mahatma's recent march through India to the sea to break the salt laws to the march from Galilee to the sea two thousand years ago. In the measures taken to suppress Civil Disobedience in India, Dr. Holmes finds "the throne of Pilate is set up again before the nations." Then come the supreme question and the confident answer :—"Is there to be another crucifixion ? Gandhi is doomed to failure, defeat and possibly death, tomorrow perhaps. But in the later tomorrow his victory will be supreme. Only once before has the world seen such a leader. Then it was Jesus." In his final determination to ignore all violence and go right ahead Gandhi is "relentless and terrible as only a meek man can be terrible." This is the sword of which Jesus Christ spoke.

Even earlier than this, in 1913, Bishop Whitehead of Madras declared :—"I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ." Is it not evident that Christ stands outside the chancellories and the cabinets, and there is no place for him in law and order ? When nearly a hundred and fifty American clergymen cabled to Prime Minister MacDonald to compromise with Mahatma Gandhi no reply was sent. They appealed in the name of Christ and were camly ignored. Governments understand the doctrine of force ; to them the power of faith is meaningless.

The Christian Century of Chicago compares Gandhiji's utterances to the echoes of a Galilean hillside. A leading editorial article of the magazine calls attention to the fact that 'Mahatma Gandhi is now engaged in a battle for human freedom, and that this battle is being fought on the basis of the New Testament.' Towards the conclusion it is stated that "the issue which Gandhi has raised transcends the fate of the British Commonwealth of nations. Stripped of all ephemeral aspects, the issue here joined is the choice of the means whereby, for the next hundred years or longer, men will seek to control the affairs of nations."

Mr. Brailsford is a publicist and not a padre. Writing about the Mahatma in *The New Leader* he says :—"Since Tolstoy died, there is no human being living today who commands as he does the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired, but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration." The reference here is to the transfiguration of Jesus. "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart. And was transfigured before them : and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." Further on, Mr. Brailsford writes :—"One glances in vain at the world's premiers and presidents for a personality worthy to stand beside him (Gandhi)." Speaking about himself

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Jesus said, "Behold a greater than Solomon is here."

After Mahatma Gandhi's last arrest at Karadi in Gujerat he was taken to Borivili near Bombay by train and thence by motor car to Yaravada prison. By special favour of the authorities two newspaper correspondents, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, representing a London paper, and Mr. Negley Farson, the correspondent of an American paper, were present when Mahatmaji was taken down from the train. Describing the same Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, who is not a friend of India and does not favour Indian aspirations, writes :—"There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train. for we all felt we were sole eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet, false or true. For, false or true, Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether, one hundred years from now, he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300,000 000 people. We could not shake off these thoughts and it seemed incongruous to be at a level crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody." Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett cannot be ignorant of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is looked upon as a prophet in Europe and America, and has been spoken of as the living Christ from the pulpits of churches, but he was apparently thinking of India alone.

The Rev. A. D. Belden, in his sermon at a church in London referred to Mahatma Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience as "a phenomenon which should make the Christian churches in Great Britain stand and gaze, and command their awe and reverence... Gandhi is the greatest Christian at present on the earth."

It is doubtful whether Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett was conscious of the parallels he was suggesting in his account of the arrest of the Mahatma. Writing of the gaily decorated car waiting to convey Mahatma Gandhi to prison this correspondent says : "It looked as if it was prepared for a happy bridal party for the body was entirely covered with bright pink and red curtains, looking as if made to conceal the nervous young people from gaping crowds on their honey-moon." Recall the words of Jesus Christ :—"And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them ? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." Again Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett says he was present when Mahatma Gandhi broke the salt laws at Dandi. Then he was surrounded by his faithful disciples and followed by a large multitude of enthusiastic satyagrahis (passive resisters). "This morning he looked indescribably deserted and lonely without a single friend or follower, a melancholy picture as he stepped forward to descend to earth." Still the writer has to admit that "the old man deported himself with remarkable dignity." What else did this correspondent with a double-barelled name expect ? He ought to be aware that Mahatma Gandhi is the bravest man that ever lived. And as to the loneliness of the Mahatma in custody and now in prison, was the loneliness of Jesus Christ less tragic when he stood before the throne of Pontius Pilate ? As to the word "deserted" it is wrongly used for thousands would have followed Mahatma Gandhi to prison, as they are doing now, if permitted to do so.

The arrest itself is best described in the beautiful words, quickened by the deepest feeling, of Mira Bai (Miss Slade). She wrote in *Young India* :—"At dead of night, like thieves they came to steal him away. For, 'when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet.'" In a footnote the following words of Jesus are quoted :—"Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me ? I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not" The District Magistrate came to arrest the Mahatma accompanied by policemen armed with rifles and police officers carrying revolvers. The Mahatma's disciples had no arms and they had been taught to bow their heads to the cudgel and bare their breasts to the bullet without resistance. When a torchlight was flashed into the Mahatma's face he woke up and the Magistrate asked, "Are you Mohandas Karam-Chand Gandhi ?" The Magistrate was not expected to know by sight so insignificant a person, and there was no thumb impression to identify the criminal. The parallel between the arrests of Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi may be pushed a little further. When Jesus was about to be arrested "Simon Peter having a sword drew it and smote the high priests' servant and cut off his right ear. Then said Jesus unto him,

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Put up again thy sword into his place : for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Mahatma Gandhi's disciples had no sword, but not one of them uttered even a word of protest when he was arrested. They had learned thoroughly the doctrine of non-resistance whereas Simon Peter, who was one of the apostles, did not abide by the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The disciples of Jesus Christ were generally humble people, fisherfolk and the like. Matthew alone was a publican and a man of some means. He was sitting at the receipt of custom when Jesus called him, and Matthew rose and followed the Master. But when Jesus asked a wealthy young man to sell all he had, give it to the poor and to follow him "the young man went away sorrowful : for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven." Among the disciples and followers of Mahatma Gandhi are the rich and the poor ; men and women of high position and fame have laid aside all their possessions and readily gone to prison at his bidding. Lawyers at the head of the profession and with large incomes have abandoned their work and courted and suffered imprisonment. Millionaires have been sent to prison like common criminals. Gifted women in easy circumstances have gone smiling to prison. The disciples of Jesus had to undergo no suffering until some time after his crucifixion when the persecution of the early Christians commenced.

Not all the disciples of Jesus Christ or even the apostles were faithful. To the twelve apostles Jesus had said, "Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Among them were Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Master, and Peter, who, in order to save himself from arrest, three times denied Jesus, and cursed and swore vehemently, saying he knew not the man. Not one disciple or follower of the Mahatma has ever disowned him ; of the few that have left him the chief person earnestly pleaded that Mahatma Gandhi should not be arrested.

Of the insults heaped upon Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi only a particular kind need be distinguished. When Jesus was placed before Pilate he was asked whether he was the King of the Jews. Jesus inquired whether Pilate said so of his own knowledge or had heard it from others. Pilate contemptuously retorted, "Am I a Jew ?" That was the supreme insult, the contempt of a Roman for a Jew. An orator in Natal denouncing Mr. Gandhi said :—"Mr. Gandhi had returned to India and dragged us in the gutter, and painted us as black and filthy as his own skin." When Mr. Gandhi applied for admission to the Supreme Court of Natal "the application was strenuously opposed by the Natal Law Society on the specific ground of colour. 'It was never contemplated,' so they argued, 'that coloured barristers should be placed on the roll'." Quite recently, a member of Parliament took exception to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India using the form "Yours truly" in a curt reply to Mahatma Gandhi's historical letter to the Viceroy. This is the sovereign contempt of the White for the Brown. Romain Rolland, who reminds the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Tolstoy, has written a remarkable book on Mahatma Gandhi. There is no likelihood of any Prime Minister or Viceroy being similarly honoured. Romain Rolland writes :— "This is the lesson of Gandhi. Only the Cross is wanting to him...The soul of the Eastern peoples has been stirred to its very depths and vibrations are heard all over the earth...One of two things will surely happen : either the faith of Gandhi will be crowned with success, or it will repeat itself, just as centuries ago when Christ and Buddha were born, in the complete incarnation of a mortal demi-God, of a principle of life that will lead future humanity to a safer and more peaceful resting-place !"

The kings and the captains depart, the governors and the tetrarchs are forgotten, empires rise and fall, but the Christ and the Mahatma live for ever, enshrined in the hearts of men, revered generation after generation through all time !

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Downing Street and Ceylon Indians*

By Sr. NIHAL SINGH

I

THE predictions that I made in the course of my article, "The Indian Crisis in Ceylon," in the May issue of the *Modern Review*, have come true. The Indian legislature has been flouted. The demand made by it at the Delhi session for the revival of "the original recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission" respecting franchise has been dismissed.

The representations made by the Government of India, which had accepted that resolution, to the India Office, and by the India Office to the Colonial Office and His Majesty's Government, have proved barren. Such modifications as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues have agreed to are of a purely formal and verbal character. Their decision has been conveyed in terms so clear as to leave no room for any one in authority at Simla to claim that anything like substantial results have been achieved.

II

There is evidently at least one expert in the art of representing defeat as victory at the summer headquarters of the Government of India, whose skill is equal even to this occasion. He sent out, on June 15th, a despatch couched in the pontifical phraseology in which correspondents in the confidence of men in power delight, that may be taken as a pattern by any journalist who aspires to specialize in this art.

As published in the newspapers all over India, this communication, emanating from the Associated Press of India, suggested that the Government of India had succeeded in securing virtually everything that it had set out to get. He went so far as to proclaim that at least in essential respects Downing Street had made "substantial concessions to Indian opinion."

These "concessions," according to the Associated Press correspondent, are:

(1) that Indians in Ceylon will not be compelled to renounce protection by the Government of India as a price for voting in Ceylon; and

(2) that Indians will not be asked to renounce the statutory rights, privileges and exemptions they enjoy in Ceylon before they are declared eligible to vote in that Island.

To magnify the achievement of the Government of India and the India Office, this Associated Press correspondent omitted to mention or slurred over two important facts:

The act of explicit renunciation upon which the Sinhalese politicians insisted was declared by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to be supererogative. "No Indian with the necessary five years' residence in Ceylon," it was held, "would be entitled to claim the special protection in question." Insistence upon it, therefore, served "no practical purpose." In that case its omission can be considered no particular gain.

(2) The Sinhalese politicians were not to be denied the second object desired by them: but they were to secure it in a way different to the one suggested by them to the Governor of Ceylon and obligingly adopted by him.

The "alternative provision" sanctioned by Mr. MacDonald and his colleague for this purpose is thus sketched out in the telegram despatched on June 10th to the Government of Ceylon by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"His Majesty's Government have adopted the alternative method of providing in the Order-in-Council (by which the new constitution is to be created and promulgated in Ceylon) that a holder of a Certificate (of permanent residence) whilst registered as a Voter shall not be entitled to claim any rights, privileges or exemptions which under the law of Ceylon, are not common to all British subjects resident in the Island. This while equivalent in effect will remove the necessity for a formal act of renunciation by each individual applicant."

This extract is made from the text of the despatch as officially issued to the

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newspapers of Ceylon by the Ceylon Government. In view of this statement expressed in clear-cut terms, can any one maintain that any "substantial concessions" have been made "to Indian opinion ?" A concession made with one hand and taken away with the other can certainly not be described as "substantial."

III

Assuming that the Labour Government had made certain "substantial concessions to Indian opinion," is it at all likely that they would have left it to a semi-official apologist in Simla to announce them ? The delegation of that function could be explained either on the basis of their lacking the requisite literary equipment or of their innate modesty.

In view of the critical situation in India, it may be taken for granted that had His Majesty's Government deemed it expedient to heed any Indian protest they would have lost no time in proclaiming that fact from the housetops. They would have regarded any other course as short-sighted. So would their partisans and critics alike.

It is to be remembered that His Majesty's Government have not only refrained from telling India of the "substantial concessions" that according to the Associated Press correspondent, they made "to Indian opinion" but they actually authorized a member of their Cabinet to state that they

"...would not feel justified in agreeing to *any substantial modification* of the proposals which formed an essential part of the scheme of constitutional reforms accepted by the Legislative Council of Ceylon."

They also permitted that member of their Government to add :

"With a view, however, to removing any avoidable cause of misunderstanding, His Majesty's Government have thought it desirable to make certain *modifications in the form* in which the relevant provisions are to be expressed."

The italics in both cases are mine. I admit that the document from which I have quoted, though authoritative and public, was not necessarily meant for Indian eyes. No sane person would, however, suggest that one and the same decision made by His Majesty's Government would be officially reported in one way to the Ceylonese and in a materially different way, semi-officially, to the people in India. Aside from any ethical considerations, such a procedure would have been unsafe. The distance between Ceylon and India is a mere nothing ; and newspapers published in one country are exchanged with those published in the other. Even if I had failed to detect the wide divergence between the two versions, or having detected it, had failed to apprise the Indian public of that fact, some hawk-eyed editor or sub-editor in India would have noticed the difference and called attention to it.

IV

Now that His Majesty's Government have flatly refused to make "any substantial modification" in the proposals governing Indian franchise in Ceylon, what will our people and our Government do about it? Two courses are open to us, namely :

(1) to take the decision of His Majesty's Government as final and leave nearly a million of our people in Ceylon to their fate ; or

(2) to deny the Ceylon Government the facilities for recruiting labour in India and ask them to remove their camp from Mandapam and Tattaperai.

The line of least resistance is always the easiest to follow. Course number one, therefore, will appeal to persons who confuse cowardice with common sense. Some of these good people will no doubt say that India, at the moment, is engaged in the fight for Swaraj and cannot trouble with so unimportant an issue as this ; and, in any case, when Swaraj comes, India will be in a better position to tackle the question. They, therefore, would favour the policy of *laisssez faire* for the time being.

A few individuals may even pretend that an impartial authority has gone into the matter and found that no injustice was being done to our people in Ceylon. They may point to the statements contained in the aforementioned telegraphic despatch that the Indian franchise "proposals do not seem to His Majesty's Government to involve any racial discrimination against Indians." Taking for granted the accuracy of that dictum, they would urge that India has not a leg to stand upon in this matter.

V

If counsels of cowardice were to prevail in India at this juncture, no one would be more astounded than politicians in Ceylon who have engineered these anti-Indian movements almost to their complete satisfaction.

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They, in fact, all politically-minded people in the Island believe that the Indian Legislative Assembly will not meekly submit to being slapped in the face ; that the Government of India will, at least for expediency's sake, stand four-square behind the legislators in this matter ; and that grave action may follow.

In talking with me many a politician has said as much. A note of uneasiness has even crept into the editorial comments in the press. Four days after the publication of the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies from which I have quoted, for instance, the *Times of Ceylon* (Colombo) frankly confessed that :

"We fear the Indian Legislative Assembly will obstinately refuse to be satisfied with the Secretary of State's decision on the Ceylon franchise proposals as affecting Indian residents."

The same note of apprehension runs through a letter that I received three days ago from a Sinhalese lawyer who proposes to contest a seat in a tea-planting district. He writes :

"...The last modification of the (Indian franchise) proposals, I thought, came very near the ideal. But there is going to be further agitation. I am at a loss to understood what exactly is the grievance from which the cooly (labourer ?) is labouring now. I have a number of friends who are South Indians and we had a very animated discussion last evening (June 27th). They...requested me to write to you stating that you were the best source to be consulted in this matter.

"I am in touch with the low-country leaders who are reactionary in their views and also up-country planters (Europeans) who are very sympathetic towards the coolies (labourers ?). It may just be possible that I might be able to influence the one and inform the other in respect to any reasonable views you may present in this connection.

"The Indian question will form the subject of serious contention..."

The motives behind this (presumably young) lawyer-politician's letter is not difficult to divine : but whether philanthropy or merely ambition inspires his political activity, it is clear that he—a low-country Sinhalese—like the editorial writer of the *Times of Ceylon*—a Briton from Scotland, is convinced that the Ceylon-Indian franchise question has by no means been settled by the fiat issued by Downing Street, and there is going to be "further agitation" and even "serious contention."

VI

It is only natural that there should be all this apprehension in Ceylon. Even those politicians and their partisans in the press who pretend that Indians are not being discriminated against in the matter of franchise do not speak or write from conviction. They, in fact, know that ever since the Donoughmore Commission came to Ceylon a certain section of Sinhalese politicians has been agitating openly and persistently to prevent Indians from being given political opportunities upon a basis of equality with other British subjects in Ceylon. Their plea prevailed upon the Commissioners up to a point. Emboldened by that success they sought to impose a triple handicap upon Indians. The Ceylon Legislative Council refused to listen to them : but they succeeded better with the Governor.

To begin with, as I have stated in previous articles, His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley gained his administrative experience almost entirely in South Africa and Rhodesia. Considerations of political expediency, moreover, made it imperative for him to court the anti-Indian Sinhalese element in the Ceylon Legislative Council: for without their support he could not put through a scheme of constitutional reforms of great advantage to British interests, upon which the Colonial Office was bent.

His Majesty's Government may be unable to detect "any racial discrimination against Indians" in the proposals sanctioned by them. They perhaps mean that since the word "Indian" is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the proposals, the restrictions are to be taken as applying to every one and not merely to Indians. They cannot, however, get over two facts :

(1) that all the disabilities are created intentionally and for the purpose of keeping the number of Indian voters low ; and

(2) that in practice these disabilities will affect Indians and no other class of British subjects in Ceylon.

Both in respect of INTENTION and EFFECT, therefore, the franchise proposals discriminate against Indians in Ceylon. His Majesty's Government may shut their eyes to the obvious fact, but that act upon their part does not remove discrimination.

As I have dealt with this point at considerable length in preceding articles, I do not wish to traverse the same ground here. Suffice it to say that the proposals, as they now stand, will make it possible for every adult Ceylonese or Ceylon Briton who has been six months in the Island to obtain the

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vote, unless he or she happens to be a lunatic or an ex-convict who has not served his time or received a free pardon; whereas the bulk of the Indians in the Island who are neither lunatics nor criminals, will remain voteless. No one in Ceylon needs to be told this fact.

VII

The Ceylonese and Ceylon Britons realize, moreover, that, at least in normal times, they cannot carry on their planting industries without Indian labour; and that in normal as well as abnormal times they are dependent upon India for rice, "curry-stuffs" and other food supplies. So apprehensive of trouble are they, indeed, that even though the large employers of Indian labour in Ceylon are facing an unprecedented economic and financial crisis, they continue to employ Indian labourers upon work which actually nets them a loss. If they took their courage in both hands and reduced their Indian establishments, they no doubt would be able to effect much-needed economies. In the past they have not hesitated to resort to such measures. The fear that they may not be able to get Indian labourers so easily and so cheaply if the Indian Legislative Assembly were to take strong action in vindication of India's as well as its own honour, haunts them. They, therefore, dare not effect such economies, and are putting forward all sorts of lame excuses in the effort to camouflage the facts.

The more intelligent among the planters know that, in matters affecting Indian emigration, the central Indian Legislative Assembly can initiate any policy that it pleases. I have taken care to place the relevant section of the Indian Emigration Act in the hands of persons who act as the brains of the planting organization.

In this circumstance, if the Indian Legislative Assembly leaves nearly a million Indians in Ceylon at the mercy of the anti-Indian Sinhalese politicians, it will forfeit such respect as it enjoys today. Inaction will be taken in this Island as a proof of its weakness; and the position of the Indians in Ceylon will steadily deteriorate.

The Glory of Mountains

By Dr J. T. SUNDERLAND

"O my Soul, let us go unto our hills;
We were native to them one day, you and I.
We have stayed in this market-place too long;
We have bartered with the birth-right in our breast;
We have shamed us with buffoonery and jest.
Nor raised our eyes to where our hills were strong.
O, my Soul, let us go unto our hills,
To their wonderful, high silence and their might,
Where the old dreams shall whisper us by night
Till the sullen heart within us stirs and thrills,
And wakes to weep and wonder and delight.
O my Soul, let us go unto our hills."*

IT is late May. Over us the sky is blue, and around us nature is at its loveliest. We have just left charming Lake Maggiore in Northern Italy to cross the Alps by the St. Gothard Pass into Central Switzerland. What will we see on our journey? If our minds are stored with the mythology and poetry of the old Greek and Roman classics, and if we have sufficiently vivid imaginations, we may expect to get glimpses of nymphs, fauns, satyrs and perhaps the God Pan, for we are to invade the haunts and sanctuaries of these ancient denizens of Europe's classic lands. Failing to discover these, unless we are blind we shall at least see some of the most striking, picturesque, wild, sublime and withal charming mountain scenery of this world.

As we begin our long, winding ascent penetrating the nearer and lower mountains we pass, on right and left, rifts, defiles, openings, some narrow and dark, with rushing little streams at their bottom and steep rocky walls on either side, and leading—one wonders where! And other openings, narrow at the bottom but wide at the top and sloping at such angles as to allow, all the way, trees, shrubs, flowers and larger or smaller patches of grain.

Here and there the mountain walls which everywhere more or less enclose us fall back far enough to reveal a valley a little wider stretching away for miles, with a considerable stream singing through it

* Theodosia Garrison.

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centre and occasional quaint little villages snuggling in nooks by the water, amid tiny but well-kept gardens, vineyards and orchards. Farther away on the mountain sides we see other villages; also numbers of isolated houses, in all sorts of places, often on cliffs so steep or on elevations so forbidding that they seem like eyries of eagles.

Yonder on a projecting promontory stands the ruin of an old castle. We speculate and wonder about its history. On another commanding elevation, where the view is particularly fine, there is a modern summer hotel or sanitarium. We say to ourselves, what a place to see mountain sights, breathe mountain air, do mountain climbing to one's heart's content and drink in splendid vigour of body and mind!

By and by we find ourselves riding for miles by the side of a somewhat larger stream or small river (we wonder how it got here, at this elevation) which rushes, tumbles, laughs, loiters, winds, glides silently like a great silver snake, and then rushes and tumbles again—occasionally condescending to pause long enough in its sinuous course to turn the wheels of some strange, old-fashioned mountain side.

Yonder a stream comes down from a high mountain peak to the precipitous edge of a lower mountain and leaps over. Striking the rocks far down, it is broken to pieces: then, gathering itself up into a stream again, it rushes on to another leap so far and so wild that it separates into a score of shattered streamlets hanging in mid air, then into absolute spray and is altogether lost to sight. Lower down, however, striking projecting rocks, it gathers itself together into a stream once more to go through the same process of leaping over another precipice so high and dizzy that again it breaks into spray, and thus once more becomes invisible before reaching its final goal at the foot of the mountain.

These white rills thus coming down the steep sides of lofty summits,—half rills and half waterfalls (or chains of waterfalls)—rushing, tumbling, foaming, snow-white and gleaming, are among the most striking and altogether charming objects in the Alps. They seem like narrow wavy white ribbons of satin, of lace, of silver, of woven beads and diamonds, dropped over the shoulders of the mountains and falling down to their feet.

O the sweet green of the grass in these mountains, in this May season! And the tender fresh green of the deciduous trees just coming into leaf, contrasting with the more sombre green of the firs and pines! and the brightness of the cherry and apple blossoms in the valleys, and the profusion of flowers wherever the sunshine falls, and the wealth of lichens on the rocks!

How our railway track winds about,—to right and left, bending and doubling on itself, under rocks and ridges, through tunnels, some short, some long, into the sunshine, into the shadow, into midnight darkness, between rock walls that shut out all prospect, on lofty ridges where it seems as if the whole world is coming into sight, along precipices that make the head dizzy!

What a delight it is as we ride along to watch the domestic animals—cattle, sheep and goats—feeding peacefully and lazily in the rich lower valleys, or, with hardy daring on the slopes of the mountain sides, or far, far up so high on the rugged steeps that they look like red or white or black insects clinging to almost perpendicular walls! How childhood and old age join hands here,—flowers and snow; sweetest grass and rivers of ice; the greenness and warmth of May with the death and chill of December! One wants to be a fish and live in these bright mountain streams, or a chamois and climb with joy these daring heights; or an eagle and soar over all; or an artist and paint these matchless scenes; or best of all, just a Switzer and love and own these mountains and valleys as dear Fatherland,—saying proudly, My Alps! my snow peaks! my glaciers! my foaming streams and leaping cataracts! my Switzerland!

It is man's glory that he can think. Because he can think, the whole world is his for instruction and enjoyment. Because he can think, he can go where he will by night or day.

He sends his messages by telegraph or ocean cable, and wonders that they speed so fast. But his thought travels faster. His thought transports him in an instant to the ends of the earth. In an instant it brings any land or scene of earth to his door. By its aid whenever he will he can surround himself with all the glories of the hills, or closet himself with God in the mighty fortresses of the mountains.

It is not always those who make physical journeys to the mountains that visit them

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most truly. Writes one who has never even seen mountains except in thought :

"My heart has a home in the mountains,
And my spirit knoweth their air—
But my eyes have never beheld them,
And my vision may never know
The shafts of the strong Sierras,
Nor Shasta's peak of snow ;
Mont Blanc may still be a stranger.
The Alps may never be mine,
I may know not Pyrenean passes
Nor the far blue Apennine.

But my heart is at home in the mountains :
I feel the glorious stress
Of their altitudes so lofty
On my being steadily press.
The grandeur of their summits
Sinks ever into my soul ;
The solemn awe of the mountains
Holds me in its control.

They are all mine, the mountains ;
I own, and hold them in fee ;
And many a friendly message
Have they sent in their time to me.
From Ural and Balkan and Himalaya
Come breaths of a life divine,
And though I may never behold them
My spirit drinks their wine."

In these lines we get a glimpse of what mountains may be to us all even while we remain at home doing our daily work. Here we get an intimation of how we may all visit them whenever we will, to gaze on their beauty, to stand in awe in the presence of their grandeur, and to listen to lessons of wisdom which they ever stand ready to teach those who can hear.

Mountains fill a great place in the world; and in many ways.

More largely than we are apt to think they minister to man's physical wants. Mountains are man's vast treasure houses. Out of them come our gold and our silver ; more important still, out of them come our iron and our coal. What would man do had not nature been busy in the limitless ages of the past, before he arrived upon the scene, in storing up in the mountains these priceless treasures for his use ?

From the mountains come our rivers, our streams, our springs which sustain so large a part of the animal and vegetable life of the world. We speak of mountains as barren. But often when seeming to be most barren themselves, by the streams they send down, they make whole lands to bud and blossom as the rose.

Mountains not only water but actually create many of the most fertile sections of the earth. I suppose the soil of California's two greatest valleys—each as large as a vast state—has all been brought down from the Sierras and the Coast Range. The lower Mississippi valley is the gift to the world of the Rocky and Alleghany Chains. We say Egypt has been created by the Nile. We mean it has been created by the soil which the Nile has brought from the mountains of Central Africa. The vast Ganges Valley in India, the home of seventy or eighty millions of human beings, is a deposit from the Himalayas. From the Himalayas came the soil, and from the Himalayas comes also the water that makes the soil productive.

Mountains are the natural home of forests. Nearly all the mountains of the world might be and ought to be forest-covered. Yet comparatively few now are, at least in the older lands. Their denudation not only impoverishes the world by limiting its timber supply, but checks rainfall and renders barren vast sections of the earth which might be fertile. In the good time coming, when men get beyond the barbarian age of fighting and destroying one another and turn their attention in earnest to the task of making the world a good place to live in, the mountains will once more be planted with forests, and thus the bald old earth will become young again.

In other ways less noticeable, mountains benefit men. Since science arrived on the scene, mountains have become our great historians, such historians as nobody ever dreamed of until the past century. The historians we had before had confined themselves to the two or three last thousand years of the world's story. But the mountains come to us and open their stone books, whose leaves are rock-strata, and show us records there, authentic, not to be disputed, written by pen of earthquake and flood and fire, that take us back and back in the earth's annals ten thousand years, a hundred thousand, a million, a hundred millions, and we know not how much more.

These stone books of the mountains tell us at what periods great seas swept over regions of the world which are now far in the interior of continents ; when the seas retired and vast plains appeared in their places ; when, as the result of the cooling and consequent shrinking of the earth's crust, the plains were crumpled up into

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those furrows which we call valleys and those ridges which we call mountain chains; when volcanoes first broke forth into eruption and buried great areas beneath their burning scoria or their streams of fiery lava; when forests covered vast areas and formed the coal deposits which are now so necessary to man's life. Still more interesting, these stone histories show us man appearing on the earth, a cave-dweller; they show us earlier still the first mammals; still earlier the first appearance of animal life; further back the first beginnings of vegetable life; oldest of all the world with no life.

I have seen men in England studying old cathedrals. This tower, they said, is renaissance; therefore its date is the seventeenth century. This chancel is perpendicular gothic; that means it was built somewhere between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth. This transept is the decorated style; so it is a hundred years older. This nave is early English, therefore it must go back quite another hundred years. Here are some window and door arches that are Norman. Then their date must be as early as the year 1000 or 1100. In one of the walls is some Anglo-Saxon rubble. That takes us back still further, to as early a time as the ninth or the eighth century. In the crypt is a Roman Arch. That means something as old as the sixth century, or the fifth, or possibly the fourth. In wonder we exclaim, how ancient! How very far back do these cathedrals carry us!

But turn now from man's work to God's. God's cathedrals are the mountains. As in the light of geological knowledge we study their mighty foundations, walls, columns, arches, and towers, how ephemeral seem man and all man's handiwork. Compared with them Westminster and Canterbury and York and Salisbury are the products of an hour ago. Nay, compared with them, the pyramids of Egypt are the children but of yesterday.

Man's alphabets, by means of which he writes his histories, are all new. God's alphabets are old. One of the alphabets which the Creator has employed from the beginning in recording the geologic history of the world, is fossils, especially fossils from the sea. Fossil shells are often found on the tops of high mountains. It used to be held that this fact conclusively proves a universal deluge. It is known, now, however that these fossils prove, not that the sea once rose above the mountains but that the mountains rose up out of the sea. Quite possibly it may have been a false reading of the story of these shells that give rise to the Genesis story of the Flood.

Mountains are interesting because of the fact that in so small a space they epitomize so much of the world. High mountains in any of the warmer latitudes present to us, as we ascend them, practically all the earth's zones and climates and all types of its vegetable and animal life. The tropics and the arctic regions of the earth are separated by many thousands of miles, and the traveller who would pass from one to the other must spend weeks of time in making the long journey. But in a high mountain he may have this distance and this time practically annihilated.

In California we see the climate of Italy and the climate of Norway brought within a few miles of each other. We have mountains whose peaks are covered with perpetual ice and snow, but whose bases are fanned the year round with almost tropical airs, and girdled with groves of orange and lemon trees. In the Southern Alps one sees much the same.

Still more striking is this concentration of latitude in the case of mountains nearer the equator, like Kilimanjaro in Africa. These mountains stand with their feet amid the most burning heats, and yet their heads are crowned with eternal winter. As one ascends he passes through all zones; the tropical fades into the sub-tropical, that into the temperate, and that again into the frigid, the vegetation and the animal life changing accordingly.

Some years ago it was my privilege to make a partial ascent of the Himalayas from the plains of Hindustan. I started amid cocoanut palms, banana trees, rice fields, and a tropical vegetation as rich as there is in the world. Gradually all this disappeared and I was surrounded by oaks and such trees as grow in central Europe. At 8000 feet I was among pines. I did not go any farther. But on the great peaks beyond I could see the vegetation becoming entirely arctic, and then passing away; leaving on the highest altitudes nothing but rock and everlasting ice and snow. At the foot of the mountains were jungles, in which were wild elephants, and tigers. Farther up were mountain bears. Beyond that, mountain

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goats and a few other small animals; while to the great peaks only eagles ventured. How wonderful it is that by thus simply climbing a mountain, one may get an epitome of the world,—may have all the climates and zones, all the flora and fauna of the earth brought under his view.

Modern men are developing quite a new interest in mountains. Love of mountains seems to be a new passion in the world. Up to a century and a half ago mountains occupied but a very small place in the thought of the people of Europe, or in their art and literature. In England Addison saw little that interested him in mountains. Charles Lamb declared that he would not exchange the meanest alley in London for all the so-called glories of Skiddaw or Helvellyn. Even Goldsmith could see in the Alps nothing better than a great natural bulwark that protected the Swiss against the dangers of civilization. Few painters cared for mountain scenes. Nobody thought of going to the Alps for enjoyment. Literary Englishmen and Germans making journeys to Italy would hasten past or over these wonderful mountain regions oblivious of their beauty and grandeur, and regarding them only as obstacles to travel.

But what a change has taken place in the past 150 years! Perhaps the leading force in effecting the change,—in giving to Europeans and their kindred in America, the wonderful world of the mountains for delight and spiritual quickening,—was Rousseau in France, followed by Goethe in Germany and Wordsworth in England. Today all cultured people in western lands admire and enjoy mountains. Mountain resorts are everywhere, and are enjoyed by rich and poor. Throughout all the summer season the Alps are regarded as the most attractive part of Europe, and are thronged with visitors as no other region is. The poet and painter have both felt deeply the spell of the mountains. Today the art and literature of both Europe and America are more full of nothing than of the aroma of mountain pines, the music of mountain waterfalls and the sublimity of mountain peaks. All this shows a vast enlargement of man's higher intellectual life since Rousseau wrote his "La Nouvelle Héloïse."

No other object of nature, unless it may be the ocean or the night sky, is calculated to stir in the human soul such emotions of wonder, sublimity and awe as the mountains. To many a man his first extended sojourn in the midst of noble mountain scenery, such as one finds in the Alps in Europe, or the Rocky Mountains in America, or the Himalays as in India, forms a distinct epoch in his spiritual life; indeed often the mountain experiences of a single day produce impressions so vivid and so profound that they are carried through all one's years.

Let me sketch a single such experience in my own life. I have spoken of the Himalayas. The experience I have in mind is connected with that greatest of mountain chains. I was at Darjeeling, a mountain city built on the first or lower Himalayan range, but in full sight of the second or main range where are most of the great peaks. One memorable day I spent on an elevation above the city, where the finest views could be obtained. Around me stretched a vast ocean of mountain summits and mountain valleys as far as the eye could reach, the like of which could be seen nowhere else. One hundred and twenty miles away arose the shining head of Mount Everest, the loftiest mountain in the world. Nearer, at distances of thirty, forty, and fifty miles, towered Mount Kinchinjangha and half a dozen other stupendous peaks hardly inferior to Everest himself.

Imagine mountains lifting themselves into the heavens to an elevation of five and a half miles. Think of the Matterhorn perched on the shoulders of Mont Blanc. Think of valleys so deep and vast that into them the whole range of the overland Alps might be dropped down and lost out of sight. Then you will get some idea of the altitudes and magnitudes of these Himalayan giants of the world. But even yet you do not grasp their full beauty and grandeur. For this you must crown their rugged and awful summits with ice and snow, drape their sky-piercing shoulders with mantles of ever-changing mists and clouds, and throw over them the splendours and glooms of such lights and shadows as only lofty mountains know; then you have the Himalayas as I was permitted to see them on that great day from my eyrie above Darjeeling. Do you think the memory or the spiritual influence of such a day can ever be lost?

There is an interesting connection between mountains and human liberty. Mountain lands seem always to have been pre-eminently the home of freedom. We know how true this is of ancient Greece. Grecian democracy

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had its birth in the mountains of Attica, Thrace and the Peloponnesus, and it maintained its life longest there. Pass over to the mountain land of Palestine and there we find that almost every mountain and hill has been reddened with bloodshed in behalf of liberty.

In the modern world the strongholds of freedom have also been, in nearly all cases, mountainous countries, like Switzerland, Scotland and New England. The one exception, the one modern land in which liberty has wrought some of its noblest achievements, and yet which has no mountains, is Holland. Here a battle for freedom as long and heroic as the world ever saw was fought by a people living in a land absolutely flat. But even here the exception is hardly an exception. For in the case of Holland the mighty, ever-encroaching and ever-devouring waves and tides of the sea were to her as mountains, calling out the same self-reliant and heroic qualities in her people which are nourished in other lands by mountain scenes and mountain life.

The close connection between freedom and mountains in Switzerland inspires one of the finest passages in Schiller's drama of "William Tell," where Tell and his little boy Walter thus converse :

Walter : And are there countries with no mountains ?
Tell : Yes ; if we travel downwards from our heights,
And keep descending in the rivers' courses,
We reach a wide and level country, where
Our mountain torrents brawl and foam no more,
And fair, large rivers glide serenely on.
All quarters of the heaven may there be scanned
Without impediment. The corn grows there
In broad and lovely fields, and all the land
Is fair as any garden to the view
Walter : But, father, tell me, wherefore haste we not
Away to this delightful land, instead
Of toiling here, and struggling as we do ?
Tell : The land is fair and bountiful as heaven ;
But they who till it never may enjoy
The fruits of what they sow.
Walter : Live they not free,
As you do, on the land their fathers left them ?
Tell : The fields are all the bishop's or the king's.
Walter : But they may freely hunt among the woods ?
Tell : The game is all the monarch's,—bird and beast.
Walter : But they, at least, may surely fish the streams ?
Tell : Stream, lake, and sea all to the king belong.
Walter : Who is this king, of whom they're so afraid ?
Tell : He is the man who fosters and protects them.
Walter : Have they not courage to protect themselves ?
Tell : The neighbour there dare not his neighbour trust.
Walter : I should want breathing room in such a land :
I'd rather dwell beneath the avalanches.
Tell : 'Tis better, child, to have these glacier peaks
Behind one's back than evil-minded men !

The reasons why liberty has so often found her home in the mountains are not far to seek. They seem to be two : The first is, when tyrants with great armies sweep through lands, it is easy to subdue the valleys, for there armies can readily make their way, and there they can find plenty of sustenance. But into the mountains, armies of conquest and tyranny find it hard to penetrate, and when they attempt it they are easily beaten back.

The second reason is still more important. The hardy, self-denying and independent life of the mountains begets in the people an independent, daring spirit, which hates tyrants, refuses to wear their yoke, and cannot rest until it secures for itself political, intellectual and, in the end, religious freedom.

And so, for many centuries to come, until man shall cease to want to tyrannize over his brother, we may think of mountains as remaining God's sentinels and protectors of human liberty.

Mountains have always had a close connection with religion.

Turn to the Bible. We find mountains woven into the Old Testament story at every turn. This is partly because Palestine was a mountain land, and therefore Jewish history could not avoid contact with mountains. But it is also partly because the Jewish people, like all the other peoples of the ancient world, associated sanctity with high places At the subsidence of the Flood we are told that the Ark landed on a mountain, where Noah at once built an

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altar for the worship of God. When Abraham was commanded to offer up his beloved son Isaac as a sacrifice, it was on a mountain. When the law was given from heaven to Moses, amid the most solemn and awful surroundings, it was on a mountain. We read that Moses died and God buried him on a mountain. The sacred place of the Samaritans was Mount Gerezim. King David built his capital on Mount Zion. King Solomon built the Temple on Mount Moriah.

Coming down to New Testament times, we are told that Jesus was taken for his temptation to a mountain; he preached his most important sermon on a mountain; on a mountain he chose and ordained his twelve disciples; on a mountain he was transfigured; on a hill, often spoken of as a mountain, he was crucified. To the traveller in Palestine nearly all these mountains are pointed out. The whole Christian world thinks of them as sacred localities.

Turning to religions and sacred books, outside of Christianity, we find mountains occupying a place hardly less conspicuous. The religions of the Semitic peoples round about the Jews, all had their "high places" where their Gods were believed to dwell. The Greeks located the home of their divinities on Mount Olympus. The religions of India have many sacred mountains; especially is the vast Himalayan range believed to be the habitat of their deities.

Of course, the idea that God dwells any more on mountains than in valleys is no longer held by intelligent men. Even in Jesus' time it was beginning to pass away. As soon as men begin to think of God as spirit, as the Power, the Life, the Intelligence that is everywhere,—in the blossoming rose, the law of gravity, and the soul of man—of course, they can no longer enthrone him on a mountain top and say: Here only is his home. It is seen that the whole earth is too small for his habitation, and "the heaven of heavens cannot contain him."

But although mountains have lost or are losing many of the old sanctities with which superstition in the past has clothed them, they can never lose their interest to religious souls.

Have you ever had the experience of climbing a high mountain, and there in the stillness spending an hour alone? The earth is at your feet. The horizon has retreated far, far off. If there are clouds, they are all beneath you. You are in the heavens.

"I stand on high,
Close to the sky,
Kissed by unsullied lips of light;
Fanned by soft airs
That seem like prayers
Floating to God through ether bright.

The emerald-lands.
With love-clasped hands,
In smiling peace, below out-spread;
Around me rise
The amber skies—
A dome of glory o'er my head.

Wind-swept and bare,
The fields of air
Give the winged eagles room for play;
On mightier wing,
My soul doth spring.
To unseen summits far away." *

Is there any other situation that so expands the soul as does standing on a mountain top? Is there any other that makes the earth seem so small or the heavens so illimitable? Is there any other that makes God and eternal things seem so real? If the mountain top be not a mount of vision, a place for a man to speak with God, as Moses on Sinai, then surely the earth contains no such. We read that when Moses came down from the mount his face shone. Should not one's face shine who returns from an experience like this?

Mountains seem to me a natural place for joy. But the joy is always of a serious kind. I think the soul that can be trivial amid the grandeur of great mountain scenery must be a very small soul. The gladness of mountains is like the gladness of prayer. We read that Jesus often went into the mountains to pray. How could he help it? For where else is prayer so natural? Where else are there solitudes so perfect as in mountains? Mountain prayers need not be spoken. Oftenest they are not, as the soul's deepest experiences are apt to be silent. But surely he misses the best that mountains have to give who does not find himself moved again and again, by their mysterious silences and their mighty grandeurs, to prayer, to communion with that Invisible Spirit whose home is the mountains, whose home is the stars, whose home is the soul of man,—that Infinite and Eternal Spirit from whom come mountains and stars and soul of man.

* Charles G. Ames.

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Go to the mountains when you may. But do not go to be your shallowest self. Go to be your deeper self, your more earnest self, your true self. Go to think; go to feel; go to get acquainted with your family or your friends as you can only get acquainted with any by quiet, by thought, by sincerity, by letting the best and deepest that is in you find expression, and by drawing out what is deepest and sincerest in them. Go to get acquainted with yourself,—something which is not easy to do in the bustle and hurry of the crowded lives which most of us live in these days.

Go to get close to nature. Go to fall in love with nature, and like a true lover carry your love warm in your breast till the last day of your life. Go to find rest, but not rest of body merely, or mainly. Your mind needs rest more than your body. Nor it is simply intellectual rest that you need. It is rest of spirit. Go to the mountains for peace. Get so near to nature, to yourself, to God, that the jars and discords shall go out of your life, and the "peace which passeth understanding" shall enter your soul, there to abide.

In the world there are many kinds of mountains. If there are mountains of earth and rocks—of material substances,—no less are there mountains of the soul. There are such things as mountain principles, mountain ideas, mountain thoughts,—thoughts and principles, I mean, which are so great that they lift themselves up in grandeur above the ordinary thoughts of men, as great peaks, and serve as landmarks and beacons in the intellectual and moral history of the centuries. Such are the great conceptions of human freedom, religious toleration, the right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the equality of all men before the law, government as deriving its just power from the consent of the governed, the Golden Rule, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man. How these lofty conceptions, these mountain thoughts of mankind, have strengthened, and ennobled and lifted up the whole race!

There are mountain men,—I mean, men who tower above their fellows in genius, insight, wisdom, intellectual and moral power. As rivers come down from the mountains to water and fertilize the valleys, so from these men flow down streams of influence that nourish the life of mankind. The advance of the race is due to its lofty souls. Where would have been the world's political progress but for its Miltons, its Cromwells, its Washingtons? Where its intellectual progress but for its Aristotles, its Galileos, its Darwins? Where its religious progress but for such tall souls as Buddha, Asoka, Jesus, Plato, Epictetus, Luther, Wesley, Channing, Gandhi? God makes no other gift to the world that is of such value as its mountain men.

There are mountain books. I do not mean famous books merely, but books of moral power, books that lift the nations up to nobler life.

We ought all to be mountain climbers. Why should we be content to dwell in the low valleys when the heights may be ours? By climbing we may reach sunlight and pure air, and leave the fogs and miasmas behind. By climbing we may attain to broader prospects and a larger world. By climbing we may gain vigour and strength.

"I saw the mountains stand
Silent, wonderful and grand,
Looking out across the land
When the golden light was falling
On distant dome and spire;
And I heard a low voice calling,
Come up higher: come up higher;
From the Lowland and the mire,
From the mist of earth desire,
From the vain pursuit of pelf,
From the attitude of self;
Come-up higher; come up higher."

The mountains which we are challenged to climb are the mountains of knowledge, the mountains of self-discipline, the mountains of moral attainment, the mountains of achievement in whatsoever tasks are given us of God.

I like to think of all human life under the figure of a journey up a mountain, and the end of life as the reaching of the mountain top. I know this is not the common way of thinking. The ordinary conception of life is that of an ascent until middle age or a little beyond, and then a descent to old age and the grave. Of course, this conception would be true if man were only a physical being,—if his body were all. But man is more than a body. Why should there be a decline in his intellect? And especially why should there be a decline in his moral and spiritual nature,—his hope, his faith, his love, his reliance on God, his vision of God, those soul-powers in him that relate him to the Divine and the Eternal?

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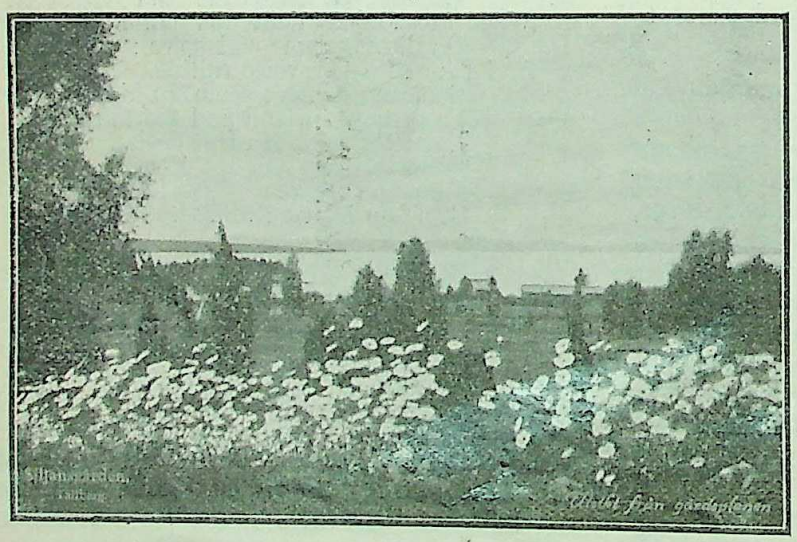
We sometimes speak of death as passing through "a valley and a shadow." I like better to think of it as the culmination of the earthly life; as reaching life's summit—an illuminated mountain-top, from which to pass on to a life higher still.

The "New Education" in Sweden

SILJANSGARDEN

DR. D. M. SEN, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

IN Sweden, as in other European countries generally—with the possible exception perhaps of England—the chief aims of the school have been and are, to impart knowledge, erudition, to give to the children what we might call an intellectual outfit. This has on the whole been the case since the childhood of the European educational system.



The School grounds on the Lake Siljansgarden

In the beginning of the 19th century only there arose a growing general tendency to bestow some care upon children's physical training as well, which was threatened with complete neglect on account of one-sided learning and school-work. Gymnastics were introduced into Swedish schools. This development has implied constantly increased demands for medical and dental treatment, as well as baths, in a word, physical hygiene for the pupils. It has recently resulted in the introduction of compulsory games, sport, and open-air training into the time-table of the school. Such has thus been the evolution in Sweden, where, in education as in other respects, the pre-war general course of cultural development has perhaps been pursued more persistently than in other states, right to its utmost consequences and climax.

So the school system of Sweden is regarded as one of the foremost of Europe. The magnificent school buildings and educational palaces impress the visitor. The sums spent annually by the state upon education are astounding. The staff of teachers are praised as being "matchless, enlightened, self-sacrificing and devoted to their duty." And school gymnastics and "sloyd" enjoy world-wide fame. Instruction is compulsory for all inhabitants between seven and fifteen years of age. Everybody is granted free instruction, and to a great extent also free medical and dental treatment, baths with instruction in swimming, school material, clothes, and food. Within a short time no doubt, nobody in this country will be prevented on account of poverty from the possibility of attaining the highest grade of learning. The variety and thoroughness of knowledge are probably greater here than in any other European country. A uniform primary school system is prevailing in Sweden, and the entire educational organization is kept together by

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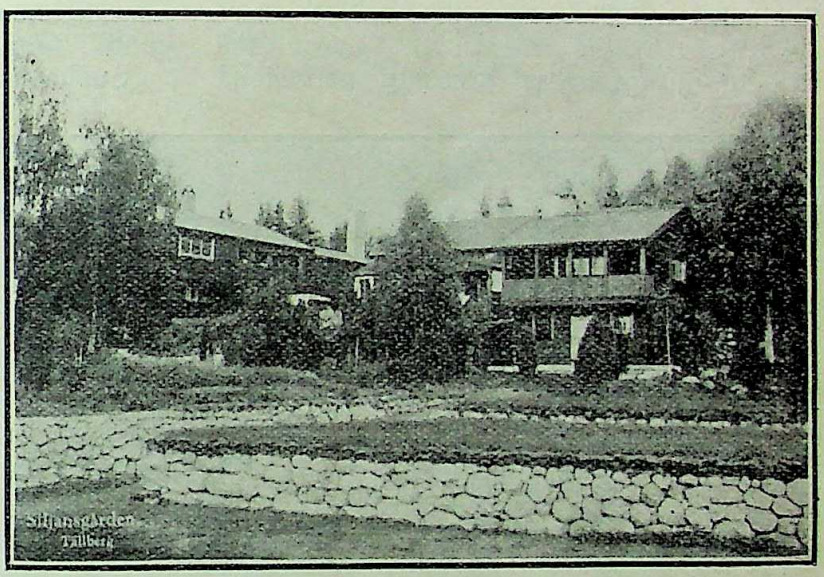
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strict centralization, more and more superseding all private initiative and all private schools, creating a monopoly of education in the kingdom, a pedagogical *ecclesia catholica*.

Illiterate persons consequently occur less here than in any other country—there are practically none—although the state is one of the most sparsely populated in Europe. At the same time, the Swedish is one of the foremost sporting nations of the world; it proved to be the first at the Olympic games in 1912, in spite of its small population. Should learning and sport, intellectual and physical training, be the only infallible way to a people's health and prosperity, this nation ought to be at pinnacle of perfect health and wealth. And were the human ideal expressed altogether by the motto: *Mens sana in corpore sano*, the Swede ought, more than others, to be an incarnation of that ideal. Many utterances might, in fact, be quoted proving such opinion to be prevalent.

In different quarters of Europe novel opinions have, however, appeared, especially after the war. As always after a great catastrophe, the question presented itself: Whose was the fault? It was easy and handy to accuse neighbours, fellow-actors in the drama and fellow-fighters. Profound reflection on the matter will not, however, be satisfied with such reasons, as all the warring nations were on the same cultural level, and all were more or less similar exponents of one and the same culture, the Western European. From this point of view that fact was a rather indifferent one—who really started the fight. The incomprehensible thing was: How could any nation at all enter upon such a war? And the Swedes too were forced to ask themselves, whether the germs of a universal war were not inherent in the European civilization itself. The whole matter was looked upon from a general European point of view. In the same way as modern psychology will ask with regard to a criminal what his childhood was, this point was also raised: How is the education, that such a thing could have taken place? The fundamental cause of the terrible catastrophe of the war was ultimately admitted to be the entire European educational system. After such a scrutiny of European and Western civilization, the proud European school system was regarded in quite a different way.

A cardinal defect was discovered; no real education was given at school, or, the one given, entailed the catastrophe of the war. The standard according to which children were made to think and act at school was: Acquire as much knowledge as possible, knowledge is power, it will bring success. A child was estimated altogether with regard to marks received in various subjects or rank held in examinations passed. When physical training was introduced, children were pressed on to physical strength and skill in the same way, by marks for gymnastics and games, and prizes for sporting competitions. To be the first in a class and on the sports ground, that is what the old school prompted and still prompts children to be. He who was able to make his way so far, was held forth as a model of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Duties with regard to school-fellows and fellow-creatures consisted mainly in certain negative considerations. One kind of positive education only was imparted, that for their native country, one social moral only was impressed upon their minds, duty to the native country. That was the bond uniting this whole herd of individuals and egotists, that were hurrying along. To their own country all had to submit as to a super-



Some of the buildings—Siljansgarden

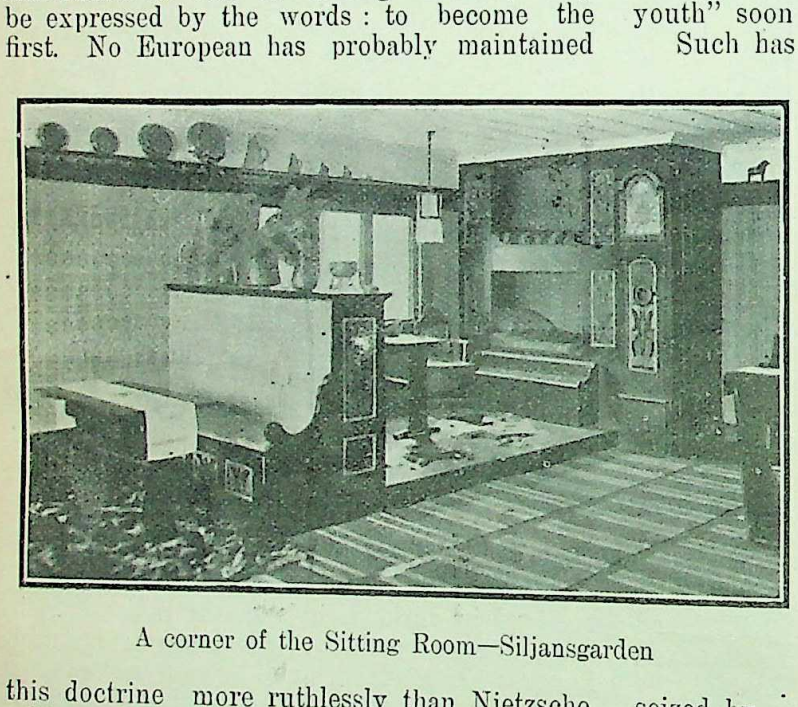
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individual, divine being, endowed with every perfection, forming the last resort of judgment in life. Its only aim was that of all the individuals put together: To make its way, to become the first scholar in the class of nations, to become "the biggest in the world." The different nations endeavoured to be heard, one above the other, with "Deutschland, Deutschland Über alles, Über alles in der Welt," or "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves! Britons never shall be slaves."

The principle of life which has become the only one predominant in European philosophy of life and mentality, among individuals as well as among nations, may be expressed by the words: to become the first. No European has probably maintained this doctrine more ruthlessly than Nietzsche, with regard to individual men. Even in love he asserted it to be the only one, as when saying: "Dies sei Eure Ehre, immer mehr zu lieben, als ihr geliebt werden, und nie die zweiten zu sein!" It was surely never preached more undisguisedly with regard to collective conditions than just at and immediately after the breaking out of the War, by the jingoes and war philosophers of all the various nations. "Der Übermensch"—the first among men—and "der Unterthan"—a member of the first among all nations, these were two one-sided types, both equally the products of the old school, and lapsing into sheer absurdity as representatives of an ideal type.

Against the charge of such an absurd "will to power" and will to great-power, the fortifications of an old inherited morality must at last fall, the ancient tables of negative taboo and prohibition, finally become broken. To begin with they fell between the nations, as they were weakest, least developed there. But already during the war as well as after it, they fell between individual beings as well. Through falsehoods, breaches of promise, immoralities, embezzlements, fallacies, and murder, were pursued attempts to rise to power, to become first one, each in his city and his country, *à tout prix*. The diseases of conflict followed in their track as epidemics: mental disorders, neurasthenia, lunacy and suicide. The post-war phenomenon known as the "revolt of youth" soon became a general one.



A corner of the Sitting Room—Siljansgarden

Such has also been the case in Sweden. "To a superficial observer," a Swedish educationist tells us "Sweden will present a happy, smiling, and healthy appearance, it is true. But one resident here will know but too well, that the cankerous symptoms spreading—more quickly indeed—in the warring states, appear here as well, slowly but surely. Along with a steadily rising curve indicating the average currency in industrial shares and the index of production there is a parallel curve denoting the number of prisoners in our prisons and mental homes. No one that is not living on the surface only, can help being seized by a paralyzing anguish and cosmic sickness, when confronted with the unscrupulous, blind, *parvenu* kind of life that will urge everything on to make a show and glitter of that fine, but hollow and soul-less exterior which is called organization. The fact of Sweden's having developed and monopolized, through the State, the old European school ideal and system, perhaps more than any other country, has implied, too, the spreading and coercive monopolizing of its cardinal drawbacks, may be to a greater extent than in any other State. All private schools—as a rule nurseries of renovating vital pedagogical ideas—are systematically extirpated. This is brought about by means of withdrawal of state grants, or non-granting of examination licences, lest conditions according to legally

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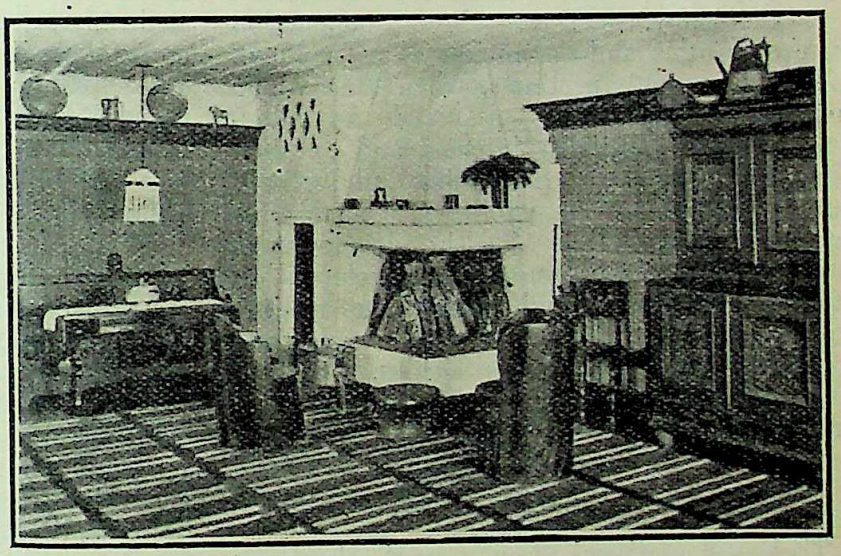
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valid pedagogical ideals be not complied with, and further by means of general claims for training controlled by the state, in order to obtain any posts at all in the community. Vital, profoundly human, and intellectual beings get stifled. The staff of teachers is transformed into an exceedingly clever staff of civil servants, of intellectual waitors who have to feed the pupils coercively according to a minutely fixed bill of fare only. A smouldering opposition against this intellectual tyranny is held in check as we are obliged to carry out the curriculum. If we do not, we cannot stand competition with abroad, we cannot become the economic. scientific, artistic and spiritual great power that we are about to become."

But even the master-builder of the entire proud Swedish school organization, Director General Bergouist, recently retired, did, however, on surveying his accomplished work, evidently feel some anguish at its emptiness and lack of vitality. He exclaimed : "For the organization we forget the children."

A new spirit in education is emerging in Europe. Its origin, it is true, sprang from times already long before the war, but it did not make any general progress until after that time. Against the State's endeavours to form "unterthans" by suppression of personalities it wants to assert children's individual character, and claims individual instruction. Instead of the ego-centric desire for development and will to be a superman, it wishes to evoke social sympathy and education for co-operation. Against the superman and the subject it vindicates the man. Instead of history of war it claims history of civilization, and instead of war, understanding and co-operation between the nations. For an education of nationalism, it wishes to substitute an education of internationalism and solidarity of all men. This movement has developed to become the first pedagogic universal one of the world, with demands for novel methods of education, a "new education" prophesying a "new era." The contrasts between supermen and subjects, between men and women, between the upper and lower classes, between the old and the young, between great powers and protectorates, between eminent and mean races, between the East and the West, between man and nature, get eliminated through a philosophy as expressed in these words of Fenelon's : "I love my family much, but still more my native country, I love my fatherland much, but still more humanity."

The 'Siljansgarden' School was started in 1927 as a modest attempt within the movement of "new education." "It seemed," said the founders, "an exceedingly difficult and risky enterprise to try to establish, with very limited financial means, a private complete school, whose aims were so divergent with those inherent in current educational system. Too many obstacles through ignorance and distrust have had to be overcome, in Sweden, where the state educational system was just being introduced in a most rigorous form."



Another view of the Sitting room—Siljansgarden

The school is situated about 300 k.m. to the north-west of Stockholm, on the Lake Siljan in the centre of one of the most beautiful districts of Sweden (Dalarna) and in a country-side with ancient cultural atmosphere. The houses are built of timber in old Dalecarlean style. They have thus a picturesque look and are in harmony with their sourroundings. Great pains have been taken to render the interior artistically harmonious, and inspiring in form and colour. The children are always in beautiful and harmonious surroundings, in-doors and out-of-doors.

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The significance of these circumstances will be evident to those that have grasped the implications of modern psychology of education. The inherent character of the school is that of a home, where husband and wife live and work for and together with a flock of children. Many a school have I seen in the south of England and in northern Europe but few excel the little Siljansgarden in picturesqueness, within and without.

Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M. Sc., Ph.D.

POLITICAL reorganization is still another condition for achieving industrial efficiency. The close connection between politics and economics is self-evident, especially in modern times, when the whole aspect of civilization has assumed an industrial character. Besides internal and external defence, the modern State has undertaken many other responsibilities, such as mass education, public health, development of natural resources, encouragement to national enterprize, and protection against foreign competition. For the adequate discharge of these various duties, the first thing India needs is the nationalization of her Government.

1. National Government

That a national government, however imperfect, is preferable to a foreign government is a mere truism. But whether India should aim at complete independence or be satisfied with Dominion Status, as promised by the British Government, is a question which is beyond the scope of this article. What is essential is that in order to achieve a full development of her industrial efficiency, India must be mistress of her own self and must be free to control social, political and economic forces and to formulate her industrial policies. Such a condition is not incompatible with Dominion Status in its latest conception.* The difference between the two countries in geographical situation, industrial development and financial position as well as their historical connection of over a century and a half indicate that a close commercial and financial relation between India and Great Britain could be of great mutual benefit provided that such relationship is entered into on the basis of perfect equality and reciprocity.

The advantages of self-government in industrial development is too obvious to need any discussion. Ideals and aspirations which freedom inspires, spirit of toleration and mutual confidence which a democracy enjoins, judgment and forethought which the exercise of statesmanship inculcates, and self-confidence and self-determination, which general literacy, universal suffrage, equality of opportunity, freedom of conscience and freedom of association develop, form the moral and spiritual background of modern social organization, of which industrial efficiency is only the economic expression.

The truth of this statement becomes evident from the recent events within the country. Although only a beginning of national government has been made by the Government of India Act of 1919, there has already appeared a new spirit in the social, political and industrial life of the people. Active movements have been started for combating diseases, improving health, reforming society, and controlling national industries. No doubt, some of the movements had been in existence long before, but not with the same national outlook and national spirit. What is more to the point is the rise of a class of self-conscious and aggressive industrialists who are directing their intelligent and concerted efforts

* Since 1926, the Dominions have acquired almost all the qualities of a sovereign State except those connected with external relations. In this respect, too, the equality of the Dominions with the mother country has been conceded in theory.

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for the organization and modernization of national industries. Their success in the federation of all the national chambers and industrial organizations of the country is a great step forward. Their active participation in all the industrial and financial controversies of national importance, such as the exchange ratio, the reserve bank and coastal shipping, has not only strengthened their own industrial position, but also contributed to the growth of industrial and financial consciousness among the people.

One of the most important effects of the establishment of *Swaraj* will be the liberation from the political movement of India's best genius, including almost the entire intelligentsia of the nation, for social and industrial reconstruction. Love of liberty is an inborn impulse in man and self-government is the birthright of every people. Nothing short of Dominion Status can satisfy the national demand for *Swaraj*. Self-government is, therefore, an essential condition for turning the most virile and youthful energy of the country into creative forces for industrial development and thus solving the question of increasing unemployment and unrest.

The Indianization of the services, both civil and military, will have a far-reaching effect upon the social and industrial progress of the country. The higher education of the Indians for the discharge of State functions will raise the general cultural level of the people. The provision within the country for the liberal and technical training of the prospective officials would add to the existing educational institutions. The administration by the Indians of the scientific departments, including census, statistics, research, investigations and reports, will no doubt increase the cultural facilities of the people, the scope of which is at present extremely limited in India. Moreover, the knowledge and experience acquired by the indigenous people will become a great cultural asset to the nation. At present, most of these higher intellectual services are in the hands of the British. Even while in India, because of their social aloofness, they confer scarcely any cultural benefit on the people except in their limited official function. But the fact that they leave the country at the age of fifty-five or sixty when their knowledge and experience might be devoted to some cultural and social welfare work in the non-official capacity, and when their social contact might be an inspiration to others is a great loss to the country. In fact, nothing has so much impoverished India, morally and intellectually, as the control and the virtual monopoly of most of the higher functions of the State by the British, who have no social interest in the people while in service and who leave India for good as soon as their services are over.

The discharge of the higher State duties and the administration of the higher State functions which form by far the largest organized activities in the country and which are mostly done by the British, will develop self-confidence and sense of responsibility, not only among those who are actually so engaged, but also among their fellow men. The shyness of Indian capital and the imperfect development of business administration are largely due to the fact that Indians have been until very recently deprived of the highest functions of the State, which have been the training ground as well as inspiration of large-scale business enterprise among other nations. Moreover, the Indianization of civil and military services will be a great saving in the national "drain" and will increase the funds for the inauguration by the Government of some of the most useful measures for social and industrial development.

While the nationalization of the Government or the achievement of *Swaraj* will lay a foundation, the real work of constructing industrial efficiency and developing national industries will depend largely upon its social and industrial policy. The most important elements in this policy will be constructive research, scientific education and national economy.

2. Constructive Research

The greatest social achievement within the past two hundred years is the phenomenal progress in the sum total of human knowledge—especially in the natural or exact sciences. This is in fact the age of science and it is the scientific understanding of the environment and of the means of utilizing it for human purposes which has led to unprecedented social progress. The application of scientific principles to social needs and the finding of exact facts for formulating a new social policy and for directing social activities towards desired ends constitute what is called constructive research.

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For centuries India has lost her former position as a great contributor to human knowledge, especially to philosophy, theology, mathematics, philology, medicine. But what has retarded her social progress is not so much the lack of contribution to the world's culture, as the inability to apply the accumulated knowledge of the world to her social development. The supreme need of India today is, therefore, to organize research so that modern science and art might be utilized for her social and industrial development. It is, in fact, the scientific organization of her national activities in relation to physical and social environment, especially in relation to production and distribution, upon which to a large extent depends her industrial efficiency.

The scope of research work is multifarious and widens every day with the progress of science and art on the one hand and of social needs on the other. Some of the most useful lines of research might, however, be conducted on the following subjects :

(1) Biological principles with reference to the improvement of the existing economic plants and animals and the introduction of new ones by selection, hybridization, and acclimatization, and the studies of bacteriology, mycology and entomology with reference to their relations to injurious or beneficial effects.

(2) Chemical laws including physiological principles for improving soil fertility, hygiene and nutrition, and industrial arts.

(3) Physical laws for inventing instruments for harnessing mechanical power and economically utilizing animal and human labour in the forms of tools, implements, machinery and plants.

(4) Meteorological laws regarding winds, storms, rains, hails and fogs and their effect upon growing crops and national health.

(5) Geographical and geological surveys with reference to plants, animals, soils and minerals.

Both because of the heavy expenses involved and of the length of the time required, such researches can be best undertaken only by organized social efforts or the Government. Private philanthropic organizations and industrial establishments have also undertaken such activities with great success in Western countries. But the scope of such work is very much limited in India. The most important Government institutions for research are agricultural experimental stations, engineering workshops, chemical laboratories and clinics.

Of all the civilized countries of the world India is the most backward in availing herself of the advantage of scientific discoveries, for social betterment. All the daily activities of the people, including household work and industrial processes, are mostly guided and controlled by time-worn and obsolete traditions. It is clearly seen in the fewness of her modern research institutions. Although one or two institutions like the Institute of Science at Bangalore and the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa were established earlier in the century, it was not until the recommendation of the Industrial Commission of 1916-18 that the significance of scientific research for industrial advancement was realized and proposals were made for the formation of all-India services dealing with chemistry, botany, zoology, bacteriology and entomology. But except the Forest Research Institute at Dehra-Dun, the Technological Institute at Cawnpore, and the Bengal Tanning Institution at Calcutta, and one or two others, no other research institute of importance as recommended by the Commission came into existence. Most of these recommendations failed to materialize.

One of the greatest needs of India today is the establishment of research institutes in all the important centres of the country. Every province or geo-economic region must have an agricultural experiment station, an engineering workshop, a technological institute, and an up-to-date clinic. These institutions may be profitably combined with universities and may all or some of them be concentrated in one or two places because of mutual relationship and interdependence. As far as the cost is concerned, it must be regarded as a national investment, and no investment is likely to be more productive than one designed to equip men and women with better health, sounder minds, and more up-to-date technique for carrying on their life-processes.

Besides research in natural sciences, there is being conducted in modern times a considerable amount of research in social sciences, such as demography, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, politics and economics. While some of these are in the realm of pure science, others are constructive researches including periodical inquiries, regional surveys and historical and statistical studies.

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All over the world an increasing importance is being attached to these researches as an aid to formulating social policies.

As in the case of natural sciences, research in social sciences is also lagging behind in India. Except the decennial census and a few departmental reports by the Central and Provincial Governments and occasional regional surveys by one or two institutions like those of the Poona Agricultural College and the Bombay Labour office, information on the most vital problems of India, such as wealth and income, is very much limited in scope and often faulty in accuracy. For the formulation of social policies there is a great need for social statistics, and the Royal Commission of Agriculture has made a very laudable recommendation in advocating the establishment of provincial and central bureaus of statistics.

The most highly developed lines of social research in India today are those of the enquiries by commissions and committees, both by the Central and Provincial Governments, such as the Industrial Commission of 1918-19, the Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1926-28, the present Royal Commission on Labour and various committees on unemployment by the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and the Central Provinces. The most important effect of these investigations is that, in addition to being an aid to administrative work, they focus public attention and help to create public opinion.

There is one fundamental defect in social research for administrative purposes. Inasmuch as the results of research projects are apt to become handmaidens of administrative policy rather than guides for the development of real social welfare, Government is likely to select members of such committees and commissions from limited intellectual groups, who may support its views. In case they are selected from a wider range, the terms of reference may be too limited to give them a chance for the expression of their views. Even in statistical research there is a possibility of a one-sided view, and it is perhaps the realization of this fact that led the Royal Commission on Agriculture to recommend the appointment in the statistical organization of the Central Government of an advisory board of leading economists, scientists and business men without any formal connection with Government, having nevertheless access to, and being thoroughly familiar with, official statistical material of all kinds, so that there might develop in India a school of statistical interpretation.*

Apart from the defect of the bureaucratic control of social affairs more or less common in all undemocratic countries, there are other more serious defects in the case of India because of her political subjection. A ruling nation is scarcely willing to inaugurate these investigations, which, however urgently needed for social betterment, might disclose the weakness of its administration. The lack of adequate and exact data on the economic conditions of the people is in all probability the result of this policy. Moreover, the personnel of the research organization, especially in the higher services, are likely to be drawn from the governing country. It is a notorious fact that most of the officials in higher research services in India are British. Even a considerable number of the members of the commissions and committees for important investigations are recruited from the British. Six of the twelve members of the present Royal Commission on labour, for example, are British. This has not only made research unnecessarily expensive, for nowhere else in the world are the officials paid such high salaries as in India, but has also limited the scope of scientific research for Indians. †

In inaugurating scientific research, the national Government should therefore see to it that most of the scientists are recruited from among the Indians. Whenever they are not available, promising young men after a thorough education in Indian universities should be sent abroad for scientific education, and prominent scientists should also be invited from Europe and America for a certain period and with a clear understanding that their duty would be to prepare the Indians for work in their respective fields. Such a policy would not only increase the scope of scientific research for Indians,

* *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

† Both the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Service and the Royal Commission on Agriculture advocated the policy of keeping a permanent staff of Europeans in the higher services, including research. The worst feature of such a recommendation is the implication that Indians are not capable of high-grade scientific work. See *Report on Royal Commission on Agriculture*, abridged edition, p. 86.

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but it would also help to popularize scientific research.

Functional Education

While research adds to human knowledge, education assimilates this new knowledge into social traditions and translates it into social actions. By far the largest part of human capacity lies dormant and the function of education is to develop the potential faculties with reference to social traditions. But society is always in the process of growth. Both internal and external forces bring a community into a new social situation together with its peculiar social problems. Social progress depends upon the solution of its specific problems with reference to its inner organization and environmental condition. The development of the latent faculties into social attitudes and the adaptation of the individual into such social situation constitute what might be called functional education.

The aim of the educational system in India has been to perpetuate the hoary and archaic past without any reference to the existing conditions of India or of the outside world. This system of education is one of the essential causes of her social stagnation and industrial degeneration. For social, political and economic progress what India needs is the introduction of functional or scientific education with special reference to her existing conditions on the one hand and those of the world on the other. It cannot be doubted that the educational system should be based on national culture, but its object should be to adapt Indian people to the international situation.

The first step in national education is universal and compulsory primary education, the lack of which is one of the fundamental causes of India's downfall. "The one thing needful" in India today is the introduction of mass education. Social regeneration, political reorganization and industrial reconstruction, all depend upon mass education. The first claim a child has upon society or the State is that he is entitled to free elementary education so that when he grows up, he can understand his rights, perform his duties, exercise his privileges and follow an industrial career. Every government calling itself civilized has recognized this primary obligation to children. The British who have failed to introduce it into India, over which they have had absolute power for over a century and a half, introduced universal compulsory education into their own country over half a century ago. Even now the British Government in India has avoided the issue by transferring it to the mercy of local administrations by the Government of India Act of 1919. The result is that up to the year 1927-28, only 114 municipalities and 1,527 rural areas, out of a total of 500,000* towns and villages in the British provinces had introduced compulsory primary education.

What is essentially needed is the recognition by the State in the new constitution of the fact that primary education is its first duty towards its citizens and that provision be made by all provincial Governments so that every Indian child might have the opportunity of enjoying this fundamental right. If any Provincial Government should be unable to carry out its primary obligation for lack of finance, the Federal or Central Government must take over responsibility. That primary education in order to be successful should be free, compulsory and universal in India as in other countries, needs scarcely any discussion.

What would be the length of the period for primary education depends upon two conditions, namely, national ideals and international conditions. Every man and woman must be a worthy and intelligent citizen in modern democratic society and the period of education must be sufficiently long to give him or her an opportunity for acquiring knowledge for active participation in the cultural progress of the country. Moreover, modern nations are so interdependent, especially in international trade, that one nation cannot remain behind another in education without impairing its competitive power. Like modern warfare, industrial competition involves the full national strength including education and training of the masses and intelligent participation of all workers in national industrial activities.

The maximum age of compulsory primary education in India should not only be the same as in other advanced countries, but under the social and economic conditions of India it ought to be higher. In the first place, institutional education in schools and colleges forms only a small part of our education. By far the larger part is imparted by social traditions, which form not only

* The figure for towns and villages refers to the Census of 1921.

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the subconscious but even a large part of our conscious life and determine our character. Social traditions in India being unorganized, unscientific and inadequate, it behoves that Indian children should receive higher and longer institutional education to make up the balance. In the second place, in these days of world economy and international trade, the industrial success of a nation depends upon its purchasing power. The natural resources of India being comparatively limited in proportion to her vast population and as required by an international standard, India must make up her deficiency in natural resources by higher efficiency in labour power which can be done only by higher and longer education, including vocational training.

That primary education should be supplemented by elaborate courses in the secondary and college education of sufficiently long duration goes without saying. It will be the ideal of the Indian nation to set up one university for each district well equipped with all the branches of modern science and art, including the colleges of agriculture, engineering and medicine. University education should be supplemented by post-graduate courses in the centre of higher learning and research offered in special institutions located at the Metropolis and other suitable places of the country.

In organizing higher education emphasis should, however, be laid upon natural or exact sciences. This is a scientific age and nowhere is the knowledge of exact sciences in greater need than in India, where the higher classes are imbued with metaphysics and theology and the masses with mythology and superstition. India needs, above all, a rational attitude towards life and a positive background for social and industrial reorganization. It is the solid national character upon which depends industrial efficiency and material progress.

All education in the primary and secondary schools and colleges should naturally be imparted in the vernacular. Nothing has caused so much wastage in the education system of India as the use of a foreign language for the study of science and art. It is nothing but criminal to make a people think in a foreign language in order to carry on its life processes. Besides the vernacular, there must be a common language for all India and such a language must be one of the existing languages which has its root in the national culture and has affinity with other existing languages of India. Nothing could be better suited for this purpose than Hindi,* which is understood by the largest number of people in the country. It is necessary that some knowledge of this common language should be imparted even in the last year or two in the primary schools. Organized industries are so scattered in different parts of the country and migratory labour is so important in modern times, that a common language will be extremely useful to a large body of immigrant workers on Assam gardens and Bengal jute mills. The lack of a common language is not only detrimental to social assimilation, but also to industrial success of most of the immigrants.

Education, however, does not end when one leaves school or college, but continues throughout life. This is especially so in modern times when social traditions continuously change and readjust themselves with the progress of science and philosophy. A man leaving school at 15 will find himself out of place in the changing social conditions at fifty if he lacks the facilities for the continuous development of his mind. The realization of this fact has led modern nations to devise means of what is called adult education. Of the various methods of adult education, the following might be mentioned as the chief, namely, short courses and lectures, demonstration and expositions, fairs and shows, dramas and concerts, libraries and reading clubs, plays and recreations, and political leagues and social clubs.

* The two most important languages of India are Western Hindi, which is spoken by 97 millions and Bengali, which is spoken by 49 millions.

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The Malady of the Century

By NALINIKANTA GUPTA

I

WHAT is the malady of our age? It is that man has lost touch with his soul. There were ages no doubt in the past, dark periods, when man's soul retired into the background, was obscured or veiled; but only today there seems to have occurred a definite cleavage, a clear sundering. Man no longer drags the lengthening chain that tied him, in spite of everything, to his divine essence; he has cut it clean and let himself adrift.

The Eternal Enemy appeared and spread out before our enchanted eyes the panorama of earth's riches and glories, not merely riches of comfort and pleasure and well-being, but glories of power and knowledge; we could not resist this time; we hurled ourselves headlong into the valley of temptation, delivering, as the price of the bargain, our soul. Now we are masters of many fields, our knowledge and power extend over an immense variety of regions, uncharted till now. Even like Vishnu, the Dwarf, our consciouness has covered with its three strides the entire creation, barring that part alone where soul resides.

Our mind, our life, and our body have become today far more conscious and consciously powerful—each has found itself and is big with its own proper value. But what was familiarly known as the mind of the mind, the life of the life, the body of the body has vanished and all it meant. The pith has been taken out, we are now playing with the empty stalk; the secret thread on which the pearls of life-movements were strung has been removed and they lie about scattered and disjointed. We have enriched our possessions, we have made ourselves more complex and multiple in our becoming: the telescope and the microscope, in the physical world, and a subtler sense in the mind also, have extended the expanse of our consciousness. But with all that and in our haste to be busy about too many things, we have forgotten and left out of account the one thing needful.

We have sought to increase our consciousness, but away from the centre of consciousness; so what we have actually gained is not an increase, in the sense of a growth or elevation of consciousness, but an accumulation of consciousnesses, that is to say, many forms and external powers or applications of consciousness. A multiplicity of varied and independent movements of consciousness that jostle and hurt and limit one another because they are not organized round a fundamental unity, forms the personality of the modern man, which is therefore tending to become on the whole more and more ill-balanced and neurasthenic and attitudinizing in comparison with the simpler and less equivocal temperament that mankind had in the past. And a good part of the catholicity or liberalism or toleration that appears to be more in evidence in the present-day human consciousness is to be attributed not so much to the sense of unity or identity, that is the natural and inevitable outcome of a real growth in consciousness, but rather to the doubt and indecision and hesitation, to the agnosticism and dilettantism and cynicism of a pluralistic consciousness.

Cut away from the soul, from the central fount of its being, the human consciousness has been, as it were, desiccated and pulverized; it has been thrown wholly upon its multifarious external movements and bears the appearance of a thirsty shifting expanse of desert sands.

II

Indeed a peculiar aridity has invaded the modern consciousness; the sap has dried that once made life fresh and green and glad. It is not that we are turned away from life, on the contrary we are attached to it more than ever,—but the attachment has come upon us like a morbid hunger. And so we have the lust for life, but know not the joy of life. We lay an inordinate stress upon the body, upon what is external and superficial, upon the matter of life, and suffer from a simultaneous recoil and disgust for

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it. Human nature has been rent in twain and life has lost its unity of rhythm.

The old-world had no experience of this self-division. It had a frank and full joy in things of life, even in their most material forms. And when it turned away from life, it did so in the same spirit, of joy and frankness and wholeness. There was not this immixture, this Hamletian "to be or not to be" —an unregenerate, barbaric life-impulse "sicklied o'er with the pale cast o' thought" that troubles the modern consciousness.

In old days, while we enjoyed life we were not without the taste for life. We were youthful and in full possession of the *dharma* of youth. And when we left the world and life we cherished no regret ; we did it wholeheartedly.

We were young ; and our movements were whole and entire. It may be said that that was an age of unthinking innocence ; but in the attempt to gain the arid richness of an old-age consciousness, we have lost the simplicity, the spontaneity and the integrality of our non-age. Yes, we have eaten of the fruit of knowledge and our youth is the price that we have paid. With our present nature we not merely enjoy, but we want to know that we enjoy ; we cannot enjoy a thing, unless in the very act we weigh and dissect and scrutinize the object and ourselves too, into the bargain.

This knowledge, or rather, this curiosity does not arise from any depth of our being ; it is the product of the meddlesome superficial brain-mind. We have become self-conscious ; a vigilant self-consciousness is now the invariable coefficient of all our movements, but it is a self-consciousness that has deviated into mere mental introspection and intellectual analysis. It was the soul's consciousness, although perhaps more often from behind the veil, that once inspired and enlivened human nature in its youth ; and life was after all a thing of beauty and joy—for the soul is the one *Rasa* of existence. We have deposed the Divine King ; an anarchy now reigns in human nature which has become the battle-ground of qualities and forces that are, if not always more crude, at least, invariably crooked and perverse. We live and move in the cold and blighting, and withal shallow, glare of the brain-mind.

III

We of the modern age know many things—perhaps too many ; and we yearn and strive to know yet more. We are never content with the knowledge that we have at the moment ; our mind is always restive to leave beyond its immediate ken, thinking always that the secret of existence is to be found in what escapes its scrutiny, in what lies just outside the limits of what we happen to know. We are never sure of our knowledge. We are rich in curiosity, subtle in guessing ; but always there lacks the sense of assurance and achievement. A certain unrest or *malaise* pursues our activities, something that gives to our most perfect creation, the impress of an experiment, of what is tentative, transitional, temporary.

The ancients, on the contrary, knew not many things—not so many as we know ; but what they knew they knew well, they were sure of their knowledge. Their creations were not perhaps on the whole as rich and varied and subtle—even in a certain sense as deep as those of modern humanity ; but they were finished and completed things, net and clear and full of power. The simple unambiguous virile line that we find in Kalidasa or in the Ajanta, in Homer or in the Parthenon, no longer comes out of the hands of a modern artist. Our delight is in the complexity and turbidity of the composition ; we are not satisfied with richness only, we require a certain tortuousness and tangledness in the movement. We love the intermingling of many tints, the play of light dying away into haze and mist and obscurity, of shades that blur the sharpness of the contour. Our preoccupation, in Art, is how to create the *impression* of the many in its all-round simultaneity of forms and movements. The ancients were more simple and modest ; they were satisfied with *expressing* one thing at a time and that simply done.

The ancient Rishis were worshippers of the Sun and the Day ; they were called Finders of the Day, Discoverers of the Solar World. They knew what they were about and they sought to make their meaning plain to others who cared to go to them. They were clear in their thought, direct in their perception ; their feelings however deep were never obscure. We meet in their atmosphere and in their creative activity no circumambulating chiaroscuro, nothing of the turbid magic that draws us today towards the uncertain, the unexpected and the disconcerting. It is a world of certitude, of solid reality—even if it be on the highest spiritual levels of

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consciousness—presenting a bold and precise and clear outline. When we hear them speak we feel they are uttering self-evident truths; there is no need to pause and question. At least so they were to their contemporaries; but the spokesman of our age must needs be a riddle even to ourselves.

To the moderns truth is merely relative; the absolute is an ever-receding reality and has only a theoretical existence. The true reality, whatever it is, we can never reach or possess; we may say that we are approaching it nearer and nearer, but shall never come up to it—there is no end to our pursuit. An eternally progressive *rapprochement* between our knowledge or realization and the object of it is our destiny and also perhaps our privilege. It is this movement without end or finality that is life and all its zest and beauty. The ancients, on the other hand, aimed and worked at *siddhi*, that is to say, definite and final achievement. This did not mean however that there was a dead stop and they stagnated after *siddhi*. It means that the consciousness having undergone a change in character, takes a different kind of movement altogether: it proceeds now from truth to truth, from light to light, from *siddhi* to *siddhi*. The modern consciousness moves on the other hand from uncertainty to uncertainty, at best, from the more obscure to the less obscure.

Ours is an age of hunger—hunger for knowledge, for power, for enjoyment. But we do not know, nor care to know, the conditions under which alone such hunger can really be appeased. First of all, we think that to satisfy our hunger we have simply to go straight and pounce upon the object; we do not consider it at all necessary to look beforehand to our assimilative nature and capacity. Our hunger serves only to multiply the objects of hunger; and the objects of hunger again multiply our hunger; this is the vicious circle in which we are entrapped. We hungered for progress, but what we have succeeded in getting is change and movement, speed and restlessness; we yearned for light, we have found only information; we looked for power, we have mastered a few tricks or clever manipulations; we aspired for happiness, we have stopped with stray pleasures and hence with dissatisfaction.

To relieve life of this mingled strain and tension, to lift it out of this ambiguity and uncertainty, to free it from this gravitational force that drives it towards what is superficial and external—to endow it with its real worth, we must find and possess life at a higher level, at its unspoilt source; we must first draw back and re-establish, this time consciously and integrally, the lost connection with our soul, the Divine in our being.

Influence of Physical Features on Indian History

By N. K. BHATTASALI, M. A.

IT is customary to hold the physical features of India responsible for many of the evils that befell her lot, *viz.*, invasions from without and defeat and disunion within. It has been sought to be made out that we happen to live in such a luckless country that natural forces are at work emasculating us and we are destined from age to age to bow down before each succeeding conqueror. As this theory is dinned into the ears of our young boys by the text-books on history that they are given to read, it has become customary to take this as an established truth, beyond the the reach of cavil or question.

Let us take a few samples from the text-books that are commonly used by our boys in Bengal. The following passage is from Dr. Majumdar's "A Brief History of India," which is the text-book most widely used by the Matriculation candidates in Bengal.

"*Influence of physical features.* India contains not only fertile soils but also rich mineral deposits. Gold, iron, coal, manganese, jewels, pearls and various precious stones are also found in abundance in this country. Its sea-coast is studded with good harbours* fostering maritime trade. All these made India one of the richest countries in the whole world.

"This was not however an unmixed blessing. The easy means of livelihood, together with the wide and sublime beauty of nature, gave a philosophic and poetic turn to the Indian mind and led to a remarkable progress in religion, philosophy, art and literature. But it made the people less hardy and active than the mountaineers

* See editorial note on this topic in the present issue.

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of the colder regions of the north, who were tempted by the wealth of India and often made an easy conquest of it.

"Besides, as there was no keen struggle, with the elements of nature, no great progress was made in the study of positive science. * Lastly, the vast area of the country and its lofty hills and wide rivers made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation and very often, the whole country was divided into a large number of independent states fighting with one another. In short, the history of the country and the temperament of its people were largely determined by its physical features."

Prof. G. B. Bhattacharyya, in his Bengali *Bharatbarsher Nutan Itihash*, (Macmillan and Co.,) merely repeats the statements of Dr. Majumdar.

Rai Khagendranath Mitra Bahadur, in his Bengali *Bharatbarsher Itihash* has the following :

"(Translation) Though India is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the Indians never attained much skill in sailing .....With one or two exceptions, the races of India, in spite of their proximity to the sea, never became skilful seamen .. ..The main reason is that though the country has a long coast line, there is no good harbour † that can shelter large vessels ....The people of this country lacked energy and initiative, because the land was naturally fertile.....The Indians have always been peaceful. It never occurred to them that it is necessary to cross the sea to accumulate riches by defeating the nations beyond."

Let us examine some points in these statements and attempt to find out the truth.

(1). Were the people of India less hardy than the average nations of the earth ?

The hardiness or otherwise of a people can only be ascertained with reference to concrete facts. No race of men on the world's surface can boast that it has never been conquered by some other nation. Take the case of England. The Britons had to bend before the Romans to begin with and then before swarms of Angles, Jutes and Saxons. They in their turn yielded before the Danes. All these people combined gave way before the Normans. No one thinks of ascribing these repeated humiliations of the inhabitants of the soil of England to some inherent defect in her physical features. The peoples of Europe and those descended from them residing elsewhere are at present the dominant nations of the world. But there is no country in Europe which has not been conquered again and again.

Take now the case of India. Did the Aryans on their arrival find the Dravidian occupiers of the soil very easy to conquer ? The horses and the iron weapons of the Aryans gave them an effective superiority over the Dravidians, who possessed no horses and used mostly copper weapons. Yet, is not the Rig-Veda full of the din of battles between the Aryans and the Dravidians ? Did not the Dravidians hold their own in the southern half of India ? Are they not still preponderant there ?

Take the case of subsequent invaders of India. Darius was not a mountaineer but the civilized king of a civilized country. At the time of his invasion of India, the Saisunagas were ruling in Magadha. It is unlikely that the sway of the Saisunagas extended up to the Panjab. Alexander, two centuries later, found the Panjab divided into a number of principalities. Conditions were probably the same two centuries earlier. And it does not speak much of the arms of the great Achamænean Emperor Darius that he could do no more than subdue the petty princes of the Panjab. Alexander the Great, two centuries later, overran the Persian Empire, and therefore also the Panjab, which was one of the provinces of that empire. He met with a stubborn opposition and it speaks volumes of the bravery and initiative of the Indians that they recovered so soon from the effects of the Persian domination and could offer such determined opposition to one of the greatest warriors the world has ever seen, who was fresh from his conquests and had laid low the mighty Persian empire only a few months before.

The story of the contest between Alexander and Puru (Porus) shows clearly what stuff the Indians were made of and whether the much-maligned physical features of India had wrought havoc on the Indian constitution. "The conqueror of the world found himself opposed by a petty king who was master of a tract of country between the two rivers Jhelum and Chenub, about 50 × 100 miles in area, *i.e.*, about the size of Midnapur district of Bengal and smaller than Mymensingh district. That such a petty king could summon up courage to stand against the world-conquering veterans of

* See Sir Brajendranath Seal's and Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar's books on the positive sciences of the Hindus.—Ed., *M. R.*

† This is true. Dr. Majumdar's statement that the coast of India has good harbours, is inaccurate. [But it *had* numerous harbours. See editorial note, Ed., *M. R.*]

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Alexander must be held as sufficient proof that the physical features of India had not yet succeeded in making the Indians cowards or do-nothings.

The story of the actual contest between these two markedly unequal combatants, as recorded by the Greeks themselves, will be read with pride by every patriotic Indian. For a fortnight, Alexander had to remain stationary on the other side of the river, unable to cross in the face of the opposing Indian army. At last one stormy night, amidst peals of thunder and heavy rain, the indomitable Alexander marched out secretly with a chosen band. He marched along the river bank for sixteen miles and crossed the river under the cover of a wooded island in the river. Opposition from the side of Porus was hurried up but defeated. Then the two main forces were brought face to face. The rain of the previous night had been disastrous to the Indians. The chariots which were one of their principal fighting units, could not move freely. The Indian archers, whose bows were six feet long, and who shot long shafts with terrible effect, could do nothing. It was their habit to plant one end of the bow in earth, bend it by pressing it with the left foot, draw the string 'up to the ears' and discharge the arrow. The muddy ground, however, gave them no foothold, and with the ends of their bows buried in the mud, they could but give a very feeble account of themselves, while the mounted archers of Alexander threw the Indian army into confusion. After a stubborn fight, in which Porus, though severely wounded, remained in the battle-field to the last, the Indians had to give way and Porus surrendered.*

If the bravery of the Indians stands out in very favourable light in this unequal contest, in the subsequent trial of strength between Seleucus and Chandra Gupta Mauryya, who may be considered as combatants of equal strength, the truth is brought into bolder relief. It is a matter of common knowledge that in this contest, the Greek king found the Indian too strong for him and had to cede large portions of territory conquered by the Greeks and conclude a humiliating treaty. This episode shows that the Indians, when well-led, were a match for the best fighters of the then known world.

The history of India between the fall of the Mauryyas and the rise of the Guptas is known only in the barest outline. It is known that some Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian kings succeeded in establishing kingdoms in North-western India; but there is no means of knowing what resistance the Indians were able to put forth against the aggressors. The episode of Vikramaditya Sakari, son of Garddabhilla of Ujain, who is reputed to have driven the Sakas out of India and started the Vikrama Era, brings the old truth forward again that Indians wanted a capable leader to guide them to victory. The cultural conversion of aggressors like Milinda (Menander) and Kanishka, and even of Greek officials like Heliodorus of the Besnagar Pillar Inscription are well-known facts of history.

The Scythians, it must be admitted, seized a great portion of western India. The empire of the Kushanas extended practically over the whole of the Western half of India. The Indians had to bow before the storm. These race migrations are peculiar phenomena in world's history comparable only to storms. The Scythians succeeded, not because they were hardy mountaineers, but because the pressure of a mightier race-migration, *viz.*, that of the Yuehchi, had driven them from their original home and it was a question of survival or annihilation to them to be able to find new territories in which they could stretch themselves. In that process they came like irresistible storms and they wiped out many Greek kingdoms in and around the mountain regions of Afghanistan before they came upon the plains of India. The storm succeeded in penetrating half of India and then it was a spent force.

The rise of the Gupta Empire in the beginning of the 4th century A. D. served as an effective check to foreign aggression for nearly two hundred years. Then the storm of the Hun migration, famous in world's history, began. All the established empires of the world began to shake to their very roots. Wave after wave of these barbarians went out from Central Asia and the impact was felt in Europe as early as 375 A. D. In Asia, the Huns overran Persia and wiped out the Kushana kingdom of Kabul. The

* But Alexander, the "world-conqueror" understood what such a victory meant. Rev. J. T. Sunderland wrote in *The Modern Review* for July 1926 (page 17) that "after fighting a great battle he (Alexander) decided that wisdom required him to retreat." Again the same writer wrote in this *Review* for June 1928 (page 647), "It was an Indian army under Indian military leaders that checked the conquering career of Alexander the Great."

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heroic king Skanda Gupta beat back the first Huna invasion and it was thus in India alone that this storm of savage invasion first met with an effective check by about 480 A. D. As in the cases of the Indo-Greek and the Kushana invasions, the Huna invasion also prevailed for a short period, but only the north-western part of India was affected. The Indians gradually recovered from the effects of this savage storm. The Indian opposition began to gather strength and found competent leaders in the persons of Yasodharman and Baladitya. Mihirakula, the Hun leader, was defeated and driven out of India. The physical features of India had not unmanned the Indians even in the 6th century A. D.

The meteoric rise of the Muslim military power is a wonderful phase of the world's history. Within the course of about a century, the Muslim empire spread in all directions, and neither the Greeks nor the Spaniards were a match for them. Considering the fact that the first impact was felt in India in 712 A. D., we should wonder, not so much at the fact that the Muslims finally succeeded in conquering the greater part of India, but at the fact that it took them five long centuries to accomplish the work. The fact that the Gurjara-Pratiharas succeeded in keeping them at a distance, that the Shahi Brahmin kings of Gandhara could call forth so much unity against and offer so much opposition to a military genius like Sultan Mahmud ; that Prithviraja could inflict a crushing defeat on the over-confident Muhammad Ghori are eloquent testimonies to the fact that the Indians had lost nothing of their manly vigour by residence in India for thirty centuries or more. But heroism and courage cannot atone for defective and thick-headed generalship. However heroic Prithviraja might have been as the leader of a charge in a battle, he can hardly be called a good general for conducting a protracted war. He should have early recognized that he had to fight an enemy with a moral code different from his own and of uncompromising tenacity of purpose. After his first victory, he committed the most amazing indiscretion of thinking that the defeated Ghori had gone for ever. The indomitable Ghori returned within an year, a precious year which the Hindus had idled away in senseless festivities. Then, when Prithviraja was called upon to face his old foe again, he should not have staked everything on a single battle. The same mistake five centuries and a half later brought about the fall of the mighty and magnificent Vijaynagar empire in the battle of Talikota.

The rise of the Maratha power showed later on that all Indians had not ceased to be brave and hardy. The still later resurgence of the Sikhs, who rolled back for a time the tide of conquest, proved the same thing.

(2). The second statement of the text-books that requires examination is the following :—

"The vast area of the country and its lofty hills and wide rivers made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation, and very often the whole country was divided into a large number of independent states fighting with one another."

The small country of Britain, without "lofty hills and wide rivers," was at one time divided into seven kingdoms known as the heptarchy !

India, as is well known, is equal in area to the whole of Europe, minus Russia. In that part of Europe, there are a number of independent countries, such as Germany, France, Austria, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, etc., and even very small countries like Portugal, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. Many of these countries were united under one rule during the Roman domination. Long centuries after, an extra-ordinary military genius like Napoleon succeeded, for however short a period, in bringing some of these countries under his sway. These countries are of the same religion and are permeated by the same cultural traditions. Many of their languages have nearly the same relation to Greek and Latin as the provincial dialects of India have to Sanskrit. If there is nothing objectionable or unusual in the spectacle of these countries falling asunder and maintaining independent existences and even fighting with one another, I wonder, why India should be considered different. Geniuses like Chandra Gupta Mauryya or Samudra Gupta, or even Harshavardhana are rare in history. That they succeeded in making the greater part of Northern India one vast empire only shows that they were very powerful personalities comparable to the great heroes of European history like Julius Caesar and Napoleon. We need not fall foul of the lofty mountains (there is none though, in the great North Indian plain from Peshawar to

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Chittagong) and wide rivers, because this enforced union did not last long and India resolved herself into her natural divisions of provincial kingdoms. When the master of a petty kingdom on the frontier, of the size of Midnapur district, could offer a resistance like the one that was offered by Porus to the world-conqueror Alexander; when Jaipal, the Shahi Brahmin king of Ohind, a kingdom neither reputed to be very extensive, nor very powerful, could summon together a confederacy of the princes of Northern India and attack Sabuktigin in his mountain fastnesses; we need not deplore the fact that the empires carved by military and political giants did not last and kingdoms arose naturally in various parts of India on their fall.

(3) Rai Bahadur Mitra's contention is that the people of India lacked initiative and energy because the country was fertile and therefore they had enough to eat in their own land; that they never became skilful seamen; that it never occurred to the Indians to cross the sea to gather riches by defeating the nations beyond.

These statements, coming from the pen of a veteran educationist and finding place in a text-book for our young hopefuls, have taken our breath away. I am sure, a man of balanced judgment like the Rai Bahadur will only require pointing out to see that this portion of his book requires rewriting. The potentiality of these statements for mischief is incalculable.

The conquest made by India in other lands has mostly been a cultural conquest. We are so accustomed to associate conquest with bloodshed, rapine and murder, that the nobleness, patience and self-sacrifice of those forgotten missionaries of the past who carried the peaceful message of India into distant lands are hardly sufficiently appreciated. Even when the Muhammadans were knocking at the gates of India, Dipankara-Sri, in the sixtieth year of his age, was trudging the snowy and perilous Himalayan passes to go to Tibet at the invitation of the king of Tibet, to reform Buddhism in his land. It was in this way mostly that India's cultural conquest of Asia was effected. But Indian kingdoms in Indonesia and the adjacent countries had to be established in the orthodox bloody fashion, in which our Indian temperament refuses to feel pride.

That the Indians never became skilful seamen and never crossed the sea to conquer distant countries is a statement demonstrably untenable. How were the countries of Singapore, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, etc., colonized and conquered? The history of the conquest of these countries can mostly be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era, or even earlier. The truth is exactly the opposite of what has been stated by Rai Bahadur Mitra. The Indians of the maritime tracts of India are found to have been good sailors from the earliest times and it is they who made the spread of Indian culture and conquest possible in the islands of the Indian archipelago and in contiguous countries.

The fact that the Muslims succeeded in conquering the country and holding it for five centuries (1200-1707 A. D.) and the fact that the English succeeded in smuggling themselves in, taking advantage of the rotten political condition of the country, led foreign writers of Indian history to seek for causes of her fall. Oblivious of all that India achieved in the past and of her potentiality for the future, an eternal weak point was discovered in her geography and the guilt of causing her fall was conveniently attributed to that weak spot,—her physical features.

The real weakness of India appears to me to lie elsewhere. The caste system relegated fighting for one's country to a particular body of men who became professional and hereditary fighters. This system, as in other spheres of activity, produced excellent fighters, but limited their number to the castemen. This system did not help the rise of a national consciousness that fighting for, or defending one's own country was everyone's business and not of a particular class of people. The result was that in cases of foreign invasions, when the fighting class perished or was defeated, the whole country, with its intellectuals and merchants and artisans was at the mercy of the aggressors and hardly any further resistance was offered or a national rising organized.

Nothing in this world lasts for ever. It is a fundamental fact of biology that all organic entities are subject to birth, growth and decay. The mightiest empires of the world collapsed and will collapse. All the same, some people live longer than others. So with nations and national cultures. Many nations have perished,—nations that held dominant positions in particular parts

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of the earth's surface. Only one nation is still living on, both culturally and politically, *viz.*, China. Signs are not wanting of her rejuvenation and promise of a fresh lease of life. The cultural life of India is not yet extinct. Contact with the western civilization has quickened fresh life into it. The mistakes of the past are being taken note of and rectified. Fighting for India is no longer regarded as the duty of only a particular class of people. God willing, the day is not distant when India will show that she can be united and strong, active and energetic, in spite of her much-maligned physical features.

Comment and Criticism

[*This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the orginal contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.*—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

An Explanation of Garba

In the January issue of the *Modern Review* there appeared an interesting account of 'garba' of Gujarat. We are informed that it is dancing and singing by women forming a circle ; that it forms a special feature of 'navaratra', the nine days' vow ending with Durga Puja ; that the songs sung are invocations to the goddess, Durga ; that the women, specially the mistress of the house performing the Puja carry each on her head an earthen pot called 'garbo' which is painted white and pierced with holes and contains a lighted lamp within ; and that 'garba' is an ancient tradition.

As 'garba' is a part of the Puja ceremony, it must have a meaning and the poses of the dancers given in pen and ink sketch in the June issue of the *Modern Review* must conform to it. The account suggests an explanation and indirectly throws some light on the festival of Durga Puja. Garba seems to be the same as 'rāsa' (**रास**) and the occasion for both is the same, namely, to celebrate the advent of the new year with rejoicing.

I do not know Gujarati, and the rules of transformation of Sanskrit words into it. If these are no bar, I would derive 'garbo' from Sanskrit 'garbha,' the womb, the child in the womb. The 'garba' songs would thus be songs in expectation of the desired birth of a child, and 'garbo' would represent the sun-child in the womb. Singing and dancing by women on the eve of the birth of a child in a family is common in many parts of our country. In many other parts, as in Bengal, there is no dancing ; but there is music to publish the glad tidings. If this explanation be correct, 'garba' can be appropriate on the occasion of marriage and of the birth of a child, and on no other domestic ceremony. It is also obvious men cannot have a part in garba'.

That 'garba' is a variant of 'rāsa' is evident from the description. We know 'rāsa' is a circular dance of women who sing in chorus round a central figure, present or imaginary. The Puranas describing the 'rasa' of Gopis laid stress on Krishna's joining them. He was, however, at the time a young boy under 10 or 11, and did not introduce 'rasa' for the first time. Women used to spend the full-moon night in the month of Kartika with dancing and singing in praise of autumn season, and Krishna happened to join a party. The night was the new year's eve, and 'rasa' was the merry celebration of the important event. Every people observes the day with festivity of some sort, and there was nothing unusual with Gopis to do the same. It is a well-known fact that the full-moon night in Kartika was for centuries taken as the end of the old year, and beginning of the new, and if I am not mistaken, the new year in Gujarat still begins in Kartika, only a fortnight earlier, the change having been due to a change in the old calendar. (The days and months in this note are all lunar).

Of course there is no Krishna in Durga Puja. But a careful study of the fifth part of the Vishnu Purana will shew that the boy, Krishna, is an allegorical representation of the sun, and that his exploits which were regarded as miracles by his people were really true of the sun. Of course Sri Krishna was not the sun, but is the supreme soul. The sun was taken as a symbol. An explanation of the phenomena related in the Purana would be too long for this note, but there is no doubt that the event which led to 'rasa' of Krishna is at the bottom of Durga Puja and 'rasa' has therefore been transferred to it.

The history of Durga Puja is rather complicated and some of the details have not yet been worked out. It was essentially a yearly sacrifice of the Vedic period, but was simplified and re-modelled

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by Tantrikas in later times. As the sacrifice marks the commencement of a new year, festivities usual on such an occasion have naturally come in its train. Durga Puja is a national festival in Bengal, the like of which is not seen elsewhere. In some parts of our country there is in its place Sarasvati Puja, and in other parts 'navaratra' vow ending with the end of the puja on the ninth day. The tenth day is called 'Vijaya' day, the victory day, in Bengal. As the puja continues for ten days, from the day of making 'resolve' (Samkalpa), on the first day of Asvina to the end on the tenth, it is known in Northern India as Dasa-Ratra, shortened into Dasara, and variously corrupted into Dasera, Dussera, etc. The puja may be finished in one day, on the ninth, and people who cannot afford the expense do it on this day before an earthen pot of water to represent the Devi.

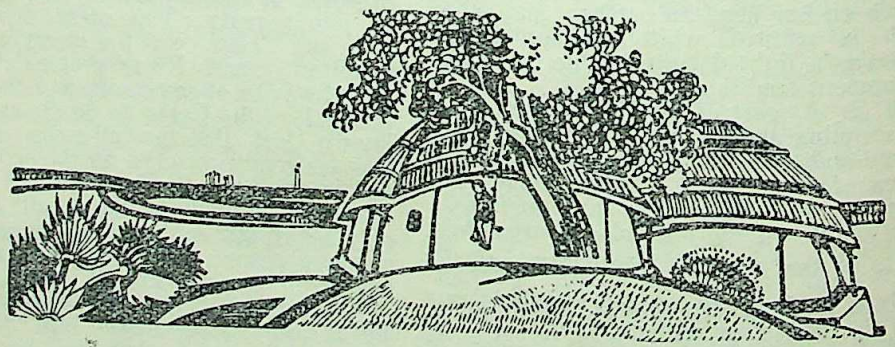
Who is She? She is the Prakriti of Sankhya, and Mahamaya of Vedanta. She is Ambika, the mother, the creator of the universe; Sakti, the primal energy permeating and actuating every bit of nature; Kali, the Time-mother working changes in it perpetually; Bhadrakali, the Time-mother of prosperity, and so on.

But man makes God after his own image, and the Debi has appeared to him in various aspects. One aspect is that She gives birth to a new sun every year. That some one is supposed to take birth will be evident from the requisites of the puja on the evening of the sixth day. It will not be possible to refer to them in this short note. At one time (in 1193 B. C.) the seventh day was the beginning of a remarkable cycle of years. The day was changed to the ninth and again to the tenth which has since 500 A. D. been the new year's day, corresponding to the first day of the solar month of Vaisakha.

The Debi is a virgin, and virgins are honoured during the puja. I understand, village maidens in the Central Provinces make a vow of austerity for fifteen days ending on the ninth. They dance and sing in the evening in praise of the Virgin Mother. This vow of fifteen days is older than that of nine days. In Bengal elderly ladies make the vow of three days and abstain from their usual diet. There is of course music, and singing is done by professional parties, the burden of their song being the glory of the Mother. In Gujarat there is no purdah, and women have therefore been able to retain the privilege of dancing in joy and singing invocations to the Mother for a happy new year.

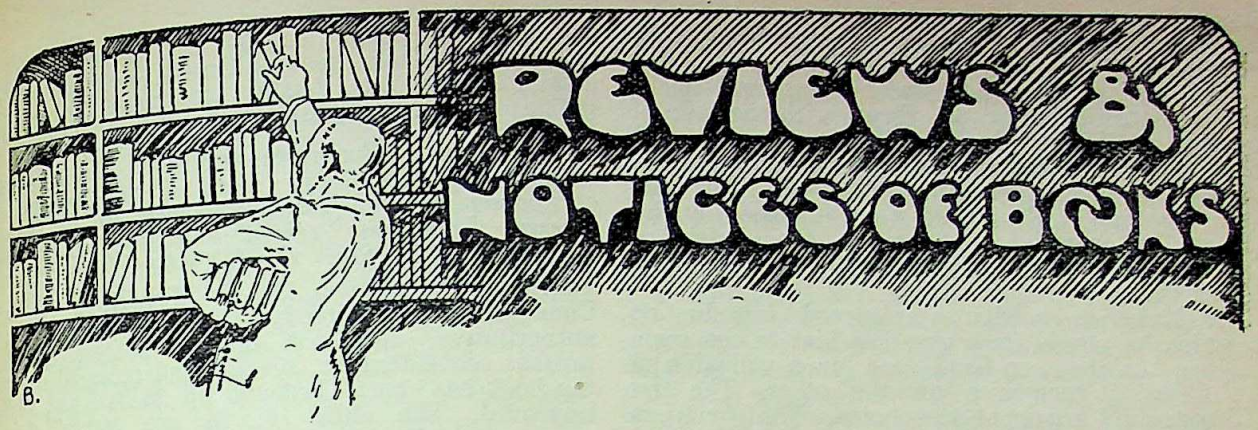
Let me conclude this note with 'gopha' which the writers of the article on 'garba' have brought in. These have, however, no connection whatever. I have seen 'gopha' by young boys and girls, all hailing from Andhra. It is not a dance, but a mathematical exercise of jumping. A pole is fixed in the ground from the top of which are hung strings. The boys or the girls catch hold of the lower free ends of the strings and jump past one another in a pre-arranged order with the result that the strings are woven into a round braid. They sing as they jump and beat time by means of short wooden rods. The word 'gopha' is evidently a corruption of Sanskrit 'gumpha,' stringing together. The pole is merely a support for the strings, and has no resemblance with the May-pole of Europe. The Indian May-pole is Indra-dhvaja, the flag-staff raised in honour of Indra, the god of rain.

J. C. Ra



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[*Books in the following languages will be noticed*: *Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

LABOR POLICIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS: *By A. G. Taylor, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Economics, College of William and Mary. University of Illinois, 1927. 9½×6″ Pp. 184.*

Labour organizations command attention, but employers' associations receive scanty notice. Dr. Taylor is to be congratulated upon his success in tracing the origin and describing the methods of National Association of Manufacturers of the U. S. A. Started in 1895, it did not develop any hostility towards organized labour till 1902. Since then there has been a rapid development. The membership in September, 1926 was 3090, distributed over 37 States representing 27 industries. The present policies are neither consistent nor logical. They are given below for what they are worth.

(1) The abstract right of labour to organize but without resorting to either militant action or collective bargaining for enforcing that right; (2) "the maintenance of the open shop," this supposed neutrality in the matter of union membership leading to anti-union activities in practice; (3) the protection of property rights, and the interpretation of the right of contract as a property right, resulting in encroachment on the rights of labour; (4) opposition to the restriction of output; (5) liberality in admitting immigrants, but after due selection; (6) opposition to boycotts, unfair lists, black lists, picketing strikes and lock-outs; (7) condemnation of class legislation, lending in practice support to the agitation even against beneficial measures like the restriction of child labour; (8) the demand that organized labour be legally responsible for its acts, thus curtailing all organized activity on the part of labour.

The methods are five-fold:—

(1) Propaganda through the school, the church and the press; (2) support and opposition to political candidates and parties; (3) legislative activities; (4) humanitarianism as exemplified in workmen's insurance, vocational education etc.; (5) advocacy of certain systems of employee representation.

The author's estimate of the achievements of the Association is guarded and unbiassed. The monograph will be found useful to all who are interested in the problems of industrial conflicts.

FIELDS AND FARMERS IN OUDH: *Edited by Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology, University of Lucknow (University of Lucknow Studies in Economics and Sociology) Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 1929. 7½″×5″ Pp. XIV+302.*

The Lucknow University is to be congratulated upon the issue of the present volume of "Studies" divided into three parts comprising surveys in the districts of Hardoi, Lucknow and Unao respectively, undertaken by three post-graduate students of the University and offered as their theses for the M.A. degree. The first part is perhaps the most informing of all dealing with both social and economic aspects of the life of an Oudh village. But, as is to be naturally expected, the work is not sufficiently critical. To give only onel instance, in the table on p. 62, the net profits of cultivation of six families, *viz.*, Rs. 955, Rs. 315, Rs. 288, Rs. 65, Rs. 199 and Re. 1-8 have been averaged as Rs. 303. 14 as. Obviously, there can be no average of a series of six such as the above. The table appearing on p. 4 is repeated on p. 9.

The interest of the second part is more agricultural and social than economic. Thus cattle diseases and their treatment, cultivators' maxims, panchayats and hypergamy among Brahmans have been described by the author, whereas sufficient statistics have not been collected for describing such important aspects of village life as indebtedness, where the reader has to rest content merely with the author's *ipse dixit* or his narration of stray cases of loans carrying a high rate of interest

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or of money-lenders acquiring property from their debtors.

The third part seeks to study agricultural labour of the entire district of Unao with the help of valuable statistics. Incidentally it appears that social ceremonies are not the causes of indebtedness to the extent generally supposed. Thus out of a total loan of Rs. 50,196. 8 as. advanced by the primary co-operative societies in the district of Unao during 1922-23, only Rs. 820 was incurred for marriages.

Dr. Mukerjee contributes a learned introduction in which he pleads for a practical bias to economic teaching on the one hand and for a widening of the scope of economics on the other. The first will command universal acceptance. The founders of the science of economics like Adam Smith and Ricardo had a practical insight. As Cannan has rightly observed, "Among all the delusions which prevail in the history of English Political Economy there is none greater than the belief that the economics of the Ricardian school and period were of an wholly abstract and unpractical character." But the reviewer is unable to support the latter plea of Dr. Mukerjee. It is true, as he says, that "there is no field of human life and relations, which is not touched by economics." But science can advance only by specialization. While there is need for the co-ordination of the results arrived at by different sciences such as ecology, agriculture and statistics for a systematic plan for village uplift, as suggested by Prof. Mukerjee, it should not be overlooked that our science can be most helpful by confining itself within its own proper limits. As Lionel Robins has pointed out, "If there is one field in which the man in the street is willing today to accept with deference the opinion of trained economists it is in matters of monetary theory. It is no accident, I suggest, that it is in just this field that economics is at once most precise, most technical and most unintelligible to the layman."

THE NORTH-WEST FUR TRADE (1763-1800): *By W. E. Stevens, A. B., A. M., Ph. D., 1926. University of Illinois. 9½" × 6". Pp. 204.*

Picturesque accounts of the activities of American fur traders are not wanting. But it was left to Dr. Stevens to give a fully documented and detailed account of the fur trade from the time of the fall of the French power in North America to the end of the century as carried on in the region of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi Valley. Although the interest is local, the careful reader will find in it the familiar story of "relentless competition, demand for freedom from government interference or regulation and pressure for special privilege through politics and diplomacy." The author does not seem to be aware that some of the servants of the English East India Company took part in the fur trade. It appears from the manuscript records of the Company in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, that in 1786 Messrs. William Brown, Charles Cockerell, Jos. Barretta and Richard C. Birch representing a number of subscribers applied to, and obtained from the Company the loan of naval stores and the services of a doctor for a voyage to North America. The ship in question was captured by Spaniards and the project failed. There might have been other voyages with better success, but the reviewer has not been able to make a careful and systematic search among the Records for tracing the participation of John Company's servants in the trade.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: *By Debendranath Banerjee, M. A., Acting Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, University of Dacca. Messrs, Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., 2nd Edition. 1930. 8vo. Pp XX+644.*

The first edition of Mr. Banerjee's "India's Constitution" is already well known as an authoritative text-book on the subject. In the present considerably revised and enlarged edition the book has been brought up to date and much improved. The chief merits are careful documentation and meticulous accuracy. The reviewer has been unable to detect any erroneous statement either of law or of procedure. The author's opinions are unbiassed and he is always able to make out a good case in support of his views. On the eve of impending changes in India's constitution, the book will be found most useful by a wide class of readers.

H. SINHA

—

THE POST-CAITANYA SAHAJIA CULT OF BENGAL *By Manindra Mohan Bose, M. A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1930; pp. XI+320.*

It is a matter of pleasure to find that Mr. Manindra Mohan Bose has published a second treatise on Sahajiya one of the much talked of but little known esoteric creeds of Bengal. A few years ago Mr Bose published a monograph on the subject in the pages of the "Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters," Vol. XV. Though the book under review covers the identical grounds, yet it contains much discussion on some of the topics.

As a pioneer contribution the subject of the book is excellent, but we doubt very much whether it can be taken as a true exposition of the real Sahajiya cult. We are afraid that the author has not been quite successful in separating the essentials of Sahajiya from Vaisnavite theories and practices which are so inextricably mixed up in the so-called Sahahiya cult of modern times. Nor has he tried to show what might have been its earlier phases. The author also should not have illustrated his theses with such profuse quotations from works which certainly do not belong to the Sahajiyas, *to wit* the Caitanya caritamrta, the Ujjvalacandrika (which is really a metrical rendering in Bengali of the Ujjvalanilamani), the Karaca of Govindadasa, and the poems of Narottamadasa, etc. This has considerably diminished the scientific value of the book.

The author finds the germ of Sahajiya in the Vedas and Upanishads and he traces its existence down to the pre-vernacular literature! In this arduous search the word *sahaja* (and sometimes its synonyms also) has been Mr. Bose's only clue. The fact is that whenever and wherever Mr. Bose comes across the word *sahaja* (or any of its synonyms even) he is tempted to connect it with the cult in question. This weakness of the author has not infrequently led him to make absurd statements and to arrive at preposterous conclusions (pp. 144-152).

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Mr. Bose supposes that the modern Sahajiya cult originated from Caitanya Vaisnavism. But do not the titles and contents of the two earliest works of this cult—the Agamasara and the Anandabhairava—point out unequivocally that its origin must be sought in Tantrikism?

The author has appended a fairly long list of Sahajiya MSS. and printed works. This is no doubt a very useful feature of the book. But it appears that Mr. Bose when he made the list, did not care to consult them all, otherwise he could not have included in it a large number of genuine Vaisnava works (*e. g.*, Rasakadamba of Kavivallabha; Pasandadalana of Krisnadasa; Govindaratimanjari of Ghanasyamadasa, a grandson of the poet Govindadasa Kaviraja; Rasamanjari of Pitambaradasa; Smaranadarpana of Ramacandradasa, the elder brother of Govindadasa Kaviraja, etc).

Though the author seems to have been very careful in transliteration yet a few mistakes have managed to creep in. There are also not a few misprints and wrong references.

In spite of these shortcomings the book bears ample evidence of the author's carefulness and capacity. The book is sure to be welcomed by the reading public, and it will also be helpful to those who may like to have some acquaintance with the outlines of the philosophy of Bengal Vaisnavism.

SUKUMAR SEN

—

THE QUEST FOR CERTAINTY: *A Study of the Relation of Knowledge and Action by John Dewey, being the Gifford Lectures, 1929. Pp. 302. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 10s. 6d net.*

A voluntarist like the present reviewer has particular reasons to be grateful to Prof. Dewey for an authoritative and forceful presentation of Instrumentalism with which his name is so intimately associated, and he makes no apology for this extended review of his present volume. It was quite in the fitness of things that the most distinguished American thinker after James and Royce should have the distinction of being invited to deliver the Gifford Lectures after them. Prof. Dewey is a man of broad culture and he has in the present work kept up his reputation for information as a logician, metaphysician and social philosopher, who can see the bearings of scientific developments on man's thought and action. After preparing the grounds of his system in his *Essays in Experimental Logic* (incorporating his still earlier contributions to the corporate work on *Studies in Logical Theory*), *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, and *Influence of Darwin and other Essays* he made his first serious contribution to Philosophy in the Paul Carus Foundation Lectures on *Experience and Nature*, keeping up his old psychological and ethical interests (for he has also written a book on Psychology and another on Ethics as a conjoint work) by writing *Human Nature and Conduct*, *The Public and its Problems* and *Character and Events*.

The main thesis of his present work is best expressed in his own words. Advocating a Copernican revolution in our attitude towards the world he draws a distinction between the old and the new methods of philosophy in the following words: "The old centre was mind knowing by means of an equipment of powers complete within itself, and merely exercised upon an antecedent external material equally complete in itself. The new centre is indefinite interactions taking place within a course of nature which is not fixed or complete, but which is capable of direction to new and different results through the mediation of intentional operations. Neither soul nor world is the centre. There is a moving whole of interacting parts; a centre emerges wherever there is effort to change them in a particular direction." The idea that certainty is to be found in a cognition of an immutable substance, whether that substance be the God of religion or the matter of science or the Essence of philosophy, proceeds out of unfulfilled expectation, defeated purpose, catastrophe of accident and a despair to create a better world by one's own effort. Dewey invites us to abandon the quest of absolute certainty by cognitive means in favour of search for security by practical means, to give up the search of antecedently existing *objects* in favour of *relations* which govern the control of ends by means.

Once it is admitted that knowledge is obtained through deliberate institution of a definite and specified course of change, the distinction between theory and practice, arts and science, higher and lower values, disappears. Ideas are validated by their consequences and not by their indentification with any changeless extra-mental reality. In the place of sensationalistic empiricism and rationalism alike, must be substituted experimental empiricism according to which the actual experience of men is one of doing acts, performing operations, cutting, marking off, dividing up, extending, piecing together, joining, assembling and mixing, hoarding and dealing out, in general, selecting and adjusting things as means for reaching consequences. Even the ideas of mathematics and logic have concrete reference, their abstractness or formal character only enabling us to escape submergence in existence (which manifests itself to us in the three ascending forms of sense-data, objects of everyday experience and objects of physical science) and using symbols with far-reaching but non-specific implications of action. All knowledge is really a mode of experiencing things which facilitates control of objects for purposes of non-cognitive experiences which render the world one of delight, admiration and esteem, *i.e.*, of aesthetic, religious and moral significance.

Dewey differs, however, from extreme voluntarists in two important points. Although he holds that knowledge divorced from action is meaningless, he still maintains that the essence of pragmatic instrumentalism is to conceive of *both* knowledge and practice as making goods secure in experienced existence. If knowledge means not an acceptance of fixed properties of antecedent Being (for even man-made objects like works of art are also 'real' and conversely the sense-qualities are not *given* but *taken* or selected from a total original subject matter which gives the impetus to knowing) but only a respect for the canons of fairness, impartiality, internal consistencey and external evidence, then it is of supreme importance in all experimental enquiry where undirected changes are converted into changes directed towards an intended conclusion and where fixed order and connection, discovered by an external reason, are discarded in the interests of unique and individual existence, novelty, genuine change and growth (as Bergson had pointed out before Dewey), characterized by

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the use of human *intelligence* which is nature itself realizing its own potentialities in behalf of a fuller and richer issue of events. Every type of qualitative experience, practical, aesthetic and moral, is however as real as reflective knowledge, for our emotional, volitional and intellectual responses are all distinctive modes of response to the uncertain.

Secondly, although he discards the rationalistic view of eternal and immutable good he does not admit either that mere desire or liking or enjoyment can make an object valuable. Without the intervention of thought enjoyments are not values but problematic goods, becoming values when they re-issue in a changed form from intelligent behaviour. Values may be connected inherently with liking and yet not with every liking but only with those that judgment has approved, after examination of the relation upon which the object liked depends. The reviewer is unable to accept this position of Dewey in its totality, especially when he tells us that it is possible to construct enjoyable objects directed by knowledge of consequences, for this brings back in a way an objective relation between objects and their mental effects, which is difficult to distinguish from the rationalistic faith in antecedent existence. Values are rather created by needs, physiological, instinctual and conscious; and this explains the extremely relative character of all values, for unless needs can be standardized values cannot be permanently fixed.* A possibility of satisfaction like a possibility of sensation is an abstraction of the human mind.

As is usual with all pragmatic writers, Prof. Dewey is more successful with the hammer than with the trowel and his criticisms are of greater value than his constructive philosophy. It is doubtful whether Papini's description of Pragmatism as the 'corridor' of philosophy will ever be disproved as James and Dewey are both more solicitous about the true method than about the true ontology. Still there are more pointed hints at a system in Dewey's present work than in James's writings. An anxiety to preserve a realistic attitude and to do justice to intellectualism characterizes the present work and it never abandons the clarity which common sense understands and appreciates.

It cannot be said, however, that the work does enough justice to the treatment of religion which is the main purpose of the Gifford Lectures. Dewey cannot be entirely blamed for this freedom, for before him Driesch and Thomson had similarly dealt more with their own special subjects than with religion and established a tradition of secularism of which Dewey has duly taken advantage Dewey reiterates the view that particular moral and religious ideas and creeds need to be tested and revised by the best knowledge at command but the reader searches in vain for a definite statement of his views on the nature of God and His relation to the world and man. That nature is understandable and pliable by human intelligence shows that there is affinity of some sort between the two and that nature leaves room for human effort and initiative, development and improvement. According to him, an idealism of action that is devoted to creation of a future, instead of staking itself upon propositions about the past is invincible. He admits, however, that it is not possible to set forth with any accuracy or completeness just what form religion would take if it were wedded to an idealism of this sort.

There is a running commentary on important rationalistic and empirical writers from the instrumentalistic standpoint which is well worth perusal. The book is in every way worthy of the great writer whose name it bears, and should provoke critical thought. Two or three misprints were noticed, the one likely to arrest comprehension occurring in l. 11 on p 225.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

* *Vide* the symposium on Values in the Proceedings of the Third Indian Philosophical Congress, Calcutta University.

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MALABAR AND ITS FOLK: *By T. K. Gopal Panikkar. Third Edition, Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2.*

In this small volume Mr. Panikkar has tried to give a general idea of the social and religious life of Malabar, specially of the southern part. The facts given by him are not new, nor can his treatment be said to be exhaustive. Nevertheless as the three editions of the book amply indicate he has succeeded in a considerale manner in giving a faithful picture of the salient features of life in Malabar. The institution of Marumakkattyam which forms the basis of the Malayalee Society has been clearly explained and to all who cannot have access to the works of Fawcett and others no more reliable book can be recommended.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA: *Vol. I Pre-historic India: by V. Rangacharya, M. A., Professor of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras. Price Rs. 5. 1929.*

The present book forms the first of a series of nine volumes of Prof. Rangacharya's ambitious work on Indian History before the Muhammadan conquest, in which he has confined himself to the archæological and anthropological materials before the beginniug of Aryan civilization,

The author has read a great deal and borrowed liberally from Mr. Panchanan Mitra's *Pre-historic India*. He has a nice lucid style and has been able to present his subject in an attractive manner. Nevertheless he cannot be said to have used his materials critically and discriminated always between the scientific and the purely traditional and amateur writings. For instance, the investigations of Dr. Pilgrim receive the same warm approval as the writings of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar who is responsible for the theory that man must have originated immediately south of Dandakaranya, and among the items of his scientific information he possesses the unique one that all the four types of anthropoid apes have been found in Southern India.

The author cannot either be said to be very accurate in his quotations. He does me the honour of borrowing extensively from my paper published in the *Modern Review* (November 1926). But when, for instance, he writes—"Mr. B. Guha points out that 'the statuettes of the bearded man exhumed at Mohenjo-daro portray a distinctive brachycephalic type, while the Dravidians like the Aryans have been distinctly dolicocephalic

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(p. 191) I confess I find myself completely at a loss. It is true that some of the statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro do show a brachycephalic type of head and as far as the first portion is concerned it agrees with my view, though the language is not my own to justify the quotation marks, but I am sure I cannot be responsible for the latter portion. To a student of racial somatology the use of such expressions as "Dravidian" and "Aryan" to denote racial types are repugnant in spite of the unwarranted use made by philologists. Within each of the two linguistic divisions several distinct physical groups are included and our existing knowledge is not sufficient to warrant us to equate any with either Aryan or more particularly "Dravidian." All these facts have been fully discussed in my Presidential Address before the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta in 1928 and published in the *Modern Review* of August of that year.

B. S. GUHA

THE DRIFT OF CIVILISATION : *By the Contributors to the Fiftieth Anniversary number of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London, pages 254, price 7s. 6d. nett. 1930.*

The editor of the *St. Louis Despatch*, Joseph Pulitzer, a journalist of international reputation, was well advised in his scheme of securing the views of men of different nationalities on the all-absorbing topic of the drift of our civilization. Indeed, the question in the minds of every thoughtful man to-day is, "Whither bound?" Where is our present civilization leading us to? It is easy enough to challenge the existing standards in morality, literature and art. It is harder to substitute in their place any binding code. The modern mind is in search of such binding codes. The appeal to the best intellect of the world was precisely meant to satisfy this demand. Their contributions in book form will be welcomed not only by Americans, but by a wider circle of readers.

The contributions are of unequal value. One of the most challenging is the one by Dean Inge. His predictions of the future of religion should be weighed by all, specially so by the Indian religious mind. Maxim Gorky in his study of Man is extremely suggestive.

The essays will repay reading. But we are afraid the price will frighten not a few. For a book of this kind, the price should be such as to be within the powers of the average pocket.

P. G. B.

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NEW ENGLAND ESSAYS : *By Edward H. Packard, published by the New England Publishing Co., P. O. Box 51, Harvard Station, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A. pp 191, with 176 illustrations. Price 5 dollars.*

These essays should be labelled "For Americans only," and for a certain type of American at that. The binding of the book is grotesque, reminding one that "from the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step," and the same might be said of many of the illustrations. As for the subject matter of the book, a large number of subjects are touched upon with the dogmatism of a supposed omniscience. It is difficult to imagine the book finding any sale in India, since beside the subject matter, phraseology, and thought being "a hundred-per-cent American," the price is ridiculously exhorbitant. The subjects which seem to interest the writer are vivisection, modern women, films, and American religion, all these he condemns with the vehemence of a crank. Interspersed are short accounts of prominent citizens whom America ought to admire. Significantly enough they are rich, and believe in the "good old days" when the young people and the poor people respected the successful man. The following quotations are typical of the rest of the book, and though one may for a time be amused by the self-sufficiency of the writer, after a while it grows tiresome. On page 98 one is told "If we (the American people) are out of step with the rest of the world it is because the rest of the world is out of step with the progressive, square deal, democratic, prosperous American people, and the sooner these various European and Asiatic hot-bloods, slanderers and tricksters adopt the United States way of co-ordination, co-operation and compatibility, that much sooner will they be in step with advancing civilization and these United States." But yet on page 109 one is informed that "morally stagnated, corrupted and beaten as American civilization is to-day, there may yet arise evangelists, essayists, reformers and radical spokesmen for the truth," the truth in this case being American Fundamentalism. Would it be too unkind to say that it is possible that this book will have a big sale in certain parts of America?

C. A.

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ON THE FIRST FLOOR (*verse*) *by B. R.—Arthur H. Stockwell Ld., London.*

These poems seem to us but commonplace effusion without any noticeable pathos that can appeal to our heart :

And this heart is not my own
Within my breast.
All this unrest
I must endure alone
With pain
Until you come again
My own.

Nor can we at all panegyrize the style. The coinage of the word 'upwell' to rhyme with 'dwell' is unfortunate even as a poetical licence. "To well up" is the expression. We can only break it up as "up it well." The Oxford Dictionary does not show such a possibility as "upwell",—a single word. "To gladly answer passions call" is bad grammer, because the infinitive 'to answer' is one sense and practically one word like 'answering', and 'gladly' must not split it up. "Could not we together form a star" (p. 18) is hardly a defensible metrical inversion, and we must write either "could we not" or the compound form "couldn't we." "As if that is the heaven" (p. 73) and "as if a veil is lifted" (p. 44) are bad style. The ellipses are :—"(it seems) as (it would have seemed) if a veil *was* lifted". The language theref re requires 'was' and not 'is' which is a common blunder of those who write without caring to know that certain laws govern the language and underlie it.

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CHRISTIANITY AND INDIAN RELIGION OF GRACE: *By Rudolf Otto with a preface by Dr. N. Macnicol. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, 1929, pp. 59. Price 8 annas.*

It is a good sign of the times that even Christian scholars condescend to compare other religions with Christianity, instead of, as formerly, consigning the former to the dust bin as untrue. And when resemblances with Christianity are undeniable but "stand ready at our very doors," they are pleased to think "the Evil one himself must have invested for the purpose of bringing scorn on the true faith" (p. 8). Of course, there is no doubt about the result of the comparison. The author seems to be quite unaware of an early comparison made by Dr. Brajendranath Seal and the result delivered to the Orientalists' Congress at Rome in 1899, in which the filiation of Christianity with Vaishnavism was clearly shown. The object was not to show the superiority of the one over the other as is the case with Prof. Otto. In the book under review, in answer to the question: "Has Christianity any rivals?" the reply is given in the negative. I give the last sentence of the book—"The fundamental difference that exists between Christianity and Bhakti religion [of course, of India] cannot, either theologically or historically, be expressed more strikingly than in the words of the old hymn:

'Christ has come to make atonement for us'
India knows of a saviour, but not of an atoner."

From Indian *puranic* myths it will not be difficult to match the Christian myth of atonement, that is, God offering himself to suffer for man. Yet *puranas* are the third best scriptural authority of the Hindus and the gospels, as Rammohun Roy retorted to the missionaries, are the *Veda* of the Christians. Historically the theory of atonement is only a refined edition of the pre-Christian religions of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Mithra and Dyonisos. The Nassenion hymn of the pre-Christian Gnostic sect puts to ridicule any Christian claim of originality in this respect. It is a myth in the place of another.

The author has committed a fatal blunder in taking the *Bhagavat Gita* as "the most holy in the whole of India," because the Gita is *smriti prasthanam*, only second best in authority, the *sruti* being the first. His most fundamental mistake lies in his considering this book to be "full of the most glowing Bhakti" (p. 12). But the author has not thus falsely glorified the *Gita* without a definite purpose. By comparing the Gita as *Bhakti Sastra* with the New Testament the superiority of Christianity has been established. We, of course, do not agee with the author in his estimate in this respect even. But his worst mistake is found in his valuation of the Gita as the embodiment of the highest thought development of the Indian Bhakti movement. As a specifically Bhakti Sastra, Bhagavat Gita gives only the start. Without considering *Bhagavat Sandilya Sutra*, *Naradapancharatra*, *Narada sutra* and *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and other books of Bengal Vaishnava school to pronounce on the Indian Bhakti faith seems to us to be irrational quackery. It is for this egregious blunder that the author has been encouraged to say: "The idea of Kindom of God without which Christianity ceases to be Christianity marks the first essential distinction between Christianity and Indian salvation religion' (p. 53). The author forgets that the Vaishnavic idea of earthly Brindaban is an idea of the Kingdom of God on Earth. And it is for this reason Dr. Seal has categorically put it thus: "Vaishnavism may possess a deep practical significance, as it is fitted to contribute very valuable elements to the European Renaissance of the coming century (*i. e.*, 20th) which is being ushered in by the dawning vision of Universal Humanity. The Christian's love of God is summed up in sonship, occasionally varied by the attitude of a servant or a friend. Compared with this, the range and depth of the Vaishnava sentiment must be confessed to be a new revelation of the divine possibilities of human love. The Vaishnava Sakhya and Madhurya, and the species of Bhakti taught by Narada, must come as a new gospel of love to every devout Christian soul, and the Vaishnava conception of 'Life Everlasting' in this earthly life, and of God manifesting himself in the various relations of man and man, will be acceptable to him.

But the Christian idea of the Kingdom of God is a commodity that is sold at variable prices at various markets. Of that idea, and of many other half-truths, falsehoods and foibles given out in the name of Christianity in this book we have spoken much in *In Search of Jesus Christ*. So we do not take them up here for fear of repetition.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI

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MYSTICISM IN BHAGAVAT GITA: *By Mohendra Nath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Longmans. Green & Co. Ltd.* Crown 8vo. *pp. 219.*

In this book the author has drawn attention to the mystic element in the Bhagavat Gita. Mysticism is described as an approach to truth and reality arising not from an intellectual demand of consistent thinking but from life and spirit. An excellent synopsis of the concept of mysticism in literature has been given in the preface. The author believes that if one has no "animating touch of inspiration and quickening of mystic apprehension one has no chance of realizing the full meaning of the Gita." The Gita is thus more a philosophy of life than an intellectual system bound up in categories. He draws pointed attention to the interesting fact that when intellectual appeal fails to remove Arjun's doubts, the Master "vouchsafes unto the disciple the mystic illumination" and it is only then that Arjun's hesitation disappears. In spite of the wide popularity the Gita enjoys in India it must be confessed that it has failed to stir up the same amount of enthusiasm amongst Western scholars. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the current translations of the Gita are not always up to the mark; a more important reason seems to be that the Gita discourses problems in a way which is absolutely unfamiliar to the Western thinker. It requires a good deal of insight into the Hindu ways of thinking before one can appreciate the sublime teachings of the Gita. The author has done a great service in presenting the mystic element in the Gita in a form which will be readily understandable by the western reader. The book, although not free from grammatical inaccuracies, is generally written in an interesting and easy style. There are, however

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certain passages which do not seem to be very clear. The chapter on Cosmology and Psychology of the Gita, for instance, is difficult to understand. One does not clearly follow the line of argument in the chapter on the control of *Prana* or the vital energy. The author has a hit on modern Sex Psychology which, according to him, "suffers from the limitation of thinking that suppressed sex energy is the immediate cause of religiosity. Sublimation can refine the crude impulse but this refinement cannot change the character of sex consciousness." Later on, he contradicts himself by saying that "transformation becomes possible because of the grafting of fine forces upon gross being." The author's statement that logic may trace minor contradictions in the Gita, is sure to be opposed by many. In discussing the chapter on Mystic Ideal it has been asserted that the seer has a sudden feeling of expansion when the mystic experience dawns on him. The stupefaction which Arjun feels when he has the mystic vision is due, according to the author, to the sudden change from realistic consciousness to a dazzling spiritual vision. The Upanishads, however, provide a different explanation for this phenomenon. The Cosmic vision leads to the development of overwhelming fear when there is an imperfect realization of the Godhead. The book is a creditable production and should be read by all interested in the Philosophy of the Gita.

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HINDI

MAN-KA-HRIDAYA (A NOVEL): *Translated by Chhabinath Pandey—Published by Sahityasevak Karyalaya of Benares. Paper bound: pp 6+2+586. Price Rs. 2/8.*

This is a Hindi translation of 'MOTHER', a novel by the renowned Russian novelist Maxim Gorki. The story is one of the finest productions of Gorki and depicts the current of thoughts running through the minds of Russian labourers and peasants, which ultimately led to the upheaval of the Russian Revolution. On the whole the translation is good and entertaining, though not free from grammatical defects.

AJAB-DESH: *By Banshi Dhar, M. A., Published by Shishu Karyalaya, Allahabad. Price As. 9.*

Srimati Sita Devi has written a book 'Ajab-Desh' in Bengali for the benefit of children. The present small volume is the Hindi translation of the same.

HUKKA-HUA: *By Banshi Dhar, M. A. Published by Shishu Karyalaya, Allahabad. Price As. 6.*

It is another book meant for the little ones. It is the Hindi translation of the original Bengali book of the same name written by Srimati Shanta Devi.

RAJA GOKULDAS-KA-JIVAN CHARIT: *By J. C. Mukherji, M. A., LL. B. with a Foreword from Sir M. V. Joshi. Price Rs. 5.*

Raja Gokuldas, the grandfather of the Hon. Seth Govind Das, was a merchant prince of Jubbalpore. He had done much good to his city and province by his philanthropic activities. The present volume is the biography of the late Raja. It also contains the English version of the Hindi life. The book is well-bound and profusely illustrated, but we are sorry to say that it contains a good deal of irrelevant matter.

BRIJ MOHAN VARMA

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MARATHI

हिन्दुस्थानचा सोपपत्तिक इतिहास—

(AN ARGUMENTATIVE HISTORY OF INDIA) *By Mr. R. V. Oturkar, M. A., &c. Professor, Nasik College: Published by* **अनाथ विद्यार्थीगृह** *(Orphans' Boarding House) Poona, price Rs. 2.*

This book is especially meant for mature students, and as such the attempt seems to have been somewhat successful. Twenty-five years ago Indian students had to depend upon the text-books of Indian history written by European scholars only, but now this practice has come to an end as the school master is abroad and hence the market is flooded with text-books. The book under review is a proof of this statement. The author begins with the Vedic period, *i. e.*, he has drawn an outline of Indian history of fifteen thousand years in five hundred pages. For the sake of convenience he has divided this vast period into four parts, *e. g.* (1) ancient, (2) old, (3) mediæval and (4) modern. The author has dealt with each period skilfully but it is evident that the book has been written rather negligently and printed shabbily, as it contains a number of slips. For instance, the year of Buddha's birth is given 623 A. D. (page 28), the authorship of Siddhanta Kaumudi has been ascribed to Panini (page 52) and Anhil Wada Pattan is mentioned as a metropolis of Kathiawad (page 90). The account of Shivaji's period is mistaken. It is obvious that Ramadas, though the Patron-saint of Maharashtra, had no direct hand in seventeenth century politics, but the author has adopted Mr. Rajawade's premature views on this point. I should like to request the author to annex an errata and addenda to the book before it goes to the market.

मिरज संस्थानचा सारावाढ आणि रयतांचा सत्याग्रह

(REVISED ASSESSMENT OF MIRAJ STATE AND SATYAGRAH OF THE SUBJECT) *By* **स्पष्टवक्ता** *(Plain speaker), price Re. 1 with Mr. G. R. Abhyankar's foreword.*

The book is dedicated to Sardar Vallabha Bhai. 'By this assessment, burden on the soil was increased from 60 to 70 per cent. The people complained and waited upon the ruler, who in the beginning promised to hold the inquiry, but within ten days' time went back on his promise. After this, some 4000 agriculturists assembled outside the palace. For four days they sat day and night in heat and cold in the open space. The ruler was obdurate and did not give them any hearing. On the fifth day he issued notices on the leaders and asked the assembled people to disperse.' This is the substance of this book of 239 pages. Naturally it is of local interest. But it appears that in conducting the campaign of resistance its promoters steadily kept in view two essential principles, *viz.* goodwill and non-violence. Any sane person would advise the State not to

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fight out this particular case to the bitter end, and gild the pill immediately.

V. S. WAKASKAR

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GUJARATI

VARTAO NAN PUSTAKA NO PARICHAYA: *Part I; Published by Shri Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal Ltd., Baroda. Paper Cover, pp. 123. Price Re. 0-8-0. 1930.*

There are about two thousand or even more novels published in Gujarati, on social, historical, detective, religious and humorous subjects. As a branch of this kind of literature short stories also are abounding. The publishers inaugurated a scheme under which they requested a number of readers to send them their opinions on a large number of the books submitted to them for perusal as to their fitness for being read by the general public. As a rule, two independent opinions were invited on one book, while for books of well-known authors no opinions were invited. In this way the publishers have been able to recommend 372 books in this part: they hope to bring out another part shortly. As a guide to the reading public, the importance of such works cannot be overrated and we welcome this useful departure on the part of the publishers.

SINDHUDO: *By Jhaver Chand Meghani. Printed at the Saurastra Printing Press, Ranpur. Paper Cover: Pp. 30, Price 0-8-0 1930.*

Jhaver Chand Meghani is in jail as a Satyagrahi. While being sentenced he asked permission to sing a song of prayer, and it was given, and he selected one out of the collection published in this book and sang it in his loud and sonorous voice, which produced good effect all round. There are about fifteen songs in this collection and they give a very good picture of the present stirring times: they are all couched in Mr. Meghani's virile language.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

WHAT IS ART? By Leo Tolstoy
THE AWAKENING OF ASIA, By Ruchi Ram Sahni
MAHATMA GANDHI, (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras)
PAPER BOATS, By K. S. Venkataramani
THE MAGIC OF THE STARS, By Maurice Mæterlinck
POEMS, By N. Nekrassov
CHILDHOOD, BOYHOOD AND YOUTH, By Leo Tolstoy
ENGLISH VERSE, Vol. III—Oxford University Press
BENGAL IRRIGATION, By Nalini Ranjan Sarkar
COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS, By D. Pa
THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION By G. M. Chiplunkar
MAHABHARATAM
THE SEX FACTOR IN MARRIAGE, By Helen Wright
A MODERN HINDU VIEW OF LIFE, By Chiman Mukerji
POINTS OF VIEW, (Geo. Allen and Unwin L'd.)
ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, By Hans Driesch
LIFE AND LABOUR IN A SOUTH GUJARAT VILLAGE (Longmans Green & Co., Ltd.)
PAUL HERALD AND WITNESSES, By A. C. Clayton
GANDHIJI'S SATYAGRAHA OR NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE, By Richard B. Gregg
A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF INDIA'S PAST AS THE FOUNDATION FOR INDIA'S FUTURE, By Dr. Annie Besant
CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE, Vol V (1776-80)
YOGA PHILOSOPHY, By S. N. Das Gupta. M.A. PH. D.
INTERMEDIATE TEXT BOOK OF ENGLISH LITERATURE By A. J. Wyatt & A. S. Collins
ORIENTAL TIT-BITS IN ENGINEERING, By M. C. Singariyengar
PRINCIPLES OF AUDIT, By R. S. Ramaswamy Iyer
PERES'S TRIPLE COMBINATION CIPHER Code By M. Peres

Youth's Own School

BY MARTHA GRUENING

WICKERSDORF lies at the very top of the world, or so it seems to a newcomer, at the highest point of the Thuringian forest in Germany. To reach it Robert and his mother left Saalfeld in the chill October dawn and rode with the post automobile six kilometres up into the hills. After that there were still six kilometres to walk. At first they followed a windy ridge. The sun rose out of seas of mist revealing on every side dark, pine-clad slopes and tiny, scattered farm hamlets. Then their path led them through a still, dense, pine-scented pine forest out of a German fairy tale from which they finally emerged into the little foresters' village of Wickersdorf, with the school buildings and pond gleaming in the distance and the high pine-bordered athletic field sweeping to the horizon. "The loveliest place in the world for a school" was what Robert's mother thought about it and would still think if she had since seen others as heart-breakingly lovely. Odenwald backed up against the wood of the same name at the head of the enchanted Hambach valley, and Haubinda and Ilsenburg in the Hartz mountains, and Clarisegg on Lake Constance,—and all of them.

Wherever they went Robert and

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mother generally walked. This was almost a necessity in Germany at that time, especially if one was visiting these schools; this fact reveals the intention of their founders. They are, as the name *Landerziehungsheim* implies, land schools and land homes in a sense that few of our schools are, even when situated in the country, and they represent among other things not only a "back-to-nature" movement in education, but also what might be called a "back-to-youth" movement

There is a certain kinship between European schools of this type, wherever they may be found. It is found in such schools as Abbotsholme, Bedales, and St. Christopher's in England, the *Ecoles Nouvelles* of France and Belgium, and the *Landerziehungsheime* and *Schul Gemeinden* of Germany and Switzerland; but it is in Germany, it seems to Robert's mother, that what is distinctive and valuable in them has come to its fullest flowering. Perhaps this is because Germany has had its,—however abortive,—social revolution. Whatever the reason, as she saw them in operation, these school democracies did not seem so incongruous against a German background as they did in other settings nor did they seem as hampered, as in other countries, by the strength of an opposing tradition.

The *Landerziehungsheim* (now commonly designated in Germany by its familiar abbreviation *L. E. H.*) really owes its existence in large measure, like so many experiments, to the first of the new English schools—Abbotsholme; but while the English prototype was and remains a school for "gentlemen's sons" tinged and even tainted in the eyes of a radical by class and caste and national prejudice, the German schools, as developed first by the pedagogue Lietz and further inspired by the Youth and *Wander-Vogel* (Wandering Birds) movements, are, in intention and very largely in fulfilment, the schools of youth,—all youth regardless of class, race or nationality. "To establish the kingdom of youth," this, in the words of its founder, Gustav Wynnekon, was the idea of Wickersdorf, the first of these schools to develop the idea of the *Gemeinde*,—that is of the self-governing school community. It is an idea of which libertarian educators have dreamed the world over, and if they have succeeded in realizing it in Germany in larger measure than elsewhere it is due not only to the fact that they had a genuine respect and sympathy for youth, but to the fact that they had for their guide the definite and highly articulate revolt embodied in the German youth movement, a movement whose influence on German education it is still too recent to estimate.

It is on the physical side, perhaps, that this influence of the Youth and *Wander-Vogel* movements is most immediately apparent. Never, in any school or anywhere else for that matter, had Robert's mother seen a higher standard of health, of physical fitness, of hardihood and alertness, of actual physical beauty than obtained in these schools; and this notwithstanding that the months she spent there were the difficult autumn and winter months that Germany has yet known. "Hardening" in the physical sense, the cultivation of physical fitness have been from the first a feature of life in the *Heime*. Cold shower baths or plunges in lake and stream, early morning runs in the woods, "air-baths,"—that is, exercise taken naked out of door in winter and summer,—in all these things as in the introduction of football and cricket they kept pretty close to their English model. As they developed individually, however,—and here one chiefly feels the influence of the *Wander-Vogel*,—the accent in physical culture was rather on the personal, aesthetic, and adventurous, on walking, cycling, climbing, skiing and the like, rather than on competitive games, regimental drilling, or even the highly-esteemed old-fashioned German *Turnen*. In all these schools she found a joyous and idealistic cult of the body which expressed itself not so much by a preponderance of athletics in the curriculum as by an essentially healthy, simple, and vigorous manner of living. The free, unhampering, youthful style of dress popularized by the *Wander-Vogel* was worn here on principle, and during the greater part of the year even this was reduced to a minimum; bare arms and legs, bare heads and throats were the rule rather than the exception, and under certain circumstances even nudity was not uncommon or surprising.

But the supreme contribution of the *Wander-Vogel* was of course the *Wanderung*, the loveliest and most distinctive feature of the new German school life. A *Wanderung* as understood in these schools was not merely a "hike," or a school excursion, an

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experience in camping or woodcraft such as many American institutions offer, although it embodied some elements of all of these. It embodied also something else, something of glamour, of adventure, of wonder and poetry which American education, and indeed most education, still fails too largely to offer youth. Such a *Wanderung* may be anything from a day's tramp in the woods to weeks and even months of travel. Before the war such wandering had been done from all these schools to Switzerland, Italy, France, England, Norway,—even in one instance to the Northern coast of Africa In the most difficult period of Germany's life—during the inflation years—it meant usually the simplest kind of gypsying, a week floating down a river on a raft, or walking along a wooded ridge from one ancient burg to another, sleeping in tents or in the frequent *Wander-Vogel* huts, but more often under the stars, bathing in streams, cooking over campfires, or living for very brief intervals with peasants, woodmen, and fishermen.

All this was new to Robert when he first came to Odenwald,—the most famous offspring of Wickersdorf,—as indeed everything was, but perhaps nothing so astonishingly so as the quality of the human relationships within the school community. It was at Odenwald that he discovered, so to speak, that "teachers are people," a thought which in the five years of his American school life had never occurred to him. "One can really be friends with them," he told his mother with astonishment. It was difficult indeed, at first, to tell the younger teachers from the older students, intercourse between them was so informal; and the mutual use of first names and of the familiar *du* was common to all the members of the community. There was none of the separation between the ages that Robert was accustomed to, and very little between the sexes, the girls and boys not being segregated into dormitories, but living side by side in the attractive dwelling houses of the school. Robert had arrived at Odenwald not only short of German but more than a little homesick. He had been placed temporarily in one of the school "families," an institution common to all the *L. E. F.* schools, by which each is divided for recreational and other purposes into groups under the leadership and particular care of one teacher. By good fortune he was assigned to the group of *Herr B*—, the popular young science teacher, whose group almost never had a vacancy. Jan, a Belgian boy in the same group, who had spent two years at an English school, was appointed as his "guiding comrade" to show him the ropes. From him Robert learned that if the group appealed to him he might elect to be a permanent member of it, or, if it did not, he could choose another. Of course, Jan thought *Herr B's* group the best, but there were others nearly as good, and in any group one had fun. When Robert had chosen his group he would, in turn, have to be accepted by all the other members, but there would probably be no difficulty about that. The next night Robert attended the weekly reunion of the group for games, stories, and music, and the following Sunday the whole group under *Herr B's* leadership departed on an all day *Wanderung*.

Robert was quite sure by this time that he would elect to remain in *Herr B's* group. Meanwhile, he had been put to work in the "Outlander's" class to learn German, for as at most of the *Heime*, from twenty to thirty per cent of the students were foreigners. In this class only the direct method and German conversation were in order, but outside he was free to speak English if he chose and he was sought after for this purpose by many English-learning students. When he had acquired sufficient familiarity with German he would be free to elect his other courses, this being the procedure for all the students after a certain minimum of required work had been completed. In the afternoons he did shop work, he had a choice of carpentry, bock-binding, and iron-moulding as well as of drawing and modelling. He also had two priceless hours of freedom in the early afternoon before *Vesper*, one of the five or six daily meals to which he became accustomed with astonishing ease. Perhaps once a week his shop work was varied by assignment to a work shift, for much of the work of the school was now done, from necessity as well as principle, by its members. The work might be gardening, errand running, dish wiping, potato peeling, or any number of other more or less stimulating tasks which were distributed with thoroughgoing impartiality. Wednesdays and Saturdays were half-holidays, and at least once a week there were organized games for the whole school, although smaller, impromptu

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games occurred much more frequently. On Robert's first whole holiday which he supposed to be a belated Hallowe'en, but which turned out to be known as *All Saints Day* in Germany, he played basketball, for the first time in his life on a mixed team against another such team, and was chagrined when his side lost because of the brilliant goals made by the other side's star player, a thirteen year old girl.

"The girls here are regular Amazons," he wrote home on this occasion. After his first astonishment it came to seem quite natural to him to have the Amazons take part in sports with the boys, football being the only game they played separately. His favourite game soon came to be the universal favourite, Kriegspiel, (War Game), which despite its name seems to be no more militaristic than Prisoner's Base. It was a matter of opposing camps, deep strategy, and capture trophies and could be played by the school and all over the Odenwald. Sometimes, most excitingly, it was played on moonlit nights adding greatly thereby to its sense of mystery and danger. To Robert it seemed that in the high points of such a game he touched the very peaks of existence.

He had been at school less than a week when, under Jan's guidance, he went to his first meeting of the school *Gemeinde*, the assembly of the whole school which served at once as forum, parliament, and on rare occasions as a court of justice. As the proceedings were in German he understood much less of them than his mother did, but she could only be admitted to the meeting by a vote of the assembly while Robert, as a prospective member of this democracy, was there by right. The leader of the assembly at this time was one of the older girls. Hers was the highest honour any student could achieve. Presently the now familiar words *Neuer Kamarad* (new comrade) and his own name fell on Robert's ears, and Jan plucked his sleeve. "Paulus (the principal) is introducing you. Get up and bow." This was an ordeal,—the only one of his German school year,—but he got up and performed something that he hoped was a bow and subsided with flaring, scarlet ears into his seat. He felt extremely and agonizingly ridiculous, but it seemed no one was laughing at him or even paying any special attention to him, so he revived. Soon he wished ardently that he could understand what was going on, for though Jan had explained much of the procedure to him beforehand and translated conscientiously whenever he remembered Robert's existence, he was soon too much absorbed to remember it very frequently. Robert, who all his life had suffered agonizingly from shyness, was amazed to see children younger than himself rise to speak, not only with absolute ease, but with eagerness and conviction and even, apparently, with humour. Even the littlest kindergarten children came to the meetings and voted on questions that interested them; but they were allowed considerable latitude in the matter of restlessness or fatigue and might slip out at any time if overcome by either. The basis of membership in the assembly was entirely democratic, and every member had one equal vote. Questions of general interest were discussed and questions of school interest, and all the rules concerning students were framed in these meetings. Such rules could only be passed by a two-thirds vote of the membership. Sometimes, Jan informed the awe-struck Robert, a rule was passed in this way which Paulus himself had voted against, but though this occurred rarely, there would be no doubt that such a rule would stand and be enforced like any other. Infractions of rules to which all members were held to have tacitly agreed were brought before the assembly, and by its vote also all school honours and responsibilities were bestowed.

Another type of meeting with which Robert soon became familiar was the *Andacht*, —the fairly frequent but irregularly held school meeting,—the nearest approach in the school life to any form of chapel. At the *Andacht* someone spoke or read or played quite simply, as it seemed, on the inspiration of the moment. Usually it was Paulus or one of the teachers, but any student was also at liberty to call an *Andacht* if the spirit moved him. Attendance at such meetings was not compulsory, but curiosity in regard to them was easily aroused. It was through such attendance that Robert first encountered Plato's *Symposium*, Goethe's *Italian Journey*, the epic poetry of Spitteler, and the *Legends* of Selma Lagerlof.

Most important of all in the scholastic life were the monthly school meetings at the end of every so-called "Course month," at which one member was elected from every course to report on the work just completed, and if necessary to illustrate the report with demonstrations and concrete exhibitions.

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The one making such a report enjoyed entire freedom of speech, and it might include and frequently did include suggestions and criticism of the subject-matter and method of a course or of the conduct of any of its members. Such a report could also be answered, corrected, or amplified by the teacher giving the course or by any of the other members. At one of the first meetings Robert attended, a spirited debate developed when a twelve year old boy, reporting on the work of a highly popular history course accused the teacher, an earnest and rather humourless newcomer, of unfairness and impatience toward certain foreign members of the course which, he said, had intensified their difficulties with the subject. The teacher who had not had the benefit of a *Gemeinde* education, defended himself indignantly and finally called on every student in the course to support him. Without exception, however, the boys and girls supported the boy making the report, and they did so apparently with entire candour, objectively, and without malice. Robert who had had his own troubles with *Herr K*—listened with fearful joy and a secret sense that the end of the world was near. The *Gemeinde* as a whole, however, listened with interest and tolerance and registered no decision, although it seemed to be generally felt that the students had the best of the argument. Later he learned that *Herr K*—came to an entirely amicable understanding with them. The experience did not seem to damage him in anyone's opinion for, in spite of his inexperience, he had qualities that commanded respect, and all his students re-elected the course. If Robert had been of an analytical turn of mind it might have occurred to him that though one heard little at Odenwald of those two favourite abstractions "democracy" and "sportsmanship," one saw many instances of their concrete realization.

School athletics were among the things that Robert missed at first,—that is, athletics in the more conventional sense, constant training and mass drill, team-play, competitive games, and rivalry. In time, however, his obsession for these forms of sport together with certain other obsessions, notably those for the baseball score, the cinema, and the weekly newspaper "comics" seemed to pass from his mind. Sport, in the European sense, of course, he had, and also, it seemed to his mother, far more of individual out-door life, and more of fellowship in it than the usual standardized, hard and fast recreational activity provides. He developed interests, too, she suspected, he would have been ashamed to develop except under exceptional circumstances, in America or England. He became accustomed, for one thing, to music, for though the school did not boast a single radio, much less a phonograph or player piano, it took music in school life as much for granted as it did daily bread. He discovered music with actual pleasure, and dancing, which is rated high among the pleasures of Odenwald, and drama, and all three came to be associated in his mind with festivity. With drama he was, to some extent, already familiar, but his chief interest along that line had been in the cinemas. He had been in Odenwald only a week when he witnessed his first Greek tragedy,—an outdoor performance, beautifully done, of the beautiful Hoelderlin translation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles This school performance of it was the first ever given in Germany. Within the next few months he witnessed and took part in many plays,—carefully rehearsed and planned, or got up at a moment's notice, plays in French, English, and German (it is one of the distinctions of Odenwald that its French and English courses were given without interruption throughout the war), and finally, at Christmas, the climax of the school year, the old Swabian mystery play of the Nativity to which the neighbouring peasants of Ober Hambach are always invited, and the cast of which is chosen by the vote of its schoolmates. In his first year Robert did not take a part in the play, but he went with the others to serenade the peasants and deliver the invitations.

It seemed to him, used to Christmas festivity as he was, that he had never seen such festivity as that of this German Christmas. It started weeks before Christmas, of course; the celebration of Advent Sundays with pine wreaths and candles and carols and special *Andachts* and music and also,—it must be admitted, of prime importance to German school children,—very extra special "spreads." Then there was the visit of Knecht Rupprecht on December 6, a ceremonial, somewhat similar to the visit of St. Nicholas in Holland, with jokes and remembrances, and traditional rewards for good children, and theoretically, also with the traditional

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switch) for the less good,—only in sentimental German holiday making, it seemed, the less good could not be found. But all this was the merest foreshadowing of what was to come;—the school tree, the loveliest and tallest pine the Odenwald afforded and the dining-room could hold, the Christmas feast, the individual trees for each group also brought in from the wood for the group's separate celebration, the presents mysteriously made in shop and studio by the members of the group for each other and for special friends in other groups, the presents proudly exhibited to be taken home to parents and friends, the outdoor tree, candle-trimmed only and possible only on clear and windless night, best-loved of any of the Christmas rites. Only the Christmas tree committee knew the location of this tree, but at dusk of the last evening the whole school hunted through the wood for the first shine of its candles; when it was found and all were assembled, Paulus by the light of the candles read the story of the Nativity,—this is the only Bible reading in the course of the school year,—and they sang against those tenderest of Christmas songs *Heilige Nacht* (Holy Night) and *O du Froeliche* (Oh you Joyous). Then, one by one, the smallest children first, each took a candle from the tree and led the way home through the silent snowy wood. From then on joy was unconfined, until some horrifyingly late hour when the last lingering group celebrations broke up and their leaders, awake once more to ordinary responsibilities, bundled their sleepy but excited charges off to bed. Then the more adventurous older students fared forth, knapsack laden, to walk the long, lonely, snowy miles to the station for the earliest and most impossible of vacation trains.

About once in three months Robert's mother received a report which differed from any report she had ever received of him before. It dealt only incidentally with his standing in particular subjects but dwelt at length on his health and growth, his tastes and aptitudes, his development and personal qualities, his social usefulness, and his adaptability to the school life. These reports were written by the head of the school, but preceding the writing the school career of the particular child would be discussed at a meeting of the Teachers' Conference, and the report would be a sort of composite of the views of his course teachers, his group leader, the school nurse, and the head of the school himself. On receiving them, and also Robert's growingly articulate letters, his mother frequently felt she was coming to know more of her son than she had at home. It came to her, too, and with increasing conviction, that this German school offered something to his young spirit which schools in other countries did not as yet generally offer; that these educators had indeed come near to establishing the "Realm of Youth." Whether such a realm could be established in America, for instance, under its different conditions, and she came from that country—whether the European, especially the German experiments, offer anything other countries could take over and adapt, she does not know, but she, for one, would be glad to see the experiment tried. Meanwhile, she is glad that Robert will return some day, with a personal experience of an authentic democracy that has worked.

Making Swaraj Safe—For The Givers

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

POLITICAL India, almost to a unit, spurned the Lords and Commoners to whom Parliament had delegated the task of enquiring into the Indian constitutional problem. Even many of the Indians who had taken a more or less prominent part in breaking up the non-co-operation movement of 1921 joined in the boycott directed against them.

Born in a Baptist preacher's home, Sir John Simon—the Chairman of the Commission—must have been admonished from his infancy to turn the right cheek to any one who smote him on the left. Some of his colleagues, too, must have received the same teaching.

The Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" has not, however, fallen into desuetude even in Christendom. The blood of Moses, in fact, flows in the veins of many men who dominate public life in Britain as in other countries in Europe.

So far as I can see, nothing appears in

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the pages of the Report issued by the Simon Commission that would give the impression that they harbour any ill-will towards their Indian boycotters. Expressions of a benevolent nature—of the desire to help the Indian intelligentsia to get over the constitutional handicaps under which they now labour—are, on the contrary, strewn through that document. Judged by these indications, the Commissioners have rewarded insult with kindness.

If, however, the recommendations made by the "Simon Seven" are to be the criterion, an entirely different impression is obtained. Examined individually or collectively, they are undoubtedly aimed at destroying such influence as Indians are at present able to exert upon the formulation and administration of Indian policy.

The Commission have pronounced the death sentence upon the Indian Legislative Assembly, which, though elected upon the narrow franchise enforced from Whitehall and hedged in with severe constitutional limitations, has contested the right of the Executive to have things their own way. The creature that is to replace it is so designed by them that it will never be able to develop a backbone.

A series of recommendations would fasten the blight of bureaucracy even more tightly than to-day upon the nascent Indian democracy. Created according to their specifications, the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors would be more completely out of legislative reach than the holders of those offices are under the present dispensation. If the recommendations they have made be adopted, Indians would at no date be able to acquire the competence to protect their frontiers or even to order economic affairs to suit the national exigencies. As the inevitable result of certain proposals made by them the existing sectional differences would become intensified and cleavage would occur along new lines. The Simon scheme of semi-*swaraj*, if imposed upon India, would indeed give permanence to her tutelage.

II

Would a scheme less prejudicial to the cause of Indian constitutional development have emanated from the Simon Commission if political India had not been so openly contemptuous of it and so flagrantly hostile to it?

A clear and definite answer to this question is furnished by the march of events in Ceylon during a parallel period. In 1927 a similar Commission was sent out to the Island. Like the Simon Commission it consisted entirely of Britons—two Conservatives, one Labourite and one Anglo-Jew who, I believe, subscribed to the Liberal doctrines and had extensive colonial experience. At the time of their appointment some opposition was manufactured by certain Sinhalese politicians: but when the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues arrived they were received without any manifestation of ill-will. Their urbanity of manner soon smothered any smouldering spark of suspicion. Every section of political opinion, every racial and economic element, readily came forward to co-operate with them. Every witness who expressed the desire to give evidence before them, no matter how callow, was received by the Commission and his views formally recorded. The Commissioners participated freely in the social life of the capital and the other towns that they visited. The *soirée* that they gave just prior to their departure for Britain on February 4, 1928, was a brilliant affair and great cordiality prevailed between the guests and the hosts.

A few months later, when the Report of the Donoughmore Commission was published, there was consternation in Ceylon. The members of the Ceylon Legislative Council were represented as hectoring and bullying the high officials—mostly British. A series of recommendations were made whereby legislators would, in future, have no real power in any matter "affecting the pay and allowances, pensions, prospects and conditions of service of public officers." (P. 131, Donoughmore Commission Report.) Other proposals abridged equally important legislative proposals.

The general trend of the Donoughmore recommendations was to take Ceylon off the road leading to Dominionhood, on which her feet were set. Instead of making the Executive responsible to the legislature, as is the case in Britain and the British Dominions, the legislature was placed completely at the mercy of the Governor, sent out from Britain and owing no responsibility to any authority in the Island.

Since I have dealt with these proposals at some length in previous contributions to the *Modern Review*, no object would be served by examining them again. Nor is it

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necessary for me to relate here the means used originally by the Donoughmore Commission and subsequently by the Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley) to induce the Ceylonese legislators to surrender important powers and privileges. I have already exposed, in the pages of this *Review*, the subterfuges they employed for that purpose.

The cordiality shown by the Ceylonese politicians to the constitutional commission sent out from Downing Street did not save them from the barbed shafts of the Commissioners. The co-operation that the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues received from all sections of Ceylonese did not influence them to recommend to the Colonial Office a measure that would make the British loosen their hold upon Ceylonese affairs. The scheme that they adumbrated was indeed calculated to increase the obstacles that stood in the way of Ceylon becoming a Dominion.

I, for one, am of the opinion that the Simon Commission recommendations would have been no less prejudicial to the development of a self-governing India if there had been no boycott of the Commission by our people. In my view the result would have been substantially if not exactly the same even if Indians had co-operated with the "Simon Seven" as the Ceylonese had co-operated with the Donoughmore Commission, or if Downing Street had found a way by which Indians could have been placed upon the Commission itself.

III

The Simon Commission scheme is being regarded in India as an isolated manifestation of British Imperialism. This tendency is only natural. The struggle to win *swaraj* has for years been so all-absorbing that it has left little time and less inclination to study similar movements abroad even in other parts of the British Empire. The pontifical prescience with which Sir John Simon and his colleagues have indulged in platitudes, moreover, serves to give the impression that their production is *sui generis*—a thing apart.

Rightly regarded, the Simon scheme is only one manifestation of the determination upon the part of the governing classes in Britain to tighten their grip upon the British Orient. For years Britons who were as brainy as they were reactionary have been hard at work manufacturing a special brand of democracy. They have put such ingenuity into brewing it that they can guarantee it to foam and froth and taste like the genuine article; but it can be consumed *ad lib* without going to the head.

The four Britons who composed the Donoughmore Commission drew a quantity of this brew from the common vat. They added to it such ingredients and colouring matter as, in their judgment, were needed to make it attractive to Ceylonese eyes and pleasant to the Ceylonese taste.

The seven Britons who composed the Simon Commission filled their measures from the same vat. They were much too shrewd to ignore the special brand of democracy that the Donoughmore Commission had concocted, though the community for which it has been prepared was small. Nor did they ignore the mixtures that had been privately manufactured by Imperialist reactionaries. Drawing their supplies from various sources, they added their own flavouring and colouring matter to the resultant julep and served it to our people.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues know that they have not succeeded in making their product attractive to Indians. They are not the men to despair, however. They saw how the Ceylonese who objected to the British brew eventually were persuaded, with the help of the relish provided by the Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Passfield) at the suggestion of the Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley), to swallow the draught at one gulp and kept it down. The "Simon Seven" expect that history will repeat itself in India.

IV

The manufacture of this brown brand of democracy was begun in Lord Morley's time—towards the end of the first decade of the present century. He took the view, it may be recalled, that parliamentary government—or "Dominion status," as we would now put it—was not suited to our genius. It would be as useful to us as a Canadian fur coat would be upon the Indian plains.

Agitation had, however, become clamant. Even the "Moderates" were striking a strident note.

Since government could not be carried on in India without the adhesion of at

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least a section of the modern politicians, it was imperative that action be taken that would at least appear to be a departure from the existing system. Calcutta (then India's winter capital) and Downing Street co-operated in hammering out a scheme that won the approbation of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and other Indian leaders of like mind.

The Indian element in the Central and Provincial Councils was to be strengthened. The officials were to continue to possess a clear and definite (though reduced) majority: but the non-officials were to be in a majority in each of the provincial legislatures. Other concessions of considerable importance (as they were advertised at the time) were also to be made.

A number of safe-guards introduced into the scheme to preserve to the Civil Servants (then even more preponderatingly British than they are to-day) their monopoly of power. Lord Morley, to begin with, consented to franchise qualifications calculated to keep the liberal element weak in the central and provincial legislatures and to overload those bodies with landlords and members of other capitalistic classes, both Indian and British. He also conceded representation to Muslims upon a basis that would deflect them from the general national current and accentuate the separatist tendencies that a group of them had shown since the early days of the Indian National Congress. Nominees of officials were, moreover, to sit in all the legislatures side by side with elected representatives of the people and to take part in the deliberations and exercise the voting privilege. The various interests in the provincial legislatures were so cleverly balanced one against the other that the non-official majority conceded in principle would be almost impossible of achievement in actual practice.

The safe-guards inserted in the original scheme were reinforced by the Secretariat as it framed rules and regulations to give effect to the Parliamentary Act of 1909. One of our own countrymen—Mr. (afterwards Sir Satyendra Prasanna and still later the Lord) Sinha—presided over the department to which that particular work was entrusted. His presence, however, apparently made no difference.

This official manoeuvre enraged Gokhale, in whose breast the longing to make his people the equal of any in the world burned fiercely. It had exactly the same effect upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Bhupendranath Basu, and other leaders elected to the various legislatures. It put the "Moderates" upon their mettle. They went into the legislature determined to utilize every opportunity, however small, that the constitution gave them to make legislation as well as administration conform to the Indian will as much as possible. Even some of the Muslims who were expected to hold themselves aloof from the Hindus, felt the call of the Motherland. Mazhural Haque and others unhesitatingly and unreservedly supported their Hindu colleagues in the effort to prevent the Executive from restricting (if not extinguishing) freedom of press and speech. Even some of the men who owed their seats in the legislature to official benevolence found themselves irresistibly drawn into the movement for the vindication of popular rights.

These signs of the time were not lost upon the ruling caste, ever on the watch for straws that showed the direction in which the wind blew. Alarmed lest the legislative movement may sooner or later prejudicially affect its monopoly of power, it took action to entrench itself and, if possible, to increase its powers, privileges, opportunities and emoluments.

The Indian Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Islington made a series of recommendations that tightened the British hold upon the services. They enunciated, for the first time, the theory that the "I. C. S." and the "I. P." were services of special importance; and emphasized the need of the British element in them.

Lord Islington and his colleagues did not, perhaps, possess the genius for flamboyant phraseology, or such phraseology may have been regarded as tactless. It was left for Mr. David Lloyd George and others to talk of those two devices as the "security services," "safety services," "key services," and the like. They, however, invented nothing but the wording. The basic ideas had been incorporated in the Islington Report.

Among the men who manufactured the theory was the present Prime Minister. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald represented British Labour on the Islington Commission. Some years ago Lord Islington pointedly drew my attention to the fact that that Labour leader

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who had served with him on the Commission had not entered any caveat against the enunciation of this doctrine—appended no note of dissent to it in the Report.

V

Legislative power continued, however, to grow, particularly in the provinces, despite the difficulties created by the Morley-Minto Constitution and despite all the official manoeuvres. Before the Great War had ended, the non-official majority had become an actuality in more than one province and the Executive had no alternative but to obey the mandate of the people's representatives.

Bengal, which Lord Curzon had tried in vain to cleave in twain, took the lead in this matter. The non-official *bloc* in the provincial legislature had acquired such remarkable solidarity that the Executive could not count upon being able to push through the Council any piece of legislation which roused Indian opposition.

The Government of Bengal, desirous of arming themselves with a measure to restrict freedom of action and movement after the signing of the Armistice even more stringently than they had been able to do while the war was raging, were, in consequence, driven to adopt an entirely different course. Through the good offices of the Central Government an enquiry that purported to be of a general character was set on foot and a Judge of the British High Court (Mr. Justice Rowlatt) was brought out to preside over it. A Bill based upon the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission was subsequently introduced in the Central legislature and encountered uncompromising opposition from Indians of all races and creeds. Even the Government nominees openly allied themselves with the elected members.

The facts that I have related are beyond disputation. Even Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round Table group admitted them to me shortly after the events occurred. He did not deem it politic to publish his opinions on this subject at the time; but some time after the scheme of constitutional reform that he had wet-nursed had been passed by Parliament, he issued a book in which he frankly embodied them.

Even greater admissions were made by Sir James (now the Baron) Meston when he, as Finance Member of the Government of India, appeared before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill in 1919. In his evidence he stated, with remarkable naïveté, that the officials were prepared to support a modified scheme of diarchy inasmuch as it would enable them to deal with certain difficulties that had arisen in the legislature.

VI

With the passage of the Government of India Act on the eve of the break-up of Parliament for the Christmas recess in 1919, the governing caste in India had secured for themselves a position of vantage incomparably superior to any that they had held before. They had managed to evade completely and so far as they could see for ever the fate assigned to public servants in any part of the legislature as the supreme authority and the subordination of the Services to that authority, just as was the case in Britain.

That had not been the original intention of the author of diarchy. He had provided, in the scheme as he had shaped it, for the subjection of the public servants to legislative control.

The bureaucracy, headed by Sir James Meston (as he then was) would have nothing to do with such a proposal. They had been supreme under the old system, in spite of talk about control exercised by Parliament from London. They meant to remain supreme. They, therefore, seized the opportunity presented by the constitutional reform upon which Edwin Samuel Montagu had embarked to deal the legislative system a staggering blow.

As the result of this victory, three main results were achieved :

(1) the power that the legislative councils were acquiring over the services was broken ;

(2) the Budget in the provinces was bifurcated : and the major portion was placed outside legislative control ; and

(3) the Governor-General was empowered to issue, without legislative assent and even in the face of legislative opposition, ordinances having the effect of law for a limited period.

In all these respects the hands of the clock of progress were set back. The Montagu-Chelmsford Act was, nevertheless, hailed by most of our leaders as a great step in advance. Rightly interpreted, how-

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ever, it took India off the road leading towards Dominionhood—made her fly off at a tangent.

The Lee Commission followed. They enhanced the emoluments of permanent officials and created a scheme whereby the British element could receive "Overseas allowances." What was even more important, they extinguished such control as, despite all precautions that had been taken, the legislatures were able to exercise over the officials.

VII

The Donoughmore Commission found Ceylon, in 1927, in much the same condition, legislatively speaking, as that in which India had been on the eve of the Great War. The unofficials in the Legislative Council had a clear and decisive majority over the officials. They were divided by race, religion and caste. Their economic interests were not the same. Despite these diversities, however, they had acted with such vigour that the officials had become nervous as to their ability to retain their monopoly of power unimpaired.

It would have been easy enough for the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues to apply the Indian diarchic experience to Ceylon. Diarchy had, however, got a bad name long before they landed in Colombo. Discretion, therefore, counselled them to borrow from the Montagu-Chelmsford Act and the Lee Commission Report without acknowledging the source of their inspiration; and to give a unitary complexion to the diarchic devices that they had appropriated.

The men composing the Donoughmore Commission were, moreover, ambitious. They were anxious to go further in the way of securing the services against legislative interference and annoyance than had been possible in India. They were also desirous of safe-guarding Imperial interests and the financial and economic interests of their countrymen in Ceylon in a manner that had not yet been attempted across the narrow Palk Strait. In their effort to attain these objects they, therefore, made a series of recommendations that are of special interest to us at this juncture because they appear to have caught the fancy of the "Simon Seven" who have incorporated them, in a somewhat modified form, in the Indian Constitutional Commission Report.

In addition to ending every vestige of legislative control over the permanent officials the Donoughmore Commission recommended that those officials be given the "right to retire on proportionate pension with compensation for loss of career." This right, they declared,

".. should be secured by the new Constitution and we recommend for its application three principles should be laid down:

(1) that the right should be unqualified,

(2) that it should extend to all officers, whether European or Ceylonese, who are now in the service of the Ceylon Government, or who may have been deputed for such service before the publication of the Commission's Report, and whose appointments are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State (for the Colonies),

(3) that it should be a continuous option lasting not for a specific period but throughout the period of each officer's service under the Ceylon Government." (P. 128. Donoughmore Commission Report.)

What could be more natural than the wish upon the part of Sir John Simon and his fellow-parliamentarians to place the permanent officials upon as advantageous a basis as those in Ceylon? Hence the recommendation that the opportunity of "retirement on proportionate pension" should "remain open without limit of time to any officer who might, under the present rules, have so retired upon the coming into force of the constitutional change proposed." It is further recommended that any official who may be compelled to surrender the Ministerial portfolio placed in his charge should be paid a pension at an enhanced rate. In this connection I may also call attention to the proposal that "special additions to the standard pensions" should be given to "officers who have borne the heavy strain of Governorship." The Donoughmore Commission did not show similar tenderness towards the member of the Colonial Service occupying the office of Governor, or the official "Ministers" in his Cabinet.

To ensure that no authority in Ceylon—legislative or executive—would have the power prejudicially to affect the interests of the services, the Donoughmore Commission recommended that the Royal Instructions issued to each Governor should contain a specific injunction forbidding him to assent in the name of His Majesty to "any Bill whereby the public servants may be prejudiced." (P. 74, Donoughmore Commission Report).

Financial and economic interests were safe-guarded in a similar manner. The Royal

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Instructions issued to the Governor will require him to refuse assent to

"...any Bill whereby the financial stability of the Island is endangered...." and "...any Bill relating to or affecting trade outside the Island, or docks, harbours, shipping..."

The comprehensive character of these provisions is apparent upon the surface. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the British preponderate in finance, trade and industry (mostly agricultural) in the Island.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues have made recommendations equally comprehensive to safe-guard similar British interests in the Indian provinces. The list of reservations compiled by them bears a strong resemblance to that inserted in the Donoughmore Commission Report.

A three-fold check is, in fact, to be imposed in India.

First, the Governor of an Indian province is to have reserve powers in certain spheres including minority interests, discriminatory legislation, financial legislation and matters pertaining to the services.

Secondly, provincial legislation cannot take effect without the prior assent of the Governor-General ; and

Thirdly, provincial legislation (as also all central legislation) is to be subject to His Majesty's veto.

VIII

The devices patented by the Donoughmore Commission for establishing the supremacy of the Governor over legislation and administration, in normal times as well as on occasions of emergency, have not been lost upon the "Simon Seven." I regret I do not have the space to refer to these devices in detail and must, therefore, content myself with calling attention to the general principles enunciated in this respect. This is the apologia that the Donoughmore Commission offered for greatly enhancing the powers of the Governor instead of reducing them in consonance with the practice elsewhere in the Empire" :

"Our central aim in devising a new constitution has been the devolution on the inhabitants of Ceylon of the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safe-guards in the background. It follows then that the executive responsibility of the Governor must be *pro tanto* diminished. But here we are faced with a paradox. For with every transference of responsibility to representative organs the Governor must be given such additional reserve powers as will enable him to see that this responsibility is not wrongly exercised." (P. 72, Donoughmore Commission Report).

The meaning is plain. Oriental subjects of the British Crown are not fit to be trusted with anything like decisive power over their affairs ; and hence processes that led to the elevation of British subjects of European stock to be undivided masters of their destiny must be reversed.

The Simon Commission appear to be of the same opinion. No wonder that they deemed it prudent to eschew reference to "Dominion Status" ; or that their recommendations are designed to make Indians even more helpless in respect of defence and civil administration than they are to-day. As a newspaper controlled by Lord Rothermere (who for some reason or other has placed himself in the vanguard of British enemies of India) openly stated under the caption : "Death-blow to Dominion Status :"

"...the scheme of federalization which they propose is totally new and has innumerable arguments in its favour. One of the strongest is that it will virtually eliminate the mischievous cry for the grant of 'Dominion status'." (*Daily Mail*, June 24, 1930).

IX

The concern that the "Simon Seven" show for Indians is all a sham. They have concern only for the British interests that have become intermingled with Indian affairs. These interests may broadly be classified under three general heads, namely :

(1) the public service—more especially the "Indian Civil Service" and the Indian Police ;

(2) the British Garrison and the British element in the Indian Army and

(3) the British financial and economic interests.

The means recommended to conserve these ends are neither original nor subtle : but they are practical and comprehensive. They would successfully prevent Indians, for all time, from tampering with these interests. If all the powers that they have recommended Parliament to devolve upon Indians were actually conceded, the present rulers of India would continue to dominate Indian policy and administration ; and the hold of the British civil and military castes over Indian affairs would be, if anything, tighter than it is to-day.

The "Simon Seven" have, in other words, made *swaraj* safe—for the givers.

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The Fetish of Race Genius

No anthropological term has been more misused than the word "race." Its convenient ambiguity has given shelter to a whole host of prejudices, national, cultural and religious, and it required the labour of two generations of anthropologists to relegate the word to its proper scientific connotation. But while the phrase is no longer to be heard in competent thinking circles, the thing still survives, under another name and in another form, and people still speak of the genius of a particular people for a particular thing, and about his incompetence for other vocations. Against this notion, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar utters a vigorous protest in *The Indian Review*. He says :

On the eve of a new constitutional agitation, the political workers and economic statesmen of India are facing once more the commonplace philosophy which says that certain races are incapable of some of the desirable qualities of human beings. In one form or another, this platitude is the stock-in-trade not only of the thinkers in Europe and America but of a very large number of Indian intellectuals as well. While the foreigners claim that India is *not capable* of constitutional and economic advance along the standard lines as embodied in Western history, a section of our own thinkers is prepared to meet them half-way by admitting that it is *not desirable* for India to move along the same lines. The grounds advanced by both these groups of thinkers are identical, and may be taken to be fundamentally as follows : The spirit, tradition or culture of India is, we are assured on both sides, different from that of the West.

This attitude in regard to India *vis-ā-vis* the West is not, however, an isolated phenomenon in modern thought. It is part of an all-embracing culture-philosophy which was born perhaps with Hegel about a century ago and has never ceased to find expression throughout the last three generations.

Contemporary political and social thought is indeed sicklied o'er with the alleged distinctions between people and people on account of race, region and religion. But an objective approach to the realities of civilisation, epoch by epoch and people by people, would not fail to demolish the pseudo-scientific notions regarding the much-talked of diversities in outlook, mentality, achievements, consummations and what not, that have been prevailing in the world of science for some long time. Notwithstanding the divergences of latitude and longitude, and notwithstanding the differences in the make up of the blood among the different races, anthropology as well as modern and contemporary history furnish us with what may be described as equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as attainments of the historic nations of the world.

—

Economic Tendencies in India

In a lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club and published in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. R. W. Brock gives an account of the economic tendencies in India. The conclusions at which he arrives in his survey are as follows :

(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve, any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture,

(2) That the activities of the Agricultural Departments, although essential and beneficial, have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living.

(3) That the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated. is, at best, only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness,

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully, and for two reasons : (1) as already noted, the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator ; (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and cousumption in India afford a good illustration. In 1927-28 the production of India's 306 cotton mills totalled 2,357 million yards against 1,973 million yards imported. That is to say, in that year, the Indian mills made well over half the total Indian demand for mill-made goods. In order to achieve this output the Indian mills employed well under 400,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipment cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient and up-to-date than competing mills abroad, and that means that, sooner or later, Indian mills will be forced to instal automatic looms which, according to reliable testimony, are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill worker, it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills, equipped with automatic looms, could, with the aid of 500,000 workers (only 100,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is, for many reasons, not

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immediate possibility, and the figures quoted are intended only to illustrate the trend of events. In Japan where there are already 15,000 automatic looms in operation, economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

In India, mass consumption, on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production, can be created, only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced, and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production. So long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries, employing modern machinery, occupy a position comparable only to a motor car "paced" by a bullock-cart.

To sum up, the three R's of economic development in India are rural reconstruction ; rationalisation of urban industries ; and "Rationing" of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

—

How to Meet the Demand for Swadeshi Cloth

Referring to the shortage of cloth production in India Mira writes in *Young India* :

Even if all the production of the mills in India were available for consumption as Swadeshi cloth we should have a shortage of some 200 crores of yards. But as a matter of fact some 20 per cent of the mill spindles and looms in India are owned and managed by foreigners, and the production of these cannot be counted as Swadeshi cloth. This increases the shortage by some 50 crores of yards, bringing up the total shortage, with which we have got to deal, to some 250 crores of yards.

What, then is to be done ?

The mills can work day and night and increase their production to some extent in various ways. But the great increase of output, and the setting of our masses on a sound economic basis for Swaraj, must be looked for in Khadi.

But even Khadi will require a little time to make up the shortage. The whole country has got to take to spinning, and the yarn has got to be woven into cloth at a time when nearly all our experienced organizers are in jail. Some special scheme must, therefore, be practised as an emergency measure. And this must be *self-rationing.*

Pandit Matilalji and others have already told us of this necessity. Let us, therefore, take up the matter in real earnest, and see what we can do.

The maximum number of sets (*sari* etc. or *dhoti* etc.) that a person should now think of using is four, and the minimum may be counted as two. For the last four years I have found three sets per year to be ample for my requirements, and I am sure none of us need complain of a patriotic 'war-time' measure which requires us not to use more than four sets of clothes in the year.

In this way the rush on Khadi, which is leading to a dangerous situation, as mentioned elsewhere in this issue, and the breathing space required for increasing Khadi organisation and setting up home production, can be achieved.

This little sacrifice is not much, when we think of the great object in view.

—

The Message of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi

On June 20, a conference of Indian women met in London, of which Mrs. Graham, the wife of the President of the Board of Trade in the present British Cabinet, was the Vice-President. To her Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Ex-Deputy President, Madras Legislative Council sent the following message on the Indian situation.

Gandhiji is the very soul of India. He is the only Indian in whom India has confidence because he is not only a politician of a very high order, but also an earnest and sincere social reformer and social worker and a friend of the poor and the depressed. Being the very embodiment of truth, love and justice, he is considered infallible by many and his spirit of service and of sacrifice in all good causes has won the hearts of millions in India. It is an honest and incontrovertible fact that the majority of Indians share his political views and opinions on the British administration in India. He is the apostle of *Ahimsa* and non-violence. He is rightly convinced that if India is to live and if India's millions are to be saved from the appalling ill health, poverty, ignorance, from suffering, starvation and death and above all if they are to become honest and honourable citizens of the world, their country must be granted immediate Dominion Status. That a subject race can never grow to its full mental, moral, spiritual and even physical height is a well known maxim. India has too long been a subject country. All our social evils, caste and communal differences and our social backwardness are the natural outcome of a slave mentality. Therefore, when Lord Irwin did not give a satisfactory reply to the famous eleven demands of Gandhiji's he started the civil disobedience campaign. Thousands of men and women who readily followed his example are in jail, the flower of the nation, the best men and women of India are sharing the prison with him. From almost all the Indian Press security has been demanded. While some have refused, others continue after having deposited the required amount. India's greatest woman, poetess, and genius, the world-known Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, has been arrested and many other women leaders, my friends and co-workers, are in prison. A small body of the Mahomedan population protests against the civil disobedience while the advanced among them condemn the Government action. Martial Law has been proclaimed in Sholapur, a district in the Bombay presidency. As the prisons are full of political prisoners the Government of India has ordered the police to use violence on the satyagrahis to invalidate them and thus render

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them unfit for active work. The police have broken their limbs with lathi blows, a few have been killed. The Government is trying to kill the movement with police terrorism, with unjust and unlawful repression, with the use of brute violence. India's thinking men and women are pained and desperate. If the Government should persist in their present unwise policy I fear there will be a general rising against the Government which the authorities would find difficult to quell. One must remember that these are not the days of the great Indian Mutiny when provinces had no communication with each other, when there was not one common language, when India was divided and disorganised and the majority of the people ignorant of world history and world conditions. The present day India is different. India is one in its demand for immediate Dominion Status. The thinking and the advanced section of the Mahomedans as well as that of the untouchables and the backward sections realise the emergency of the country's need and demand an immediate remedy.

I will warn the British public through you, a common friend of India and Britain, that if Britain desires to keep India under subjection by force, she will be sorely disappointed. At this hour of trial for both India and Britain a wise policy based on love and justice only will save the situation. The very fact that India's men and women have preferred to break the salt law, that the majority of the Indian Press write in favour of Gandhiji's political programme and even the purdah women have come out of the seclusion to take part in the struggle, is a clear proof that the Government is trying to rule over a country against the wishes of its people. The question is "How long can they go on with their present repressive policy of brute violence and police terrorism?" I have given you a true description of India's political situation. I will be thankful if a few good women like you could convince the British Parliament of its grave blunder and save the world from another world revolution before it is too late.

—

The Religion of Science

This is the heading under which Prof. T. R. Milford discusses certain recent trends of scientific thoughts, especially so far as they concern religion and belief, in *The Young Men of India*. The immediate occasion for this discussion is offered by the publication of the Gifford Lectures delivered by Prof. Eddington and Prof. J. B. S. Haldane.

This denial of soul or of any non-material life-principle might seem to be the prelude to a thorough-going materialism, but it is not so at all. We have already seen that the behaviour of living things cannot be mechanically explained, and the characteristics of life and mind cannot be explained away. Nor can they be added from outside to a mechanical system with which their connection is completely inexplicable. Therefore, says Haldane, they have really been there from the beginning. The difficulties of the interaction of soul and body which have defeated everyone who has tried to explain it, have all arisen from the original materialism which supposed the physical universe to be *merely* material. It is this supposition which seems to render necessary the supplementary assumption of an immaterial conscious soul.

If we could get behind the abstractions of physical science, we should see the world as alive all over, instead of a dead world with life cropping up in it inexplicably here and there—and we should see the world as mind all over instead of as indifferent to mind except where it is organized as human brain. We should see the falsity of the apparent separateness of different living things, ourselves included, and we should see that really we are all what we are because of our unity with one another. Illusion in the intellectual realm and sin in the practical realm is simply the denial in theory and practice of this underlying unity. To him who has the eyes to see, the world is one, and since it is certainly spiritual in the parts we are most directly conscious of, we must suppose it is really spiritual all through; and the Newtonian conception of material things (which is also the "common-sense" one) is merely a very abstract way of describing certain aspects of the world. God is the supreme reality, and the true meaning of religion is to realize one's unity with all creation in Him, who alone is completely real.

All this of course is familiar enough in idealistic philosophy, and familiar enough in India. What is interesting is to find Haldane defending it on the special ground of his own biological research; just as Eddington, though without Haldane's philosophical training and tradition, defends spiritual experience on the ground of the abstractness of mathematical physics.

Haldane is at one with the great majority of modern writers (apart from professing Christians) in rejecting personal immortality. Having rejected the immaterial soul, and having seen the human personality as the "form" of the concrete living being, body, brain and all, he obviously cannot find any basis for it. (Thus he agrees with Bosanquet, and is more logical than Pringle-Pattison, who believes in it in spite of all his own arguments). But Haldane argues also that religious the demand for personal immortality is mistaken and is only part of the recurrent materialism by which we are continually haunted. If we have lived here and now in the life of God, all that is good in us is surely preserved in Him; and we have lived selfishly here and now, cherishing the illusion of separateness, the demand for continued separate existence hereafter has no good claim to gratification. Our individual personalities are but partial manifestations of God, only Person who is wholly real—that is, of God and we find ourselves in losing ourselves in Him. "Faithful and gentle conduct, whether it be recognized or not by men, and whether it be prolonged or cut short, is what unites us with God. Even in the lives of criminals, but particularly in those of children, we can recognize this, as Christ did, and as our greatest literature does. It is only through halting faith in the reality of God that death of the individual seems

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to be an actual or potential disappearance of what is to us of the highest order."

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British Commercial Interests and Government Propaganda

The unskilful piece of propaganda against Swadeshi, launched by the Bombay Government, has had its well-deserved trouncing in the Legislative Assembly. The same activities come in for vigorous condemnation in an editorial note of *The Indian Insurance*:

There was always a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Indian public that the 'John Company' spirit was really ruling this county; but that this spirit is the power that is ruling this country is now confirmed by the propaganda which the Government is now carrying on openly for the sake of British commercial interests in this country. It is evident, however; that the campaign is either entrusted to inexperienced hands or that the Swadeshi movement has upset the British Government to such an extent that clear thinking is not, at any rate, visible in the pamphlet that has just been published by the Government. Nobody can question British commercial interests in carrying on a campaign on behalf of British goods and British institutions. That is perfectly legitimate and will be viewed as part of business methods. But why should the Government of our country actively take sides with British commercial interests under our very nose, particularly at a time when the Swadeshi movement is growing stronger and stronger? Apart from this the statements made in the pamphlet itself are lacking even in the ordinary commercial information. Probably the Government seem to think that any stick is good enough to beat the present Indian movement and so uncomplimentary statements have been made against Indian industries and Indian institutions. Indian banks have been characterised as less stable, and Indian insurance companies as too few in number and they are also accused that taking advantage of all the business being placed with them they will put up rates for insurance, etc. What was the need at all for a comparison between British and Indian banks and insurance companies, if British things were to be boosted? Whatever it is, the fact remains that the strength gained by the Swadeshi movement in this country at the present moment has begun to upset even the strongest of British interests. Fortunately for the country, it knows its interests too well at the present moment and without the aid of Government propaganda the country's industries can be made to prosper by the entire aid of the people. Somebody was remarking the other day that though the present Swadeshi movement is stronger than it ever was on previous occasions, it remains to be seen how far the present enthusiasm will last. That only shows that there are even to-day sceptics in our own country who do not believe that the present spirit will continue for ever. Our own feeling is that the present movement for everything Indian has come to stay and there is no going back, and we would remind the Indian public of their duty to Indian insurance companies

Labour and Civil Disobedience

It has often been asserted that the Congress represents only a minority of the Indian intelligentsia. No view could be more mischievously incorrect. As a matter of fact however, the Congress commands a greater influence over all the various classes and sections of the Indian people than any single organization has ever done in the whole course of Indian history. Mr. Earnest Kirk, the editor of *The Indian Labour Review* is no admirer of the policy of the Congress. Even he is inclined to admit as great a solidarity between the Congress and Indian labour as any Congress-man could claim. In the editorial notes of his paper he writes:

But I must resist the temptation to comment further on this absorbing topic. I should like to have reviewed the attitude of labour to this movement but have already overrun the space alloted for this. Suffice it to say that organized labour in general, which during the last few years has been sedulously wooed and courted by prominent members of the Indian National Congress, including the President himself, is, broadly speaking, on the side of the Congress. In this respect the workers follow their leaders and quite naturally are ready to support any scheme for Swaraj that has a national backing without stopping to bother their heads about the *pros* and *cons* of that scheme. My knowledge of the Indian worker also leads me to the conclusion that this applies also to the majority of Government servants, though of course the latter are not going to risk their jobs unnecessarily by openly identifying themselves with the Satyagrahis, and a fair proportion of them would prefer to see India reach her goal by other methods. But if the worst comes to the worst and a scheme for Dominion Status with the necessary safeguards is rejected by the British Parliament, and India drifts into the dark and bloody back-waters of Sinn Feinism, organised labour, which has suffered terribly in the bitter school of experience and which is already beginning to realise its strength, will not be with the Government. And it must never for moment be forgotten that some Unions are under the influence of Communists, who in the case of an out and out revolution, would, as they did in China, make a bold bid for power. Meanwhile whatever individual Trade Unionists may do, Trade Unions as such should refrain from committing themselves to a campaign of lawlessness.

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A British M. P. on British Rule in India

Mr. Peter Freeman is the Chairman of the newly established Commonwealth of India League. He writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Britain is pledged to rule India for India's benefit. Have we done so? I leave the above facts to tell their own tale. The Indians have

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demanded the right to rule themselves, to manage their own affairs. Our record hardly savours of unselfish or good government. We are some times told that the Indian masses would suffer if India was given Home Rule. The condition could hardly be worse than they are to-day after Britain's attempts and experiments for over a century. The legislatures that we have created in India do not represent the masses, they are based on high property qualifications. Nor have we done much more than place the heaviest burden of taxation on the poorest classes.

These things must be changed. Great Britain cannot do it. We can however help India to do it herself. This is the wise course. No nation is good enough to rule another. Unfortunately we have delayed matters so long as to make ourselves distrusted in India and to-day large section of the people are unwilling to confer and negotiate with us. Still all is not yet lost. The earlier we can establish Self-Government in India with her consent and co-operation, the better for us all.

The Labour Party is pledged to the hilt. Congresses and Conferences have year after year passed resolutions urging Self-Government and Self-Determination for India. The Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) said in 1928 that he hoped India would become a Dominion 'in months rather than years."

No one could deny it is a great problem, perhaps one of the greatest the world has ever had to face. A press of vast influence, vested interests of tremendous power, reactionary forces of all kinds are being rallied against India with all their subtlety and guile. The task is beset with difficulties. Negotiations and adjustments are undoubtedly necessary. Difficult and delicate questions have to be threshed out. There are matters for statesmen on either side. Vision, courage and commonsense above all, are wanted for their solution.

We are here however concerned with principles. No time and no effort must be lost in making it abundantly clear to our Government and the Opposition Parties in the House of Commons that we mean to suffer no derogation of our pledges or our principles. The voice of India must be heard. Her legitimate claim is for a free and full partnership in the British Commonwealth. In honour and duty bound we can offer India nothing less than a partnership based on the equality of Dominion Status. To do anything less would be to head for disasters and to belie our own traditions and to imperil our future. It is a task which has come as a challenge to our generation. Let us prove ourselves equal to the opportunity.

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Judicial Opinions on the Press Act of 1910

The new Press Ordinance and its havoc is the subject of a well-informed article in the same paper. As every body knows this Ordinance is only a re-enactment, by purely executive authority, of the Press Act of 1910. It is interesting therefore to recall in this connection the strong judicial condemnation of the previous Act :

The repealed Act had been judicially condemned in scathing language, so far as judical propriety and decorum permitted, by eminent judges like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Abdur Rahim. In the famous case of the forfeiture of Mr. Mahomed Ali's pamphlet, which the Advocate-General of the Calcutta High Court had admitted was not seditious, and did not offend against any provisions of the criminal law of the land, the very weighty observations of Sir Lawrence Jenkins deserve to be quoted in this connection. He said:—"But he (the Advocate-General) has contended, and rightly in my opinion that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the criminal law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that however meritorious the pamphlet may be, still if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for an applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of his Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further, and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly, or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all, for we find the Legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase or 'otherwise'. It is difficult to see to what length the operation of this Section (Sec. 4) might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval." Similarly Sir Abdur Rahim, as Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, declared (in the *New India* security case) that the provisions of the Act of 1910 were "so sweeping, so comprehensive and dangerous as to make the profession of printing and newspaper enterprise a most hazardous and risky occupation." Sir Lawrence Jenkins, on this particular question also, declared that the terms of Sec. 4 "invest the local Government with a discretion so large and unfettered that the keepings of printing presses and the publication of newspapers is becoming and extremely hazardous undertaking in this country." Surely, after these emphatic judicial declarations in condemnation of the Act of 1910—a milder measure than the latest press ordinance—it would be waste of time and energy to attempt any condemnation of the viceregal fiat. It were more useful, however, to judge of the likelihood of the success of the present measure, in the light of the past experience gained of the working of the repealed Press Act.

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Training in Trade Unionism

Though Trade Unionism in inevitably spreading over India, its progress is not as steady as it might have been expected owing to the lack of the education among workers and their inexperience of Trade Union methods and principles. From this point of view no better service could be rendered to Indian labour than the establishment of schools for giving training in Trade Unionism to the workers of this country. *The E. B. Ry. Labour Review* writes on this subject :

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In our January issue of the current year we discussed about the possibility of starting Trade Union schools on the lines of those that are being periodically organised by the Trade Unions in far-off lands. The Trade Unions Congress in Great Britain held their summer school in July, 1929, with commendable success. The International Federation of Trade Unions are now organising another such teaching session in Berlin. We draw the attention of our Trade Unions Congress to the following that appeared in the "Educational notes" of the *Railway Service Journal*. It is hoped that the Executivive to the Trade Unions Congress here will yet take a leaf out of what is practised in other lands to bring out as many well-disciplined and well-organised Trade Unionists, as could be possible to get to serve the "Labouring Millions" for whose benefit they have taken a vow to dedicate their lives. A well-trained and disciplined Trade Unionist is many a time superior to a hundred ignorant and undisciplined workers. This is a necessity at the the present time when the country is pulsating with a new life and the Trade Unions Congress will be distinctly profitted by this method of organisation. It is a constructive idea and fraught with immense possibilities. *The Railway Service Journal* writes :—

"The International Federation of Unions is organising a Summer School in Berlin from 24th to 31st August, 1930 for Trade Unions Officers, paid or unpaid. The British Trade Unions Congress have applied for four places at the School, and are prepared to grant four scholarships to members of affiliated Unions who hold some official possition . . . . . The General Council of the Trade Unions Congress, is also offering six scholarships open to male and female members of its affiliated Unions tenable at Ruskin College, Oxford, for the College year 1930-31. The awards will be made by the General Council as a result of an examination, *plus* evidence of attendance at evenining classes and of activity in local trade union affairs"

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Communism and Religion

The missionary zeal for propagating their doctrines shown by the Communists of Russia is difficult of explanation if we assume Communism to be nothing more than a political or economic creed. Recent thinkers have therefore approached it from another point of view, and they would lay more stress on what they consider its religious affinities. This parallelism between Communism and religion prompts the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* to write :

We Hindus always believe that religion is a constitutional necessity of men. If we are deprived of our existing religions, new religions will grow to take their place. This fact has been strikingly demonstrated by Russian Communism. Our readers must be aware how Russia has been leading an anti-religious campaign for some time with disastrous results to the Christian Church in Russia ....

The campaign against religion is an imparative necessity with Communism. "Religion is the opium of the people," said Karl Marx. Marx also said : "Destroy the social world of which religion is the spiritual aroma and you destroy religion. . . . Religion is the flower that cover the chains. Destroy the flowers and the chains will been." Communism is convinced of the truth of Marx's words. There are two ideas in them. One is that if the present politico-economical system is destroyed, religion will also decay. The other is that if religion is directly attacked, it will expose the "chains" hidden by religion and thereby the creation of the new system will be hastened. Russian Communism is earnestly carrying both lines of attack. This is the significance of the Russian struggle.

It cannot denied that religion has oftentimes allied itself with the powers that be, especially in the West, and especially so in Russia where the Czar was the head of both the State and the Church. Religion has made another mistake. For good or for evil, it has often lent its colour to socio-economic and political institutions, customs, conventions and systems, which naturally cannot be either perfect or permanent. If these were not sanctified by religion, people could easily reform or reject them with the growth of knowledge and experience. But religion made them sacred. And now the evils of these really secular institutions have been transferred to the account of religion, and religion is considered guilty of them. The bitterness of Bolshevik Russia against religion is mostly due to this. Religion has indeed, in the West, often stood against the progress of science and secular improvement. We in India have been more fortunate in this respect, though it is true that the connection of religion with the socio-economic institutions in India also has not been quite fortunate. In this respect, India may well take warning from the anti-religious propaganda of Communism. There is a section of Indians, orthodox they call themselves, who raise the cry—"Religion in danger!" whenever any reform in the social body is proposed. Unless they learn wisdom betimes, religion will really be in danger. The tendency of India is to allow the greatest possible liberalism in religion. Had it existed in Russia, there is great doubt if to-day Communism had taken the attitude it has done against religion. The fundamental thesis of Communism is not wrong ; it wants to ensure equal opportunities and rights for all in the body politic. All must have equally the blessings of life. Though in details we may disagree with the Communists, we also sincerely want that all should have, as far as possible, equal rights and privileges in life. But this is only the outer aspect. Life does not consist in socio-economic, political or intellectual activities. There is another side, in which life finds satisfaction only in realising itself as Eternal Being. Attempts at this realisation have not any necessary quarrel with equality of all in the secular life. To us, therefore, real Communism is not antithesis of spiritual life. Two can well exist together, and with excellent results.

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Science and Religion

One of the most pronounced characteristics of the scientific thought of to-day is its revulsion from the purely mechanistic view of the universe. The new outlook is voiced by almost every scientist of distinction of our time, and the views of one of the most distinguished of them, is commented upon in *Unity* :

A recent statement by Professor Arthur H. Compton, of the Department of Physics in Chicago University, world-famous as a winner of Nobel Prize in 1927, is well calculated to give pause to the materialists and mechanists of our time. As a matter of fact, these atheistical dogmatists will probably not pause at anything—they are interested not in facts but in prejudices. But to the rest of us it is an enormously impressive thing to find one of the great physicists of the world today stating his belief that modern knowledge is more and more tending to give affirmative answers to the old problems of God, immortality, and free-will. Professor Compton begins by pointing out that the new physics admits the possibility of mind acting on matter, and makes mind at once the substance and goal of the creative process. The old, hard-and-fast mechanism of the universe is gone, and intelligence has now taken its place. There is "evidence strongly suggestive of a directive intelligence, or purpose, back of everything," says Dr. Compton.

"The old-fashioned evolutionary attitude was that the world as we know it developed as a result of chance, variations of all kinds occurring some of which would be more suited to the conditions than others, and therefore surviving. More recent thought has found this viewpoint increasingly difficult to defend.

"To the physicist it has become clear that the chances are infinitesimal that a universe filled with atoms having random properties would develop into a world with the infinite variety that we find about us.

"This strongly suggests that the evolutionary process is not a chance one but is toward some definite end. If we suggest that evolution is directed we imply that there is an directed intelligence directing it."

This of course is, in essence, theism. Modern physics gives place to God. It also gives place to free-will and immortality.

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A Dialogue on the Same Subject

Two brilliant Irishmen recently met Professor Einstein in Berlin and the result was a symposium on Science and God. We regret that it is not possible for us to reproduce the whole dialogue, but the following extracts from it, from the account published in *Forum*, will give a good idea of the central thought underlying the discussion.

Murphy. At a meeting of American scientists in New York last year, one of the speakers suggested that the time has come for science to give a new definition of God.

Einstein. Quite ridiculous.

Murphy. But something more ridiculous followed. Out of the incident a public controversy arose, which was taken up hotly by the press and the pulpit. The general contention of the preachers was that the introduction of God into a scientific discussion was quite out of place ; for science has nothing to do with religion.

Einstein. I think that both attitudes disclose a very superficial concept of science and also of religion.

Murphy. But the more serious and more fundamental phase of the situation is this ; the public controversy showed that the scientist had voiced a yearning of the public mind. People all over the world to-day, especially in Germany and in America, are looking towards science for something of that spiritual help and inspiration which organized religion seems unable to give them. How far can modern scientific theory hope to meet this yearning ? It is on this point that I should like to talk with you, Herr Professor.

Einstein. Speaking of the spirit that informs modern scientific investigations, I am of the opinion that all the finer speculations in the realm of science spring from a deep religious feeling, and that—without such feeling they would not be fruitful. I also believe that this kind of religiousness which makes itself felt to-day in scientific investigation is the only creative religious activity of our time. The art of to-day can hardly be looked upon at all as expressive of our religious instincts....

On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that scientific study of the higher kinds and general interest in scientific theory have great value in leading men toward a worthier valuation of the things of the spirit. But the content of scientific theory itself offers no moral foundation for the personal conduct of life.

Murphy. Yet people are looking toward it with some sort of religious longing which at times almost takes on the nature of religious fanaticism. Have you heard of the rush which they made on that hall in New York some time ago, and tumbled over one another and injured one another in the crush to hear a lecture on Relativity ?

They thought, I imagine, that they might get some vague inspiration from the contemplation of a

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great truth which they could not understand. When I read about it, I had a vision of the battles in which men fought and died for abstract doctrines about the Trinity, in the early Christian centuries.

Einstein. Yes, I read about that. And I think that this extraordinary interest which the general public takes in science to-day, and the place of high importance which it holds in people's minds, is one of the strongest signs of the metaphysical needs of our time. It shows that people have grown tired of materialism, in the popular sense of the term; it shows that they find life empty and that they are looking towards something beyond mere personal interests. This popular interest in scientific theory brings into play the higher spiritual faculties, and anything that does so must be of high importance in the moral betterment of humanity.

—

A Fascist Opinion of British Imperialism

The reactions of the European peoples to the nationalist movement in India have of necessity been influenced by considerations of its possible repurcussions in the fields of their national interests. Thus we find the French press much more critical of the Indian movement than the German, because of the colonial interests of France in the Orient. One of the Conservative organs of the French press, the *Figaro*, recently expressed views which are vigorously contested by a Fascist paper, the *Critica Fascista*. The editor of this paper writes :

The Indian revolt is another of those lessons which old Europe should take into proper consideration. On the contrary, Europe has found herself unprepared, in the sphere of facts as also in that of ideas, to bear the brunt of the Indian colossus.

England has found herself paralysed, irresolute, vacillating before Gandhi, who is an open and ostensible violator of the British law, nor have the most convinced assertors of English supremacy thought of the repercussion of non-confidence which this attitude of the Empire produced on 350 millions of Indians. Apart from very rare exceptions the press in Europe has repeated in succession the most stale common-places, a summary of which is to be found in a pretentious article by Corpechot in the *Figaro*.

"Gandhi is undoubtedly no more than a mere symbol. The real agitators, the most dangerous revolutionaries are younger and mixed with the great Bolshevik conspiracy which the Soviets foment in Asia. The English Government put these men into prison long ago. It has left Gandhi to wear himself out in Platonic manifestation. With regard to him, strong measures shall be employed as the despatches say, only in an opportune moment!"

This means that the *Figuro* has not as yet realized the political and civil significance of the non-mystic predication of Gandhi who wants to arouse, by means of moral training, the consciousness of his people. As regards Bolshevism the more serious Englishmen confess that it has regularly missed all the occasions for action which were involuntarily offered to it in India by England.

"The English are affected, as also ourselves, by this perfidious propaganda which consists in throwing doubts among the *elite* of the nation, on the legitimacy of the civilizing action of Europeans in Asia as well as in Africa."

Civilizing action, for England means security of commercial openings and as for all the rest it has been absorbed and hence repudiated by Indians.

"But the countrymen of Kipling have preserved a more robust faith in themselves. It is in the British Empire that, in spite of the snobism that is in fashion among the very young, that the *civis romanus sum* is even now pronounced with the greatest confidence and sincerity. The movement actually inspired and directed by Gandhi appeared in London to be without any practical import."

It is somewhat ridiculous to speak of snobism and of the "unpractical import" of the Gandhi movement when the effects are what they are. As for the confidence and sincerity of *civis romanus sum* in India, there is some difference between Rome and England.

Those who compare the Empire of London with the Empire of Rome are yet to be convinced of the fundamental difference that exists between Roman wisdom and dry Anglo-Saxon egoism.

Rome absorbed nations by giving them the flower of her own civilization, but London gives nothing but sport, whisky, taxes and protective duties. Kipling himself has demonstrated that the success of the English consists entirely in keeping the British mentality and British customs isolated from those of the nations ruled.

But the method is beginning to grow old, and England will now be called upon to answer for her weakness before Europe.

—

Gandhi Makes History

The recent developments in India and the attitude of the Labour Party upon the Indian question is the subject of an editorial note in *The World Tomorrow*.

Open-minded observers, especially those who are fortunate enough to obtain first-hand accounts, may rightly anticipate important developments in India during the next few months. Indeed, it may not be too romantic to assume that the coming year will witness political results as far-reaching as any that the history of mankind records. If a people should be able to rid themselves of alien rule by the policy of mass disobedience, they will have taught the world a new lesson, the lesson of abolishing injustice and war at the same time. There are both pacifists and critics of pacifism who are very much worried about the violence that is beginning to manifest itself in India. We think they are too squeamish. On the whole, Gandhi has had remarkable success in holding his left wing in line. Considering the nation-wide character of the campaign, the instances in which disturbances have occurred do not bulk very large. It may be that

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violence on the part of the government will in time beget violence on the part of the native population. But the non-violent campaign is succeeding too well to make such an eventuality probable.

Meanwhile, the course of the British Labour Party is not strengthening the faith of the friends of parliamentary Socialism in either the courage or the political sagacity of the Labour leaders. The recent pronounments of the Labour Secretary of State for India did not swerve by a hair's breadth from the conventional opinions of the British bureaucracy. Of what good is a new party which lets itself be captured on the one hand by permanent officials and on the other by its political hopes and fears ? It is of course easy to criticize at a distance but we suspect that there is no adequate explanation for the inability of the Labour Government to initiate a single policy beyond those sanctioned by the opposition. It may do so in the near future ; but if it does, it will be Gandhi's volunteers rather than its own political sagacity that will deserve the credit. Perhaps it is beyond the reaches of the political virtue of any party to govern wisely on the other side of the earth. In that case it is well that a way seems to have been found to destroy this kind of imperialism. There is no magic which endows a political party with the virtue of governing any class or nation to which it is not responsible. The very hope which drives the labouring man to seek his own political representation rather than trust in the representatives of another class ought to force him to see the absurdity of deciding the fate of another people. But, alas, no man is as willing to be deprived as to gain by political consistency. Wherefore Indians are obliged to use the same political weapons against British labourers as the latter use against their masters.

—

A Symbol of Self-justification

To the same paper Mr. Richard B. Gregg contributes an article on the Simon Report, in course of which he points out the real causes of the British enthusiasm over it.

After years of delay the Simon Commission, appointed by the British Government to investigate conditions in India and make recommendations for the future political status of that much harried, land, has finally submitted the first volume of its report. Judging from the comments published in American newspapers early in June, there is considerable misapprehension regarding the Indian situation among members of the Commission. Moreover, much has happened since repor was written...

But the members of the Simon Commission apparently do not believe that India is rapidly uniting; for they describe its diversities and opposition groups in detail and at grat length. Their statement will be eagerly received by practically all groups of British opinion, for upon that belief in Indian diversity rest all the hopes of Empire. Empires can exist only when the subject nations are split and divided. Since Britain wants *impera* she hopes that the condition of *divide* exists, and she is very reluctant to believe the contrary. The next six months will be a period on the one hand of testing the depth, unity, and power of Indian feeling and will, and on the other of educating Britain to the realities of a situation to which she is now blind. It will be a period of suffering for both nations, but the suffering of Britain will last longer.

The Simon Report clearly states that Great Britain, and specially Parliament, has the responsibility of guiding India, and of deciding how much more power, if any, shall be given to Indians to manage their own affairs. Also it emphasizes the policy of "gradualness." All this reveals the underlying assumption of British superiority. British politicians, including the Commission, realize that Indians resent this attitude. They ascribe this resentment to "sensitive pride." But the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, recently told an English audience that "Europe has completely lost her moral prestige in Asia." (See *Manchester Guardian* for May 23rd). If England has lost her moral prestige in India, the attitude of the Simon Commission would not seem conducive to regaining it.

The definite recommendations of the Commission will be out soon after this issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW appears. The general consensus of British journalistic guesses thus far seems to be that only slight and vague additions to Indian political power will be suggested. There are hints that features will be proposed tending to maintain the present communal lines and introduce further factors of divisiveness, such as more power to the separate provinces and some kind of scheme for federalizing the provinces with the Indian States, perhaps so as to have the latter act as a more effective drag on the former. *Divide et impera*....

The Simon Commission Report, as I see it, is nothing more than a symbol of self-justification by the British people in this crisis of their Empire. No wonder that it is a best seller in London book shops !

—

What India Resents

While Mr. Gregg points out why the Simon Report has been so vociferously welcomed in British circles, Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Nation and Athenæum* on what India resents in it. Mr. Andrews tsays hat on two points it touches the most sensitive chords of the Indian mind. They are its re-assertion of the doctrine of gradualness, and its contention that India should remain "an integral part of the British Empire." On both these points the Simon Commission, as Mr. Andrews says, has shown itself disregardful of Indian *izzat*. Mr. Andrews goes on to say.

My own chief reaction to the first volume of the Simon Report after very careful reading, has been this, that however much the Commissioners may have wished to respect this *izzat*, which every Indian feels, they have been placed in such a position, by force of very unfortunate circumstances, that it has not been possible for them to do so. It is useless to debate whether this was due to the British Government or to the Indian

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boycott which followed. The fact remains. They have been singularly out of touch with the inner movement of Indian national life, and therefore unable to appreciate its profound effect in welding together the whole Indian nation of the future. One stands amazed, for instance, at the perspective of their historical sketch of the course of Indian politics (Chapter 6, Part III.), which appears almost uniformly hostile towards Mahatma Gandhi and entirely fails to realize how his supreme personality has moulded and fashioned the Indian nation which is now coming to birth and has restored Indian national courage. Instead of realizing and recording this Mr. Gandhi is regarded by the Commissioners throughout almost as an intruder, whose only object is to upset the best laid constructive political reforms which the British Government has to offer.

There is another omission, which is still more grave; and it runs through this earlier volume. While there is laudation of all the great things that the British Government and the British people have done in India, there is far too little condemnation of the faults, inherent in the rule itself, which have caused such a revolt from it in recent years. Among these by far the greatest is the racial treatment which Indians themselves have received in their own country and in the British Commonwealth. While the faults of Indians loom large in this volume those of the British are confined to an inferior space which makes them appear insignificant. The balance, it is true, is partly restored in Part VI, on Education, where the administrative blunders of the past are recognized, but this alone does not take away from readers who approach from Indian standpoint the painful realization of an one-sided judgment on the part of the Commissioners who have framed the Report.

—

Islam To-day

Mr. Abdelkader Hadj Hamou writes in the *Mercure de France*, on the present tendencies of Islamic faith :

Islam, which has been declared changeless and insensible to progress, Islam which people used to regard as a kind of Sphinx, is moving, awakening, finding its sources again, after having dispersed itself through a thousand little channels and after having mistakenly hated the Christian and the infidel, who is none the less our brother.

What magic wand produced this miracle of renovation? The Press, newspapers and magazines have been re-educating the Mussulman masses, who have up to now lived in ignorance. Arabic dailies are being published in at least three continents, Asia, Africa, and America. The nations that govern this world and above all the generous French have given the Mussulman people freedom of discussion. Chinese, Hindu, Persian, Turkish, Arabian, Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Sudanese, Senegalese, and American Mohammedans have the right to say what they think. Good faith will lead all men to understand each other. Suspicion engenders hostility and the worst enemy of suspicion is sincerity. The Arab press has cleared the way and the old-fashioned intolerant fanatics no longer look upon every Christian and Jew as an enemy who must be destroyed in the name of Islam.

And now Mohammedans are objecting to everything arbitrary, attacking whatever leads to fanaticism and massacre. Everywhere columns of figures are appearing in the press and books are being published attacking errors. The whole Mohammedans world questions itself anxiously. Even Mecca is taking the matter in hand and applying the articles of our immutable code. In the capital of Islam the co-religionists of three hundred million people of every colour and every race assemble. Pilgrims from North Africa are making the trip from Jedda to Mecca by automobile for the first time, for under Turkish rule one travelled by donkey. Insecure conditions discouraged people from making the journey and bribery prevailed everywhere.

Ibn Saud, King of the Hejaz, originally the leader of the Wahabites of Nejd, has applied the doctrines of Mohammed's time. The miracle achieved by this man, a popular, simple democrat, is that this region, which used to be terrorized, now enjoys peace and activity. What a century of despotism could not achieve one man has accomplished by virtue of his ardent faith. Saints and apostles are no longer venerated, either dead or alive, since man possesses no occult power. Illumined or pious, dead or alive, all men are equal, for God has vouchsafed to no one any part of His omnipotence. Ibn Saud has had the tombs at which people worshipped for centuries destroyed and has told the amazed world of Islam that only one Being is to be adored: Allah. He has forbidden Mohammedans from all over the world to make pilgrimages to so-called holy places where men, mere perishable beings, are interred, since immortality only belongs to the Creator. The crowning touch is that the Arab press approves of Ibn Saud. The initiative, however, does not come from the King of the Hejaz or from the Arab press, but from the liberty of thought recognized in the constitutions of European nations. Pilgrims returned from Mecca relate what this new ruler has been doing. Some of them attack him, but in younger university circles his name is blessed.

What has Mustapha Kemal done in Turkey? What has the Sultan of Egypt done? In both countries the hat has replaced the fez and husbands travel everywhere with their unveiled wives. How many revolutions in how few years? But have these people denied Islam? Englishtened Mohammedans say that they have not and that have merely understood the spirit and not the letter of the Koran. Who would have believed that the veil could have been cast off? The press still discusses the question and polemics continue but it is affirmed that the veil is a custom and not a prescription of the Koran. Islam is a democracy and we find in the Koran these words of the prophet Mohammed, "Consult the people."

—

A Critic of British Imperialism

Mr. William Harbutt Dawson is a distinguished English writer. He has recently published a very stimulating book on the "Future of the Empire." The following

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review of this book in *The British Empire Review* gives some idea of Mr. Dawson's point of view :

" Why renew the wasted economic wealth, if only that it may be again pulverized and scattered, blown into the air, or sunk in the sea ? Why trouble further about civilization if it is soon to be exposed once more to the onslaught of barbaric passions ?" These are the pertinent questions Mr. Dawson asks, and he gets to close grips with the real cause of international jealousies and war. He strips away the cant and humbug from the pretensions of the civilized nations, and more especially he shows how many of the characteristics of the British race are a constant aggravation to the nations less favoured. Few books published recently have been so well worth reading, not that all the author's contentions are by any means sound, but every page contains much that we must either admit or find an argument to refute. We cannot leave them unchallenged. The psychology of a nation is worth looking into. The trouble of course is that most other nations have similar failings; and greater humility, greater generosity and less aggressiveness on our part would only be taken as weakness. Mr. Dawson is very insistent that a large part of our Colonial Empire and most of the mandated territories we have taken over are really no business of ours, and we could well do without them—that there is plenty to do in our own England without these extravagant commitments. An answer to this may be : "To whom much is given much shall be required." The Church that has no missionary enterprise is a dead church. Perhaps the nation that does not help its younger brothers would fall into decay. The same argument might be applied to the author's contention that " it is not idealism, but sheer stupidity, for a nation like our own, whose first and most vital interest is peace, to ally itself to quarrelsome neighbours who have never lived in amity together, but are always ready to fly at each other's throats." A section of the book on " How the Dominions can Help " leaves one with the impression that until the Empire is organised properly from an economic point of view there will be little room in the Dominions even for further British settlers, let alone for those of other European nations. There are a hundred other things which one might controvert in this interesting volume. but it certainly fulfils the purpose of turning over stones and revealing the crawly things thereunder. This is what is wanted.

The editorial disagreement was of course to be expected from an organ of the British Empire League, but we do not think it materially lessens the force of Mr. Dawson's arguments.

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League of Nations and Agriculture

It has recently been asserted that the social, hygienic, economic and intellectual work accomplished by the League of Nations is of far greater moment than its purely political work. Without committing oneself definitely to this view, it is well to take note of the important social work undertaken by the League. The following account of its activities in connection with agriculture is taken from the *Overseas News* Bulletin issued by its Information Section :

Farmers in all countries will welcome the news that the League of Nations is thoroughly awake to the gravity and world-wide character of the agricultural crisis. The Economic Committee, at its June session, considered the recommendations of the Conference of agricultural experts held in January.

The experts, says the Economic Committee's Report :

"Emphasised the necessity of examining all economic problems from the point of view of their influence on agriculture. They pointed out the close relationship which exists between agriculture and commercial and industrial interests. One of their main desires is that the various countries should, either acting independently or jointly under the auspices of the League of Nations, apply to a continually increasing extent the principle enunciated by the World Economic Conference of 1927, of the solidarity of all industries, including agriculture, and the interdependence of all economic factors.

"The League's economic work can only attain effective results if it satisfies, in the first place, the needs of agriculture and provides agriculture with means to secure the place which is due to it in the preparation of economic policy and in the commercial relations between states.

"The main preoccupation of the agricultural experts has been, not merely to reply to the general questions laid before them, but to supply information and make suggestions to facilitate the work of the international organs which have applied to them for advice. They would welcome the inauguration of a series of studies and enquiries with a view to concerted action to combat the agricultural crisis.

"In particular, they are of opinion that a thorough enquiry should be made into the methods employed and results obtained in various countries in which attempts have already been made to ensure better distribution of agricultural products by developing the system of producers' co-operative and combining for the benefit of the market the efforts of producers' and consumers' co-operatives.

"Certain experts also drew attention to the many problems raised by the international trade in agricultural produce. The rational organisation of the market for the chief agricultural products first on a national and subsequently on an international basis, would be of great value, especially for the purpose of regulating supply and demand, both as regards quality, quantity, and prices. These experts recommended that the international exchange of agricultural products which are consumed on a large scale and should be regarded as raw materials intended for human consumption in all countries should be facilitated.

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They pointed out that in many cases international trade is still hampered by arbitrary limitations.

"The agricultural experts are likewise of opinion that, in accordance with the investigations carried out by the International Institute of Agriculture into the mechanism of international agricultural credit, an enquiry should be undertaken on a larger scale into the possibility, first, of organising agricultural credit on a national basis, and, secondly, of obtaining the co-operation necessary for the institution of international credit."

The Economic Committee noted the progress of the enquiries now being made, in some cases with the assistance of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Labour Office into the most important points raised by the agricultural experts, such as agricultural co-operative societies, agricultural credit, agricultural intelligence, the present agricultural depression and the problem of cereals. As regards the agricultural depression the agricultural delegation of the Economic Committee (which had conducted the discussions with the agricultural experts) stated that it was awaiting certain reports and would then specify the points of an international character on which action appeared possible.

—

Einstein and Graphology

Even a great scientist has his lighter vein. The following story from the *Living Age* gives an interesting account of one of the less serious interests of the great mathematician :

No less and authority than Albert Einstein, the relativity man, has been persuaded to believe that handwriting provides a key to human character. Always inclined to doubt theories that no scientific laws support, Einstein was prevailed upon by the Berlin Medical Society for Para-Psychology to test the powers of a young Czech graphologist called Otto Reiman who analyses personality and even forecasts the future simply by rubbing his fingers across a few hand-written words. What Einstein did was to write two brief sentences on a slip of paper which was places in a sealed envelope and slipped into Reiman's pocket. The graphologist, who did not know that Einstein was present, then placed his hand in his pocket, felt the writing, and described the writer as a man of artistic ambition but mediocre ability who was probably a rather bad actor. The experiment was about to be declared a failure when the paper was removed and it appeared that Einstein had written on the back of a typewritten letter signed by a Berlin theatre manager whose signature Reiman had been feeling.

Still ignorant of the fact that the handwriting on the other side of this letter was Einstein's the graphologist then attacked the sentences that the great physicist himself had written, spreading the text out before him on the table. He said that the author divided his lire between—playing the violin and making mathematical notes and that his logical imagination would start at the point A, leap to the point D and then fill in the points B and C later. Einstein's wife announced that the analysis was perfect and also substantiated Reiman when he described her husband as over-generous and utterly impractical. At this point somebody complained that nothing had been said about relativity whereupon Einstein remarked :

That is the most convincing part. It proves the reality of this man's gift. The theory of relativity, while important from a scientific viewpoint, nevertheless is only of minor importance in the human side of my character, on which Herr Reiman mainly dwelt.

The performer of these strange feats is the son of an old bourgeois family in Prague. He was born in 1903, works in a bank in his native city, but plans to come to America at an early date. He has already been asked to the Einstein's house by way of recognition of his great performance.

—

Public Employment Service

Though seeking employment and employing workers may theoretically seem to be the exclusive concern of the employer and the worker, it has been found possible to help both the parties by the establishment of public employment bureaus. The scope and functions of such services are explained in the *Monthly Labour Review* :

In its narrower sense public employment service means the bringing together of employers seeking workers and workers seeking employment, or what is usually referred to as the "placement" of workers. But in a broader and more modern sense public employment service means many other things, such as the organization of the field of available employment opportunities and available workers ; the training of employers and workers in the fitting of jobs to workers and of workers to jobs to the best advantage of all concerned ; seeing that the unemployed workers, especially young workers, get proper vocational guidance, adequate training in a selected trade, and needed skill ; more economical and uniform distribution of available jobs and available workers between various occupations and industries, as well as between various localities, on a nation-wide scale ; the collection and publication of reliable and exact information in regard to employment conditions in the country ; the observing of the trend of economic developments in the country in order to warm and advise industries and the public as to the measures to be undertaken against threatening emergencies, such as shortage either of work or of workers.

As such a service deals primarily with human being—workers, employers, Government officials, and the public at large—and as it closely affects their vital interest, it is obvious that the employment service to the successful must be conducted in the most aggressive, efficient, and businesslike manner with a strictly objective and neutral attitude. This, in turn, requires from the employees in the service a broad knowledge and a deep understanding of human nature and character, a friendly sympathetic treatment of the people with whom they daily deal, and high technical skill in rendering employment service.

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It is also to be emphasized that an employment service is needed not only in the case of an aggravated unemployment situation as it exists in most of the countries at present, but it is also needed in case of an extreme shortage of workers such as occurred in many countries during the world war. Moreover, such a service is not less needed during normal industrial activities. It eliminates the waste in human labour and invested capital which results from the haphazard search for jobs and workers. It prepares for and undertakes steps in the direction of preventing unemployment or shortage of workers.

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Prohibition in America

Though prohibition has been legally established in America, its fate is still in the balance. The following account in the latest phase of the controversy is taken from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* :

The Literary Digest lately took a "straw vote" on prohibition, with votes on enforcement, modification, or repeal. The result was not encouraging to prohibitionists. A straw vote run by a popular magazine has naturally a limited value, but it cannot be wholly ignored. Prohibitionists, to do them justice, were not at all inclined to ignore it, but they found a great many objections to it, such as the wider distribution of ballots in wet States than in dry ones,—all of which only gave the *Digest* the opportunity of showing that its figures were even more representative than they had claimed. The most wholehearted champions of Prohibition are prepared to believe, of course, that the *Digest* belongs to the liquor interests and that the whole thing is a fake. Other evidences are not lacking that Prohibition may come to an end. Mr. Dwight Morrow, prospective Senator for New Jersey, has made repeal the chief issue in his campaign for election.---

Of course, to abolish the amendment will now have its own dangers. It may lead to a prolonged orgy. But as the States have power to legislate for themselves in such matters, all due precautions will doubtless be taken. But since the bootlegging interests are stronger than the legitimate liquor interests ever were, it is feared in some quarters that those who profit by smuggling will prefer the Amendment to remain and will work hard to ensure that it does remain.

—

A New Phase of the Russian Revolution

Mr. W. H. Chamberlin describes in *Current History* the new phase of the Russian Revolution that has opened under the dictatorship of Stalin :

If one thinks of the Bolshevik Revolution in terms of drama one might say that the third act has now been reached. The first act was represented by the period from the establishment of the Soviet Government in November, 1917, until the declaration of the New Economic Policy, or Nep. in March, 1921, a declaration which closely coincided with the end of foreign intervention and civil war. The second act was characterized by the gradual reconstruction of the country under the compromise between Socialism and capitalism which was created by the Nep.

The third act of the revolution, which, beginning in 1928, has gained steadily in momentum up to the present time, represents a determined effort on the part of the ruling Communist party to cut the Gordian knot of social and economic contradictions, inherent in the Nep, by "tearing out the last roots of capitalism in Russia," to cite a phrase now much in vogue.

By far the most significant thing that is happening in Russia now is the agrarian revolution. If the absorption of individual homesteads into collective farms goes forward during the next two or three years as rapidly as it is proceeding at present, individual farming will have become little more than a memory and, moreover, the basic economic contradiction of the Soviet State will have been resolved, since the central planning organs which laid down programmes for the State-controlled industries could never calculate with any certainty on how much grain and raw material the peasants would supply. The New Economic Policy had strengthened the position of the peasants as small proprietors by substituting regular taxation and freedom of internal trade for the wartime requisitions of all surplus produce. It was evident, therefore, that in the long run the ultimate character of the Soviet social order would depend on whether the Communists would succeed in fitting the peasants into the structure of the Socialist state.---

In their efforts to transform a predominantly agricultural country into a highly mechanized industrialized state at record speed and without external assistance, the fierce innovating energy of the Communist party and the State machine spares neither people nor institutions that may stand in the way. The most conservative of all human inventions, the calendar, has been smashed by the introduction of the continuous working week ; the new calendars which are being printed are on the basis of the five-day week. Such a fundamental change as the Latinization of the Russian alphabet is apparently on the verge of being undertaken, following the general introduction of the Latin characters in the Eastern Republics of the Soviet Union.---

The psychology of making a clean break with the Russian past is a very important characteristic of the Soviet regime. It helps to explain in part the war on religion, which during 1929 greatly extended its scope and adopted methods which had previously been considered inadvisable, such as huge parades, holding up to mockery the objects of reverence of various faiths, public burning of ikons, and so forth. To these measures there have been added during the past year the melting down of church bells and the turning of copper and bronze to industrial uses, the inauguration of systematic anti-religious teaching in the schools, the extended and intensified use of the theatre, the motion picture and the museum as media for anti-religious propaganda.---

Standards of intellectual conformity are much more rigid than they were before this third act of the revolution began. Thus, the Writers' Union

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recently declared ineligible for membership all authors who do not actively participate in Socialist construction. Whereas last season three plays by a young Russian author, Mikhail Bulgakov, whose outlook was obviously far removed from that of Communism, were permitted on the Moscow stage, now all his plays have been banished completely. Even two works which were offered with the best of revolutionary intentions were whisked off the boards almost as soon as they were produced because some flaws were found in their ideological content. The same tendency to make Marxism and "class content" basic criteria in the cultural field is to be seen in literature.

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The Danger of Universal Spot light

The generous publicity given to the Byrd expedition to the Antarctic only serves to remind us, says *The New Republic*, that the days of privacy are past and that we are living in a period in which neither heroism nor cowardice, neither virtue nor crime, can any longer exist without self-consciousness. The danger of this over-publicity is great, especially for the common herd. As *The New Republic* goes on to say :

But when the crowd has been seeing other crowds on the screen it must dawn upon its mass intelligence, if any, that it is also being seen. Already the New Yorker may occasionally see himself in the news-reels. From this stage it may be but a short step to a point where he will more and more think of himself, not as an actual and humble human being, but as a character on the screen. One emerges from seeing a news-reel with one's senses somewhat blunted. For an instant the whirling life of the street is not what might be called a *ding (or din) an sich* ; it is, rather, a continuation of what one has just been hearing and looking at. One's feet move with the jerky rhythm of the broken bits of pictures that are the cinema. Probably one's mind moves temporarily in the same fashion. Let us imagine this phenomenon becoming widespread, as it surely must, as our facilities for seeing, hearing and perhaps smelling one another across great intervals of space are multiplied. The theatrical and spurious character of even an actual motion picture photograph of an actual scene will more and more pervade our lives. We shall move, as Lafcadio Hearn thought of the Japanese doing as though to inaudible music. We shall keep step to croonings and yowlings and military marches, and we shall never be natural, never unaffected, never unconscious, because we shall never know that the all-seeing eye of the motion-picture camera is not upon us and its all-hearing ear listening.

The self-conscious age will have succeeded the stone, bronze, iron and steel ages. A few eccentrics in out-of-the-way places may continue to chew and spit and swear and put their feet on the table quite as they damn please. But the overwhelming majority of us will be mentally and spiritually in Hollywood.

The Independence Agitation in Cyprus

By B. N. SHARMA

I

THE island of Cyprus is situated in the eastern Mediterranean at a distance of 60 miles from Asia Minor, 40 from Syria, and 240 from Port Said. It cannot, from its position, be of much use in protecting the Suez Canal in time of war. It neither lies in the track of world commerce nor is it a link in the great chain of communications between England and India. It is neither a port of call, nor a first class military station.

The area of the island is 3,584 sq. miles. It is thirty times as large as Malta and next to Sardinia and Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean sea. Its population at the census of 1921 was 310,715, of which 61,399 are Muslims. The total revenue of the island in 1928 was £713,753, and the total expenditure £679,980. Though the island is predominantly agricultural, it has suffered so much from centuries of Turkish misrule that more than twelve per cent of her imports consist of flour, rice, tobacco, and sugar. Even during the fifty years of British administration the pace of progress has been exceedingly slow.

II

Although in mythology the island was famous as the abode of the goddess of love, as a land of peace, pleasure, and elegance, the country has passed through very troublous

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times and witnessed the ebb and flow of diverse civilizations. It held a prominent place in the Hellenic world. It became a part of the Roman Empire. It was conquered by Richard Coeur de Lion and after a short period was handed over to the Lusignan kings of Jerusalem. It became a dependency of the Byzantine emperors and then, along with the other islands of the Levant, it passed under the Turks, who ruled over the country for 300 years.

At the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 Turkey, by the Treaty of San Stefano, had to cede to Russia a large slice of territory in Armenia. To guard against further territorial losses she entered into a convention with Great Britain whereby the British Government undertook to defend by force of arms the integrity of the Asiatic possessions of Turkey. In order to enable the British Government to fulfil her treaty obligations the Sultan allowed Great Britain to occupy and administer Cyprus. A sum equivalent to the excess of revenue over expenditure amounting to £92,800 was to be annually paid to the sublime Porte. Though the island technically remained under Turkish suzerainty, the administration became British.

Soon after the British occupation, the Greek section of the population—eighty per cent of the total—began to press for self-government. In 1882, to aid the High Commissioner, a Legislative Council of six official and twelve non-official members was constituted. Communal representation was given to the Muslim minority. The Muslim electors elected three members and the non-Muslims the remaining nine.

III

In 1914, when Turkey entered the war against the Allies, Great Britain formally annexed Cyprus to the British Empire. In 1915 the British offered to cede Cyprus to Greece if she would join the Allies. In 1916, however, the offer was withdrawn and Great Britain promised not to alienate Cyprus without the consent of France. On the termination of the War it would have been difficult for British statesmen to resist Greek claims on Cyprus, eighty per cent of the island population being Greek; but Mr. Lloyd George adroitly backed M. Venizelos, the Greek dictator, in claiming an overseas empire in Thrace and Smyrna. This silenced the Greeks.

The Greek schemes of aggrandisment were rudely shattered by the unexpected reserve of strength shown by the National Turkish Government at Angora. The Greek armies were pushed out of Anatolia by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Greeks did not gain Thrace and Smyrna and they lost their chance of getting Cyprus also.

IV

In 1925 the island was raised to the status of a colony. The Governor is now assisted by an Executive Council composed of three official and three non-official members. In the Legislative Council fifteen of the twenty-four members are elected by communal electorates, three by the Muslim voters and twelve by the non-muslim voters.

Thus we see that while the non-officials have been associated with the executive for the first time, the Legislature contains a larger official element than it did before 1925. As a sop to Greek sentiment the Muslim representation is reduced from twenty-five per cent to twenty per cent. All this, however, has only whetted the appetite of the Greek population, who now clamours for independence.

V

As we have just said, of the fifteen elected members twelve are Greeks. In July last they submitted a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary wherein they demanded secession from Great Britain and failing that a responsible form of Government, a cancellation of the annual tribute of £92,800 and a refund of the sum paid after 1914. To press the demand a deputation also waited upon the Colonial Secretary in London.

The considered reply of the Colonial Secretary was published in the Cyprus Gazette of December 13, 1929. The demand for secession was summarily dismissed and the question was declared closed. The annual tribute of £92,800 also could not be stopped, as the sum is being used to pay the interest on the guaranteed Turkish loan of 1855. As regards the Cypriot demand for responsible Government, there is no chance of its acceptance in the near future, as the island has not yet reached a sufficiently high stage of development. To add insult to injury, the memorialists are advised to assist the Government officials in improving the economic position of the Colony by agreeing

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to have better class English officials on higher salaries.

VI

This curt refusal of the British Colonial Office has raised a storm of resentment in the politically vocal section of the Greek community. Mr. Zenon Rossides, Secretary of the Cyprus Delegation which visited London, makes it clear in his reply that such pronouncements, instead of disheartening the Cypriots 'will only stimulate their inherent desire for freedom.' He refers to a speech delivered by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the Labour and Socialist Conference at Berne in 1919 wherein he declared that the policy of the Labour Party would be to allow the people of Cyprus to decide for themselves to which of the states within the League of Nations they would like to belong.

Yet only ten years after the enunciation of the Labour policy towards Cyprus it is the Labour Secretary of State who regards the question of secession to be 'definitely closed.' So long as the Greek nation lives, 'their political aspirations cannot be suppressed by dangling before them the bogey of a 'settled fact.' How many settled facts in the world's history, even in recent Indian history, have been unsettled by sustained political agitation?

VII

The next question is that of the payment of the annual tribute and it is a serious question, as upon it depends, to a very great extent, the solution of the harassing economic problems of the country. The island suffers from bad harbours, inadequate irrigation facilities, and the absence of an enlightened industrial policy. The Colonial Secretary justifies the payment of the tribute on the ground that Cyprus is a succession state and therefore it should be responsible for a proportionate share of the Turkish national debt. The Greek members hold that Cyprus is not a succession state but Great Britain, and Great Britain, therefore, ought to pay the amount out of her general budget and not out of the budget of the territory annexed. That is what other succession states like Greece, Serbia, and Italy are doing.

Since the abrogation of the Convention in 1914 a sum of more than £2 millions has been taken away from Cyprus. This huge loss and an annual drain of £92,800 out of the petty total revenue of £713,753 (excluding the Imperial grant) means practically starving the nation-building departments and postponing to the Greek kalends the day of Cypriot emancipation. That the treatment meted out to poor Cyprus by a rich and powerful country like Great Britain is not generous is also the opinion of Captain Orr, some time Chief Secretary of Cyprus.

VIII

The last point made out by the Colonial Secretary is that no useful purpose can be served by the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the present state of affairs of the country and to suggest means to instal a responsible form of Government in the Colony. The development of the country has been greatly retarded by the non-official majority in the Legislature and the low salaries of the English officials! Patriotic Cypriots, in other words, should voluntarily surrender their non-official majority or vote for a substantial increase in the salaries of the civil officers—the present ratio of forty-seven per cent of the total revenue being paid out in salaries is evidently too low! It is only by pampering the civil service that this benighted island can be nursed back to plenty and prosperity.

IX

What an invaluable advice is this! According to the Labour Government the talk of Cypriot independence is mere moon-shine. Any talk of responsible Government or even a near approach to it is also sheer waste of time. Cyprus should remain for an indefinite time the dumping ground for British skill and administrative talent.

Such an attitude on the part of the Labour Government towards Cypriot aspirations is very much like the attitude of the Conservative and Liberal parties with regard to India. In what respect, may a candid enquirer ask, is Mr. Sydney Webb, now Lord Passfield, different from his Conservative predecessor, Mr. Amery? The naked truth is that there is little to choose between one British political party and another. All are equally Imperialistic. As Dryden says in his 'letter to Congreve,' "Tom the Second rules like Tom the first."

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EDITOR'S NOTE.—The story of the Cypriot nationalist movement is carried to a more recent date in the leaderette reproduced below from *The Week* of Bombay, which is an influential Roman Catholic journal edited by A. Soares, M. A., LL. B.

It is reported by cable from Nicosia that the Archbishop of Cyprus, President of the Cyprian National Council, on the occasion of the King's birthday handed to the acting Governor for transmission to the Colonial Secretary, together with a covering letter, 500 resolutions, which were passed and duly signed in all the towns and villages of the island, expressing the fervent wish of the population, both urban and rural, for the political union of their island with Greece, says the *Manchester Guardian* of 6th June. A "loyal" birthday present, indeed!

This is, evidently, another instance of 'racial and national insurgence' against alien rule. It is also a non-violent and even constitutional insurgence. And what is the answer of the 'idealistic' Labour Government? Well, a dose of the medicine which they are trying in India to dragoon people into loyalty, as if loyalty were a matter of outward compulsion instead of an inward conviction. The following letter to the *Guardian* (4th June) by M. Zenon Rossides, a Cyprian delegate in London, makes it clear how it is proposed to deal with dangerous thought in Cyprus:—

"Sir,—I beg to be allowed to draw attention to the grave blow that the liberty of the press has just received from the Government in Cyprus, by recent legislation so drastically fettering journalism as to constitute an actual menace to the free and legitimate expression of public opinion.

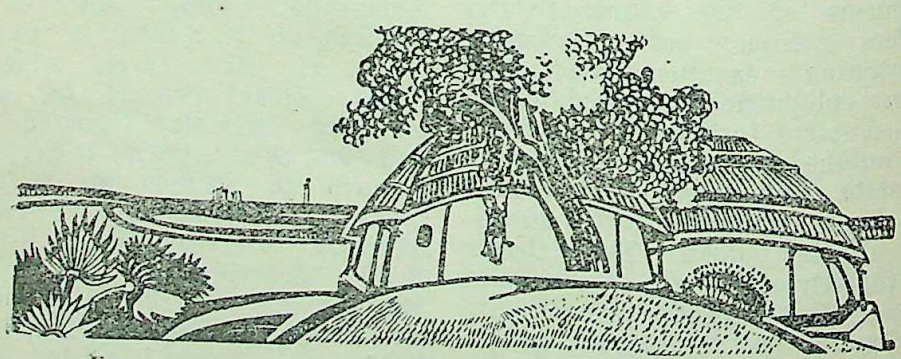
"It is provided, *inter alia*, in this new law that no newspaper shall be published without a special permit from the Government, in whose discretionary power it will absolutely rest to refuse to grant, or even to cancel, a permit; it is a condition that the proprietor shall not have been dismissed—for whatever reason—from the Government service; and heavy bonds with sureties are required, while numerous other stringent conditions are attached.

"That a measure reviving such despotic restrictions of the past (long abolished even by most backward countries) should now be so unjustifiably introduced in a peaceful country under British administration is a matter for no little concern, not only to those interested in the intellectual and other progress of the island and the freedom of its inhabitants, but generally to all who have faith in Britsh fairness and who cherish the liberty of the press.

"I express the confident belief that the British press, so keenly alive to the paramount significance of the freedom of the press, will not fail to take a sympathetic attitude in the case of such uncalled-for interference with its liberty in a British possession."

A formal protest against the introduction of this law has been sent to Lord Passfield.

It goes without saying that, if England goes for the strong hand, it is done on the most altruistic principles. It is all done in the interest of the poor backward Cypriots who are fortunate enough to enjoy and yet do not seem to appreciate the blessings of the *Pax Britannica*. Alas! There is no gratitude anywhere in this world!



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Bhootki

By SANTA DEVI

Translated by Sita Devi

FIELD after field of golden grain, bordered by trees with deep green foliage. The sky was the speckless blue of autumn, and on the horizon was painted a range of hills, in various poses. Some looked like helmeted soldiers, with proud erect heads, some resembled Yogis in meditation, with bowed shoulders, and some looked like blushing brides, with downcast eyes. These huge masses of stone, though inert, lifeless, and mute, yet seemed to express something through their postures.

The sun was about to set. The last rays of the sun gilded the white fleecy clouds and then poured down in a stream on the tree tops, as if exhausted. A narrow ridge-like path ran by the side of the paddy fields. At a little distance, one could see a small rivulet, with wide stretches of golden sand on both sides. A group of buffaloes and a few cows stood drinking at the shallow stream. Two aborigine girls appeared to be taking care of them. Their dark bodies shone like black marble, in the rays of the departing sun.

Samaresh and Madhabi were walking along that narrow ridge. Madhabi gazed entranced at the wealth of colours produced by the glorious sunset and remarked, "When we are in Calcutta, we have to forget that there are such things as sunset and sunrise."

Samaresh laughed and said, "We have very little to do with the sun there, so we can ignore him easily. But we don't spare much time either for the food we eat everyday. Do we ever pause to think, whence those rice and pulse come? Those fields of golden grain remind us, but as soon as they pass out of sight, the world becomes a place full of macadamized roads and huge blocks of concrete and stone.

Suddenly, a small crowd appeared at the bend of the small path, talking and laughing loudly. The intellectual conversation of our hero and heroine came to an abrupt halt. The crowd consisted of Beharis, Santhals, and a few others. Most of them wore coarse home-spun dhoties and saris with broad red borders. These had red and black fringes of stout thread, and men and women alike wore their hair in carefully prepared, polished knots. Large strings of coloured beads adorned their necks. Most of them carried loads on their heads. The women carried babies too, tied to their backs with red strips of cloth, while baskets of green vegetables, rise and pulse, which they had just bought from the country fair rested on their heads.

A young girl, accompanied by a man, walked with the crowd. She had a basket on her head, but no baby. She wore a short jacket of cheap English print and a British-made sari. Her thick black hair was tied in a knot behind her back, with wide red ribbons. There were tattoo marks on her forehead and her flat nose, round face and dark complexion, clearly indicated her origin. She could scarcely be called beautiful, according to any scientific or artistic standard, yet her vigorous health and blooming youth made her appear so. Her carriage, her speech, her gestures, were quite free, and easy, and full of grace.

She approached Madhabi quickly and said "Salam, Mem Sahib. Do you want a maid-servant?"

Instead of replying to her, Madhabi whispered playfully to Samaresh, "Look here, the girl takes me for a Mem Sahib."

"You look like one by the side of the Ethiopian beauty," said Samaresh. The girl all this while had been standing gravely by.

"Are you a Hindustani?" asked Madhabi. "How did you come to learn Hindi?"

The girl did not say whether she was a Hindustani or not, but replied to the latter part of Madhabi's question by saying, "I learnt Hindi at my old Mem Sahib's."

It was quite apparent from her broken Hindi and pronunciation that she was not a Hindustani.

"What work can you do?" asked Madhabi.

"I can wash dishes," she replied. Her companion now came forward and said "She can do anything you want, Madam."

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Samaresh was getting impatient. "There's no famine of servants in the town," he said, "for you to engage one on the road. We must hurry back now."

"Wait a bit," said Madhabi. "Since she has come of herself, she wont expect much. I have no one to carry khoka about. This girl seems quite strong, she will just suit me."

Samaresh grew angry. "Do what you want," he said, "you are always on the look-out for wasting money."

Madhabi paid no heed to his temper. "How much do you want?" she asked the girl.

"Whatever you please to give," she replied.

"I will give you three rupees and your food," Madhabi said.

"I won't eat rice, Mem Sahib," said the girl.

"What do you want, pilau?" asked Madhabi jestingly.

But the girl did not smile. "If you give me uncooked rice, I will cook myself," she said. "We don't take food, prepared by baburchis."

Samaresh laughed and said, "Good Heavens! she appears to be very strict about caste. We, who are pure Aryans, do not seem to be good enough for this Santhal girl."

"All right," said Madhabi. "I shall give you your meals uncooked and pay you three rupees."

The girl appeared to be quite satisfied. "I shall give you my address," said Madhabi. "You must be there at six, sharp. What's your name?"

"Bhootki" replied the girl. She took her address from Madhabi and went away.

"You always complain of my wasting money," Madhabi said to Samaresh. "If she decides to stay on, she would be a positive god-send. In Calcutta, if you want an ayah, she would at once ask for twenty rupees, and board and lodging besides. Instead of that, you get one for three rupees. You ought to pay me some *bakshis* for managing so cleverly."

"Everything I had, including myself, is yours already" said her husband. "Could I pay you more?"

"I hope, you will remember that," said Madhabi. "If I happen to die before you, don't go and give away my property to another woman."

Samaresh only laughed in answer.

Early next morning, Bhootki arrived punctually at six, to join her new work. She had four strings of beads round her neck and sported an astonishing amount of red ribbons Madhabi got up hastily from bed, rubbing her sleep-laden eyes, and said to her husband, "See, how punctual she is, though she gets only a salary of three rupees. On the other hand, your bearer, who gets twelve, is still sleeping. He could never take out khoka for his morning walk before nine. It is not for nothing that I wanted an ayah for khoka. These useless servants drive me positively crazy."

As Bhootki came in, khoka looked at her with wonder and asked, "Who is she, mummy?"

"She is your ayah," replied his mother.

Khoka took his mother's face in both hands, and turned it round towards himself, asking, "What will ayah do?"

"She will play with you, take you out for walks, and tell you nice stories."

Khoka was jubilant. "What stories?" he eagerly asked, "those about the cat and the fox?"

His mother got fed up. "I don't know," she said rather shortly, "go and ask her."

Khoka felt a bit shy at first. He clutched the end of his mother's sari, and stood leaning against her knees. But he managed to peep at Bhootki, now and then, surreptitiously. Even Bhootki could hardly refrain from laughing, though she appeared to be a very serious person. She stretched out her hands, saying, "Come on baby."

One call was sufficient to win khoka's heart. He sprang into her arms, and clung to her, saying, "Tell me nice stories."

To Bhootki her work seemed more like her devotional exercise. Even before the darkness of early dawn had fully disappeared Bhootki could be heard, scouring all the pots and pans that belonged to khoka, her wristlets jingling noisily. Madhabi could always see her, standing ready by her bedroom door, to take khoka, however early it might be. On account of her strict punctuality, Madhabi and Samaresh had perforce to rise earlier than was their wont. Samaresh objected strongly, but he was no match for Madhabi. "No, no, that won't do," she would say. "You can't go on sleeping under warm blankets, while another human being is shivering with cold at your door, waiting your good pleasure.

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You need not copy the bad manners of Eurasians."

They had a wide verandah on the north of their room. Blasts of ice-cold wind, would rush in, shaking all the trees of the garden, and piercing the bodies of the inmates of the room like sharp arrows. Bhootki had no warmer covering than her thin cotton sari. So Samaresh had to get up, though very reluctantly, leaving his warm red blanket.

As soon as he got up, khoka too jumped up. The gold wand whose touch broke through the age-long slumber of the princess, was, in this case, represented by the memory of Bhootki's charms. He would stand up erect on the bed, rubbing his eyes and shaking his curly locks off his face. "Papa, put me down," he would shout, "I want to go to Bhootki."

"What an ungrateful brat!" his mother would say. "The whole night I have to look after him and see that he does not throw off the blankets. I have to soothe him, pet him, and scratch his back. But as soon as it is morning, he forgets everything and whines 'I want Bhootki.' Go away, you wicked boy, I won't come to you again. Let us see, who sleeps with you at night."

"All right," khoka would answer waving his chubbly hand, "I will sleep with Bhootki."

"You are a little monkey," his mother would say.

Khoka would toddle off at once in search of Bhootki. He would jump into her arms and say, "I have come Bhootki, kiss me."

Bhootki would cast a furtive glance around, then cover khoka's face with kisses. She was afraid of being dectected by Madhabi who had strictly forbidden her to kiss the child as it was unhygienic.

After Khoka had partaken of his breakfast, he and his nurse would go and sit down under the big Nim tree in the garden. And sometimes the gardener, the bearer and the sweeper woman too would join them, carrying flowers and fruits as presents for khoka.

Bhootki sat on a cane stool with the sun shining full on her face, while khoka sat in his little wheeled chair, with the sun behind him. "It is very cold, little master," Bhootki would say. "I have got no clothes."

Khoka's heart would melt with pity at once. "I shall buy clothes for you from the shop to-morrow," he would say, trying to comfort her. "A new coat, I shall get for you. You will put your hands inside the pockets and walk about the streets. Throw away your old dress."

"What else will you get for me, little master?" Bhootki would ask again.

"I shall give you potato chips, oranges, sweets and everything," would answer the magnanimous little man.

The gardener would come around with his watering can and ask "What will you give me, master?"

Khoka would look grave and say, "Mother will buy things for you."

"Nothing for me, little master?" the bearer would ask.

Khoka would get fed up. "Go away," he would shout "I don't want you."

Bhootki would look triumphant and draw the child into her arms.

In the evening khoka was taken out for an airing in the adjoining fields. Madhabi got up from her afternoon nap to find that khoka was not in her room. But all her boxes and drawers stood open and disarranged. Who could have done this, since khoka was not there? She came out and asked the servants, but could get no satisfactory reply.

The short winter evening hastened to its close. The sun began to set, leaving the paths and fields mild and cool, and taking away the crown of light from the heads of the trees. Madhabi looked at the paddy fields, and found the wayside full of tents, which a band of gypsies had set up. The women had built fires and began their cooking in earthen pots. These people must have come in to see if they could steal something, thought Madhabi, and had run off scared, leaving everything topsyturvy. She continued looking out of the window to see if she could recognize any of her own things. Bhootki's head, decorated with bright red ribbons, appeared on the road. But who was it, sitting in khoka's cart? He seemed to be dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. But as they approached nearer, Madhabi could see that it was no other than khoka himself. He was dressed in red velvet pants and a blue coat of satin. Over it, he had put on a bright pink woollen shawl, while his small feet were encased in green stockings and white shoes. A cap embroidered with gold thread rested on his head. Bhootki had ransacked all the boxes and drawers and taken out everything bright-looking to dress up khoka. The wonderful wardrobe which Madhabi had so carefully collected, was completely devastated. Madhabi was

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furious and rushed at the offending nurse maid as soon as she came in. "What have you done, you wretch," she cried, "could not you see this warm suit and dress him in it?"

"Little master won't put on dirty clothes," replied Bhootki gravely. "I feel ashamed."

"Oh, what a Nawab" Madhabi said "He is ashamed of dirty things. Go away, you wretch, don't touch my baby."

Bhootki put down the child and moved aside. "Oh, Bhootki," shouted he, rending the very heavens with his cry. Still Bhootki did not dare to approach him. Khoka rolled on the ground in the intensity of his grief.

"What a monkey," said Madhabi, "nobody can say anything to the girl for fear of him. Take him away. But don't you dare to touch my boxes again."

Bhootki took up the child with the same grave face, and walked out. Then, when she was out of Madhabi's hearing, she whispered, "Little master, you are very rich. When you grow older, you will wear tons of gold and silver. You will become a king, a barrister."

"No, I won't," protested khoka, "I will remain khoka."

As days passed, the gardener began to grow more and more fond of khoka's company. He was seldom absent from his side. Only one servant had come from Calcutta with the family. But he was inordinately lazy. While in Calcutta, Madhabi had to take him to task daily, to make him clean the rooms and verandahs. But she found that it was simply impossible to make him look after the big garden here. Coercion and persuasion had failed alike. She had another quarrel with her husband, because she wanted to engage a gardener. But as usual, she had her own way in the end.

At first the man did very little. He watered the plants and trees, and decorated the flower vases in the drawing-room, with a profusion of chrysanthemums. The room would become overloaded with the perfume of fresh flowers, and the old walls and shabby furniture would become glorified, causing even Samaresh to forget his grievance about the extra servant. But Madhabi did not like servants who for ever tried to shirk their legitimate duties. The man could never be induced either to do any household work and proclaimed loudly that he was engaged to look after the garden and not to do the work of the other servants for them.

But suddenly he seemed to find plenty of leisure. He could always be seen, sitting by the side of khoka under the old Nim tree or carrying him about on his shoulders. Bhootki walked behind him regally, carrying khoka's cap or sweater. She looked like the mistress and the Oriya gardener posed as her very humble servant.

Madhabi would flare up at this sight. "Look at the fellow," she would say. "I engaged him so that he might carry khoka about a bit after finishing his work in the garden. It is not much. But he would never listen to me. Watering the plants and cutting some flowers seemed to require the whole day's labour then. But now he is following that Santhal girl about the whole day, like a pet dog. I will have him kicked out one of these days. I cannot bear such goings on!"

"Why do you get angry for nothing?" her husband would say. "They too are human, with the normal love of companionship and love."

"But it is highly unseemly," his wife would argue. "She is a Santhal, while the man is an Oriya. What's the use of their friendship?"

"But you were a great exponent of social reform," Samaresh said. "Because they are poor and uncultured, that's no reason why they should not benefit by your sympathy."

But Madhabi had to acknowledge, that the man had really improved in his work if not in his manners. Nowadays, nobody had to shout for him to bring khoka's bathing water. As soon as Bhootki got khoka ready for his bath, the gardener Udaya was there with the water. If Madhabi would ask Bhootki to fetch anything, Udaya would run for it, even before Bhootki could get up. Whenever Bhootki put down khoka, Udaya would take him up at once. Khoka was extremely self-willed and obdurate, and sometimes Bhootki too got tired of his moods, but not so Udaya. He would try and try to appease the little tyrant, with all his might, in order to relieve the girl. Trying to please Bhootki, he pleased one and all.

On market days, Bhootki would sometimes take a few hours' leave to do her simple shopping. Khoka would wait

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impatiently for her and question his mother a thousand times, "Mother, where has Bhootki gone ?"

The weekly market was held in the town. A big banyan tree stood in the centre of the field, where the stalls were erected. The vendors spread their mats on the ground, over which they arranged their stock. Rice, pulse, fish, vegetables, and all kinds of food-stuffs were there, besides coloured saris, printed and plain, strings of gay beads, glass bangles, metal bracelets, mirrors, hairpins and combs. Everything needed by the village beauty for her toilette was there. Udaya was returning with fish and vegetables for the kitchen. Bhootki carried a comb, a bottle of castor oil and a small tin pail. Suddenly, a woman appears before her. She was dressed in a red sari, with huge yellow flowers on it and carried a large basketful of glass bangles on her head. "Do you want bangles ?" she asked.

Bhootki looked greedily at the multi-coloured bangles, then turned away her eyes. "Why don't you take some ?" asked the woman.

"I have no money," said Bhootki. Udaya smiled shyly and said, "Do take some, I will pay."

Bhootki walked off in offended dignity. "Who wants them ?" she asked angrily. "Do you think, I will become a queen, with your two pice worth of finery ?" A shop-keeper was selling chains, wristlets and anklets of silver, just in front of this group. Udyaya entered the shop and took up a chain. "You want this ?" he asked.

Bhootki got more angry. "Go away, you wretch," she said. "Why should I take presents from you ?"

Udaya whispered something in her ear. It seemed to mollify Bhootki a bit, who condescended to smile. Udaya paid for the chain and put it round her throat.

As soon as they reached home, khoka raised a storm. He wanted Bhootki's chain. Bhootki felt ashamed to put it on him, but the little tyrant refused to be pacified otherwise. At last Madhabi came up and asked, "What's the matter here ? I never heard such a din in my life before."

"Little master wants this chain," said Bhootki shamefacedly.

Madhabi turned up her nose at the sight of the trinket. "For shame, khoka," she said. "Why do you want such things ? You are very silly. You should not wear Bhootki's ornaments."

"Please buy one for khoka, Mem Sahib," said Bhootki rather timidly.

"Don't be a fool," said Madhabi. "What's the use of buying such things ?"

Suddenly, something seemed to strike her. "Where did you get the chain from ?" she asked the servant girl. "You get only three rupees, how do you then manage to buy fineries ?"

Bhootki remained silent. "Why don't you answer ?" asked Madhabi.

Bhootki hesitated, then answered "Somebody gave it to me"

Madhabi became suspicious and began to cross question, "Who is that somebody ?"

"Udaya," answered Bhootki, very shyly.

Madhabi lost her temper completely. "How dare you, you hussy," she cried, "to flaunt Udaya's presents in my face ? What is he to you ?"

Bhootki stood silent. "You are running straight to hell." Madhabi continued, "Are not you afraid of going about with him ? He will never marry you."

"Yes, Mem Sahib," said Bhootki at last, rather frightened, "he has promised to marry me."

"He will do nothing of the sort," said Madhabi. "You are afraid to eat in my kitchen for fear of losing caste, how can you consent to marry this Oriya ?"

Bhootki's eyes filled with tears. "I have no friends or relatives, Mem Sahib," she said. "So what's the use of caste to me ? If he marries me, and converts me into an Oriya, I shall have somebody to call my own."

Madhabi had nothing more to say. Bhootki took up khoka and went out. There was no one in the garden. She sat down under a lime tree and taking off the silver chain, put it round khoka's neck. Khoka cast his chubby arms round her neck, caressed her and said, "You are a very good boy."

But matters did not end there. At night Madhabi had a talk with Samaresh on the subject. "Have you heard about your gardener's gallantry ?" she said. "He has bought Bhootki a silver chain. And the hussy is going about, showing it off to everybody. I wonder, what they are thinking of."

"Probably of civil marriage," answered her husband.

"Don't be silly," said Madhabi, giving him

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a slight push. "You must reprove him to-morrow."

Next morning Udaya was sent for. Samaresh went straight to the point. "Have you said that you wanted to marry Bhootki ?"

Udaya was taken completely aback at the suddenness of the question. Then he recovered and put out his tongue in dismay. "How can that be, sir ?" he asked, "I will lose caste, if I marry a Santhal. Besides, I am married and have a family in my village."

Samaresh frowned and asked, "Then why did you go and make her a present ?"

Udaya did not know what to say. After a while, he answered rather stupidly, "I have not made her any present sir, somebody else must have done it."

Samaresh gave him a resounding slap on the cheek. "Get out of my house at once," he shouted. "You dare you lie to me ? Get out, this minute.

Uday vanished in an instant. Poor Bhootki seemed ready to sink into the earth at this perfidy. But she could not refrain from running after him and saying something to him. Udaya turned angrily round, uttering sharp words.

But Bhootki still followed him with khoka in her arms. Madhabi came out of her room and rebuked her sternly. "Don't you dare to step out of the gate, else I shall hand you over to the police."

Bhootki came back. "Have you no shame ?" asked Madhabi. "If you run after him like this, you won't find a home in any decent house."

Bhootki stood weeping, but made no answer. She refused to let khoka down from her arms even for a moment. Even Madhabi could not take him from her. In the evening, she gave khoka his dinner and put him to sleep. Then she kissed his round cheeks stealthily and sat down at the head of the bed, weeping tears of agony.

When Madhabi entered the room, she got up and said, "Mem Sahib, please pardon me. And if I have ever committed any other faults, please pardon those also."

In the morning, Madhabi got up very late, because there was no sound of scrubbing utensils to awaken her. As the morning light streamed in through the window curtains, she sat up with a start. "Bhootki must have been frozen to death," she murmured, "standing all these while at the door in this cold."

She opened the door and was surprised to find no Bhootki there. The cold north wind rushed through the deserted garden, shaking the trees in every branch. She called the other servants, but could get no news of Bhootki from them. She re-entered her room and said "Bhootki is not there. Perhaps she felt ashamed to come."

"Who knows ?" said her husband. "That rascal may have enticed her away, though he pretended to be very sharp with her"

Madhabi went to take up khoka from the bed. As she pulled him up, she noticed that one of his gold bangles was missing. "Who has taken his bangle ?" she cried. "That witch must have stolen it. Now I understand why she is absent. She has taken the ornament and gone away with that scoundrel."

"It is quite possible," said her husband. "But why did she steal only one bangle and leave the other ? This is rather strange."

"Nothing strange in it," his wife answered. "She was about to take both when I came in and interrupted. And to mark her impudence, she had the cheek to ask pardon of me as she walked off with her booty. I thought she felt ashamed of her behaviour in the morning."

Madhabi put khoka down on the floor. As she did so, there was a jingling sound, and the much talked of silver chain, one of two trinkets also belonging to Bhootki, and three pieces of silver, rolled down. "This is even more strange," said Samaresh. "To leave one's own things behind, while stealing those belonging to others. But the chain is a fake. The man has cheated her in every way."

"It's a mere eyewash," said his wife. "She wanted to mystify us. So she left all these rubbish behind. But I am not going to let her off so easily this time. You must go to the police station and report."

Samaresh had his tea, then started for the police station. The first thing that greeted his sight there, was Bhootki's black head, with its wealth of red ribbons. All her other decorations she had left on the bed of Khoka. She stood by the door, with bent head, and so did not catch sight of Samaresh at first. He noticed that the girl was weeping.

He felt moved with pity at the desolate attitude of the girl. He went up to the constable standing by the door and asked, "Whence have you brought this girl ? Has

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anyone lodged any complaint against her ? Let her go."

Bhootki retreated still further behind the door, when she caught sight of the speaker. "We did not bring her here, sir," replied the constable, "she has come of herself, to lodge a complaint. She says a gardener, named Udaya, has stolen a gold bangle, belonging to her master's child. She wants to see the sub-inspector."

"Yes, it's true." said Samaresh. "But what proof is there that the gardener has taken it? The child used to be in her charge."

This time Bhootki spoke up. "Yes, sir," she said. 'I took off the gold bangle, but I did not mean to steal it. Khoka wanted a gold chain, but madam would not buy him one. He cried and cried. Then Udaya said he knew the art of doubling things. If I gave him one pair of gold bangles, he could make it into two pairs. With the second pair, I can purchase as many chains, as I liked. I did not believe him fully. Still I gave him one in order to test him. But yesterday, when he went away, he disowned everything. He said he did not know anything about the bangle. I don't know, sir, how to raise my head after such a piece of folly. If the police cannot catch him, I shall go to jail in his stead. I can lose caste, sir, but I do not want to commit a sin."

She began to weep again. "I cannot live without khoka, sir," she said, "please pardon me, this time."

Samaresh seemed to hear khoka crying for Bhootki. "All right" he said "hurry up now. It is getting late."

The Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries

By J. K. MAJUMDAR, M. A., PH. D. (London), Bar-at-Law

THE scientific discoveries which Sir J. C. Bose, the great Indian scientist, has come to hit upon in recent years and which have gained for him such a distinguished place among the world-scientists, teem with philosophical importance and have not attracted the attention they deserve. The conception that nature is living through and through, which is the main theme of Sir Jagadis's researches has been long prevalent. Nay, it is well-nigh as old as philosophy itself and may be said to be the logical terminus of idealism consistently devoloped. But hitherto one of the difficulties such a conception has had to encounter has been the lack of scientific evidence in its favour. For, quite obviously, a bare speculative view of the kind indicated would be of no more value than a fairy tale unless supported by actual empirical observation of such portions of nature as are accessible to investigation. In this respect special importance should be attached to the work of Sir J. C. Bose, and the results he has obtained in the domain of biology and physics do furnish us with a body of scientific evidence that lends countenance to the metaphysical conception in question. "The idealist in philosophy," Prof. A. E. Taylor remarks, "who holds it as his creed that all reality is mental, is too often apt to resent the very existence of an inorganic world as a stone of stumbling maliciously flung down in the way of his faith." The resentment may be traced, perhaps, to what has been the predominating influence of science in so far as it has bifurcated nature into two spheres, *viz.*, those of 'inorganic' and 'organic'. But such a bifurcation of nature, Sir J. C. Bose tries to show, is really without scientific justification, and the conclusion towards which his researches seem to point is that there is no dead matter in the world, that, in other words, so-called 'matter' is not something inert and dead, but is pregnant with life, that, in fact, one single life pervades the whole universe. Sir Jagadis himself predicts that "the obscuring veil will be lifted and the student

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will gradually come to see how community throughout the great ocean of life outweighs apparent dissimilarity. Out of discord he will realize the great harmony." The time-honoured distinction between the 'organic' and the 'inorganic' has been called in question and after a series of prolonged investigations Sir Jagadis has come to the conclusion that the assumed line of demarcation is quite an arbitrary one, and that it cannot be sustained even on scientific grounds. In the concluding portion of his paper read before the Bradford meeting of the British Association in 1900, he said:

"It is difficult to draw a line and say, 'Here the physical process ends, and the physiological process begins'; or 'That is a 'phenomenon of inorganic matter and this is a vital phenomenon, peculiar to living organisms'; or 'These are the lines of demarcation that separate the physical, the physiological and the beginning of psychical processes.'"

Dr. Bose, who began his career as a physicist, was first struck with a significant phenomenon when experimenting with a newly invented 'receiver' of wireless telegraphy. After experiments had been carried on continuously for a couple of hours Dr. Bose found that the receiver became less sensitive, and after more prolonged work still more so, reminding one of fatigue in the sense of 'progressive diminution of response.' When, on the other hand, the receiver was allowed to rest for several hours, it became sensitive once more. Such phenomena were, at first, merely incidental to the main inquiries, but as they multiplied they grew more and more impressive and called for inquiry. Prof. Geddes observes:

"So complex are the phenomena of life, and so long have they been regarded as mysterious, that biological speculation and even experiment is open to suspicion of unsoundness, and not least among physiologists in regard to each other; and hence, at their wisest, they are critical to themselves. It was with this caution and self-criticism that Bose began: and not simply with a good deal of that fear and trembling which every respectable specialist feels when he ventures even to look over his neighbour's wall, still more to pluck a handful of the roses which are overhanging into his garden." (*Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose*, p. 86).

As a result of investigation Dr. Bose found a striking similarity between the responses of the living and the non-living, and in his paper read before the Paris International Congress of Physicists (in 1900) he compares and tries to show a parallelism between the responses to excitation or stimulus of living tissue with those of inorganic matter. An essentially similar paper was read before the physical section of the British Association at its Bradford meeting in September, 1900. A stimulus produces, Dr. Bose holds, a certain excitatory change in living substances and the excitation thus produced may express itself in either of the two forms of mechanical or electrical response. In mechanical response the excitation produced expresses itself in a visible change of form, as seen in muscle, while in electrical response it expresses itself in certain electrical changes, and not in any visible alteration, as seen in nerve or retina, and while the mechanical mode of response is limited in its application, the electrical form is universal. Moreover, the mechanical and electrical modes of response are practically identical in character according to Dr. Bose. Now, this irritability or responsiveness of the tissue, either in its mechanical or electrical form, was supposed to depend on its physiological activity, seeing that under certain conditions it could be converted from a responsive to an irresponsive state, either temporarily or permanently. Finding that a living tissue gives response, while a tissue that has been killed does not, it was concluded that the phenomenon of response is a characteristic of a living organism, and Dr. Bose thinks that from a confusion of 'dead' things with inanimate matter, it has been supposed that inanimate matter must be irresponsive. But Dr. Bose thinks that the position is untenable and he claims to have shown experimentally that not only the fact of response, but all the modifications in response which occur under various conditions take place alike in metals, plants and animal tissues. This is corroborated in the cases of negative variation, relation between stimulus and response, effects of superposition, uniform responses, fatigue, staircase effect, increased response after continuous stimulation, modified response, diphasic variation, effect of temperature, effect of chemical reagents, etc.

In this connection an important point remains to be considered. We have seen above that according to Dr. Bose everything in the universe is living in one and the same sense. But it may well be objected that what is called a thing is not a simple entity, that it is a combination of elements, and if it be not shown that these constitutive parts are also living, *i. e.*, living on their own account, the problem remains unsolved.

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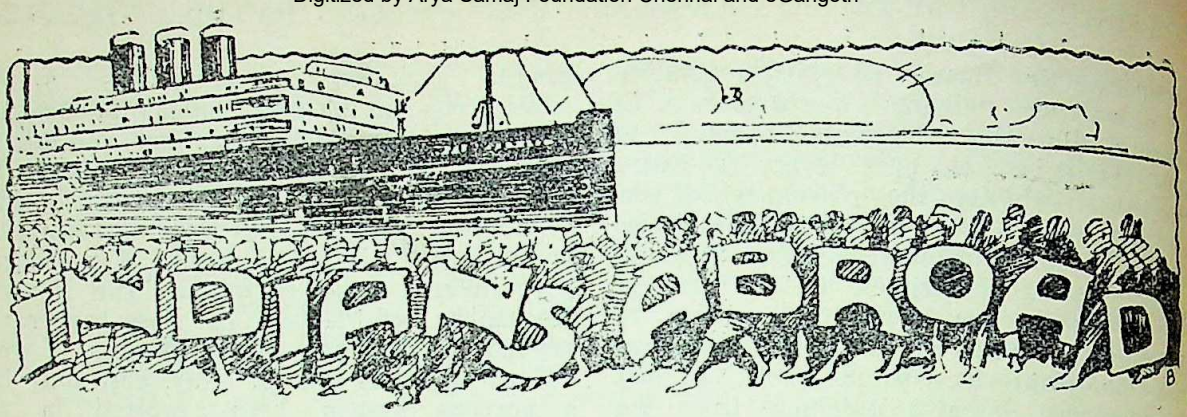
In that case Dr. Bose's sweeping generalization of a living universe would seem to be untenable. Dr. Bose attempts, however, to show that it is not only every so-called 'thing' that exhibits the phenomena of life, but that every part of such 'thing' also presents similar phenomena. This is particularly shown, he argues, in the case of plants, where the electric response to mechanical stimulus is not only obtained from the plant as a single whole, but that such response is also obtained from the roots, stems and leaves which are the constitutive parts of such plant. (For a detailed account, *vide The Journal of the Linnean Society*, Vol. XXXV, p. 278).

Now, Dr. Bose seems to be the only scientist who, in recent years, has boldly taken upon himself the task of trying to show experimentally the untenableness of the bifurcation of nature into the living and the non-living, which hitherto held the field and which may be said to have been mainly responsible for preventing even the greatest of idealists to come to the logical terminus or the main principle of their doctrine, *viz.*, 'all reality is mental,' and thus to leave a gap in their doctrine and deprive it of coherence and consistency. The results which Dr. Bose has reached by experiments go to corroborate scientifically the Leibnizian contention advanced on philosophical ground that 'nature makes no leaps', *i. e.*, a unity and continuity obtains throughout nature, which must be the logical terminus of a true and consistent idealism, and Dr. Bose's main attempt is just to show experimentally that such a unity and continuity obtains throughout nature. The wonderful discoveries of the great scientist, in very recent years, in the domain of plant-life have further prepared the ground for idealism. Dr. Bose observes that his investigations in plant-life were undertaken with a view to establish a wide generalization of the fundamental unity of life and its mechanism. The results of his investigations in this direction for the last quarter of a century all go to establish the identity of the physiological mechanism of the plant and the animal. In the multicellular animal organism the attainment of higher complexity was accompanied by the gradual evolution of a nervous system, which put the different organs in intimate connection with each other and co-ordinated their various activities for ensuring the common good of the organism. Such connecting nervous links were not suspected in the plant. But as a result of wonderful experiments, embodied in his "The Nervous Mechanism of Plants," Dr. Bose has proved beyond doubt that plants possess a well-defined nervous system. Nay, not only has a nervous system been evolved in the plant, but it has reached a very high degree of perfection, as marked in the reflex arc in which a sensory becomes transformed into a motor impulse.

The advance from the continuity of response as obtaining in the whole realm of nature, which formed the subject-matter of Dr. Bose's earlier researches, to the continuity of structure, at least as obtaining in plant and animal, which forms the subject-matter of his later researches, has been a distinct gain for idealism. For, a true idealism cannot rest satisfied with the mere showing that the bifurcation of nature disappears, but it would go further and claim consciousness for the whole realm of nature, and Dr. Bose's recent showing that plants do possess a nervous system cannot but lead one to admit that plants also have got consciousness; for, as we are aware, nervous system is the vehicle of consciousness. The activities of the great scientist, or of some one after him following in his footsteps, may some day proceed further to the mineral kingdom and bring out before us some similar fact, which would, of necessity, all go to contribute to the upholding of the idealistic creed. Thus, Dr. Bose may be said to have rendered a great service to philosophy, and especially to an idealistic philosophy, in so far as it lies with science to do so, and the wonderful discoveries that are being worked out by the great scientist from day to day would be eagerly looked for not only by the scientists, but also by philosophers in so far as they go to corroborate the philosophical rendering of the facts by the ancient Hindu sages, who are the typical representatives of the highest idealism, *viz.*, 'he who sees the one in everything sees the truth.'

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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

A noble gift

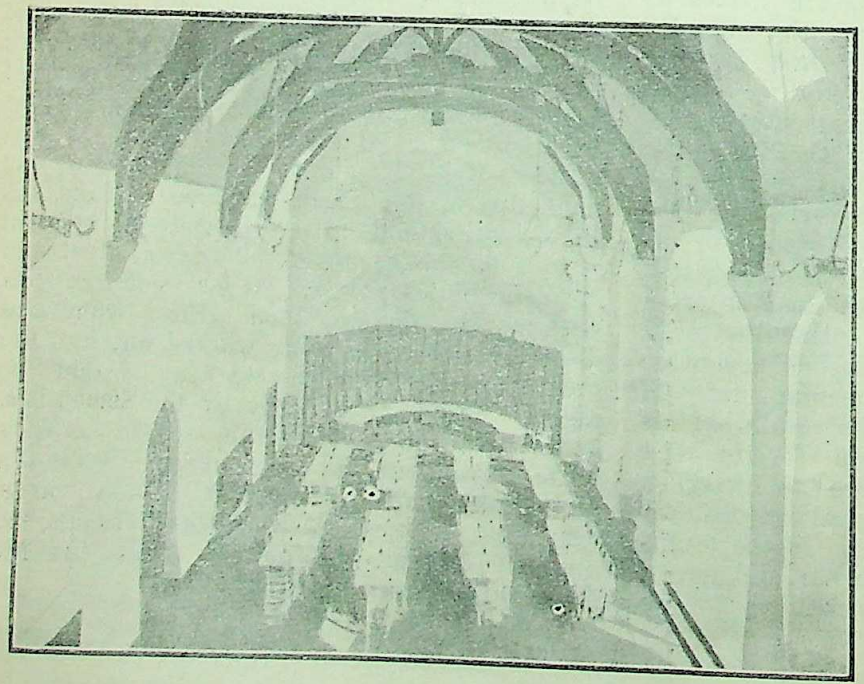
The following news was published in the papers some time ago:—

GIFT OF A HUNDRED THOUSAND STERLING
TO PROMOTE FRIENDLY RELATIONS

Presiding at a dinner to the delegates to the Colonial Conference, Lord Passfield announced that the Raja of Sarawak had offered a hundred thousand sterling to be devoted to an object connected with Colonial Empire in recognition of friendly relations between Sarawak and Britain. The gift had been gratefully accepted and three-quarters of it would be devoted to assist the education of Colonial Civil Servants' children in any part of the empire. Full details of the scheme including the allocation of the remainder of the gift has not yet been worked out, but it will bring relief to many individuals in grave anxiety and also help to increase the valuable hereditary element in colonial services.

Here is an example that ought to be followed by some of our merchant princes in India and abroad. There are a number of colonial students who have an earnest desire to come to India for studies but they have no means to do so. And there are many young men in India who are prepared to go to the colonies for educational and social work if they could only get the passage money. It will be a real service to the cause of Greater India if some of our leaders could persuade people like Syt. Ghanshyam Das Birla, Sir Hukum Chand, Sir Purushottam Das Thakur Das and Syt. Ambalal Sarabhai and others to endow a few scholarships for the education of the colonial children in some of our institutions in India.

There are a number of merchants in Bombay and other parts of Gujerat who have benefited considerably on account of their trade connection with Africa and some of them have also vested interests in those parts, Sir Purushottam Das and Syt. Ambalal being among them. There is a Colonial merchants' Association in Bombay and it ought to do something in this direction.



The Great Hall in the Rhodes Home at Oxford

Need of a good library on Greater India

One great difficulty in the way of those who wish to study the problems of Greater India is the want of a good library where books on this subject could be had.

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present there are only two places where some material on this subject can be found ; the library at the Poona headquarters of the Servants of India Society being the one and the Prabasi Bhawan of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi the other. I doubt if any systematic effort has ever been made to collect all the available material in one place. The Servants of India Society has its hands full with many activities of diverse character and it cannot be expected to spend a large sum on this item, while Swami Bhawani Dayal's means are too much limited to make any appreciable addition to his personal library so that it may be kept up to date so far as this subject is concerned.

The idea of a library on Greater India was suggested to me while reading an account of the Rhodes House at Oxford. There is to be a library at the Rhodes House about which Viscount Grey said : - "It will contain a collection dealing with past history and present progress, from which those whose ambition it is to serve the Brltish Commonwealth of Nations or the great American Republic will be able to draw inspiration and get information. The collection under this roof must do something to further the spirit of enterprise and patriotism which Cecil Rhodes had so much at heart."

One need not be so an admirer of Rhodes' imperialistic ideas to appreciate the great work that he did for the English speaking world by endowing a large number of scholarships at Oxford. If any of our leaders, who condemn Impearialists day in day out had one tenth of the imagination foresight and perseverance of Rhodes, we should have had a good library on Greater India long ago.

Mr. Andrews' speech on Thanksgiving Day in America

Mr. C. F. Andrews never misses an opportunity to put in something for India, his adopted country, wherever he may wander in his humanitarian tours all over the world. The following speech is a further proof of his love for India, indeed if any proofs were now necessary after his twenty-five years' service for our Motherland.

"What does Thanksgiving Day in America really stand for ?" Surely it is a symbol of deliverance from a Great oppression. It represents the beginning of the greatest struggle for human liberty of modern times.

For it synbolizes to American hearts the first day of landing of the Pilgrim forefathers who came to America. They landed out of the stormy weather on a cold inhospitable coast. But from that day of landing, called Thanksgiving Day, the struggle for human liberty began in a new way in a new world. The first step led on by a natural sequence to the Declaration of Independence which followed. And still further, the American Declaration of Independence truly inspired the leaders of the French Revolution which shook Europe to its very foundations. Thus, Thanksgiving Day in America truly represents deliverance from human oppression. Every year when it comes round we ought to balance our accounts and see what we can put down in the current year to the account of independence.

The Kellogg Pact during the year 1929 has been a mighty instrument of peace in the world. But there is another side of the picture which needs to be remembered. Not only ought we to have a Disarmament among the western nations, but we ought also to have a disarmament of the whole West against the oppression of the East. For every Eastern land today is feeling that oppression and is seeking its independence. Just as a 'naval' Disarmament is sorely needed so also a 'racial' disarmament is equally badly needed. A new Kellogg Pact is needed whereby no race or nation shall any longer control another against its own will and consent.

This principle needs emphasizing today more than any other : it is the first element of human justice. The American Declaration of Independence declared boldly that all men were born equal. We want to have a similar declaration concerning the equality of all races.

My own adopted country is India, dearest of all to me in her misfortune. I make a plea to America on behalf of Indian Independence. In doing so I would pay my deepest reverence and affection to the Rev. Dr. Sunderland who at the age of ninety is still full of youthful enthusiasm in the great cause. India looks to the best men both in England and America to be with her in her struggle for independence."

A serious Problem

A large number of Punjabi labourers and Gujerati artisans are going to Fiji Islands every year and this has set the colonial born Indians in Fiji a-thinking. I have recently received two letters on this subject, one from Ba and the other from Nadi.

The Nadi gentleman writes :

"The Sutlej brought no less than 800 Indians to Fiji. Two hundred of them are Gujeratis and about 400 are Punjabis. The Gujeratis are mostly tailors, goldsmiths, barbers and shoe-makers while almost all the Punjabis are labourers. The influx of labour from India is increasing unemployment here in this colony and constitutes a grave problem. Wages are already low and now there is a danger of their going down still further. The colonial born children are faced with a serious situation not only from economic point of view but also from the moral point of view.

I need not tell you that there was a great

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disparity of number among the males and females of Indian population on account of indenture system that allowed only thirty women per hundred men. It was this inhuman disproportion that gave rise to so many jealousies quarrels and demoralization among the Indian population during the indenture days. Now after the abolition of that hated system in 1920 nature herself began the work of healing and more girls were being born than boys and the proportion was being set right till this new menace has intervened—this menace of the arrival of hundreds of unmarried labourers from home. If this state of affairs continues for a few years everything will be upset and we are bound to revert back to those indenture days when immorality was rampant everywhere. We shall pray to our leaders in India to stop this emigration of labourers. If they cannot help us they can at least stop their compatriots from coming here and being an obstacle in the way of our progress."

My Ba correspondent writes :

"I feel that before very long we shall be faced with unemployment problem in Fiji, unless the inflow of Punjabis and Gujeratis is curtailed."

The problem is no doubt a difficult one. If we approach the Government of India on this subject they will say "What can we do ? These people are paying their passages and you cannot expect us to put a stop to this free emigration." The only thing that we can do is to carry on propaganda in the Punjab and Gujerat against any emigration to Fiji. It is the duty of the Fiji Indians to send one or two workers here for this purpose and to finance them for their publicity work. One or two stray articles in the Hindi or English papers will not do anything, for the class of people who usually emigrate to Fiji do not read those papers. The Government of India can easily put a stop to this evil by prohibiting the issue of any passports for Fiji but they will not do so for reasons stated above. What has the Indian National Congress of Fiji been doing for the past fifteen months ? It should prove its usefulness by taking up such questions.

The late Honourable S. N. Ghose

I have been shocked to learn about the death of Mr. S. N. Ghose, Bar-at-law of Dar-es-salaam Tanganyika. During my tour in East African territories in 1924 I had the privilege of being his guest along with Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India and Mr. Ghose impressed both of us as a very sincere and simple hearted gentleman ready to help every good cause to the best of his ability. The Tanganyika Herald writes about him :

Mr. Ghose came to this territory in the middle of 1924. His practice began flourishing from the very beginning. He got himself established very soon. Immediately after his arrival here he joined the Indian Association and worked for its welfare. In 1925 he was appointed as a member of the Township Authority, and in the subsequent years he had the honour of being nominated as a member to the Legislative Council. He was simple, moderate and a willing worker. He was a practical man and had no love for leadership. Yet, there could hardly be found any function, social or political, in which his leadership was not sought. His services to the Indian community in the federation propaganda are too well known to need recapitulation. To the Central School movement his contribution was not inconsiderable. He was a member of the Committee which went door to door collecting funds. He had taken very active part in the Indian Library. For public works he was available at any time. In him the community has lost a sincere worker, an able leader, and a generous donor and this loss is irreparable.

Mr. Ghose had been suffering from heart and kidney diseases for the last four months and had been under Dr. Mullick's treatment. Owing to long illness he was very much run down and was unable to satisfy his desire of going either to England or to India for better medical treatment. On last Friday his condition became worse when he was removed to the European Hospital and there he breathed his last."

We are deeply pained to learn that Mr. Ghose could not get better treatment at the European Hospital in Dar-es-Salaam. We read in the Herald :

It has transpired that the late Honourable Mr. Ghose was not given better accommodation and better treatment in the European Hospital. He was kept in a Goan ward and was allowed to die there.

It is really impertinence on the part of the authorities to have denied best treatment and best accommodation to an eminent person like Mr. Ghose, whom His Excellency the Governor described as his personal friend and a wise counsellor, of whom His Honour the Chief Justice spoke so highly, who was popular among all sections of the non-native community, who dined with His Excellency on many an occasion and whose services to the country as a whole have been appreciated.

Of what use are the expression of feelings and show of sympathy to a dead when he could not get even an hundredth part of such feelings and sympathy shown towards him in time of need.

Mr. Ghose was in a very bad condition when he was taken to the hospital, otherwise he would certainly have protested against the indecent treatment meted out to him.

It is things like these that make the task of better understanding between the brown and the white people impossible. That a highly cultured gentleman of Mr. Ghose's type could not get better treatment at the

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of his extreme illness—treatment that is always available to every Tom Dick and Harry of a white skin, makes us almost despair of racial unity even in that mandatory territory, where there ought to be no racial distinctions.

Lord Delamere's outburst

Here is a summary of a statement of Lord Delamere of East Africa wired out by Reuters to the Indian papers :

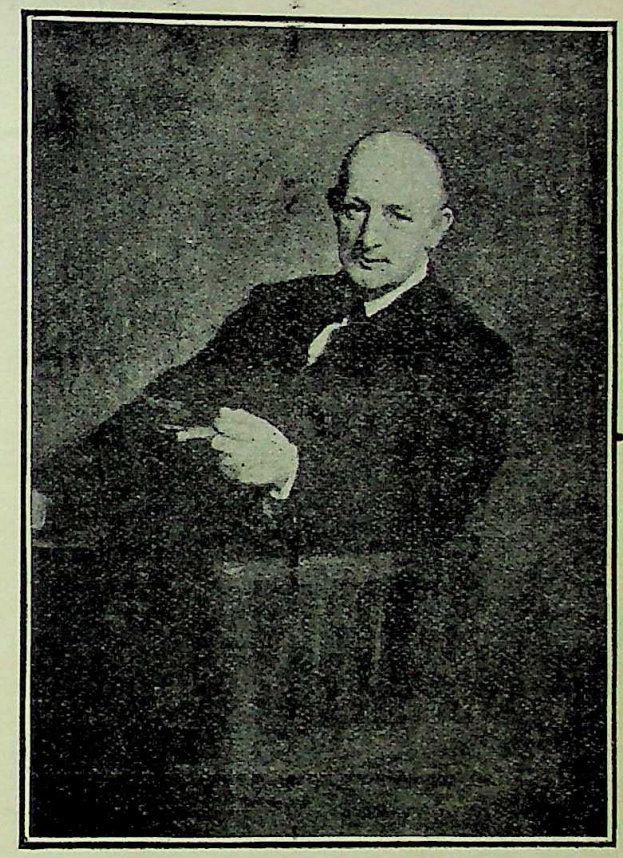
Lord Delamere, who is at present chairman of the elected members' organization, declares that the proposals hold out no prospect of association of the settlers in the government of the country until the natives, who were savages thirty years ago, are able to participate on an equal basis. He believes that the essential art of ruling is bred in the inherent characteristics of a people and it is a gift that cannot wholly be handed on by teaching and example.

Lord Delamere suggests that the word 'trusteeship' in connection with the East African policy has become smeared with the oil of unctuous and unpractical rectitude, under which its ordinary meaning has been lost. 'The Kenya settlers are standing on well tried empire principles, the very first of which is that we are a governing people.' In place of the word 'paramountcy', which has become controversial, Lord Delamere suggests the use of the phrase 'equality under the law.'

He points out that the White civilization must be rooted in the soil of Africa because natural development will not remove the sloth, slavery and witchcraft of countless years."

This racial arrogance—this belief in the Religion of White Race Supremacy is characteristic of the mentality of European settlers in East Africa. Lord Delamere claims a monopoly of the 'art of ruling' for his race but the fact is that such sentiments proclaim the settlers' inherent unfitness to rule over people of different races. The record of the white settlers in East Africa has not been at all creditable so far as their relation with the African races are concerned. Professor H. J. Taylor writes in the Times of India :

One recalls in this connection that in the year 1907 Major Grogan (another settler very prominent in the history of Kenya) horsewhipped a rickshaw boy before a large crowd in front of the Court house, for which he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. This sentence caused such a storm of protest from the Europeans that the Governor was led to ask the Colonial Office to detain a warship at Mombasa. During the Indian crisis of 1920-23, Europeans assaulted the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who was visiting Kenya. Again, during this crisis, the settlers threatened an armed



Lord Delamere

revolution if their demands were not granted, and the armed revolution was very near to being carried into effect. Instances might be multiplied. The settlers of Kenya have never hesitated to use extra legal means of getting their own way.

People having such a mentality are surely the least fitted to rule justly over the brown and the black people of Africa.

Swami Bhawani Dayal's new address

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi is kept in Central Jail at Hazaribagh (Bihar) and his friends and admirers in different colonies will be glad to learn that he is being treated well and has improved in health.

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The Awakening of India*

VIRGINIO GAYDA

ON the 31st of December, 1929, at midnight, the Indian National Congress, which met in Lahore, concluded its sitting by announcing the independence of the Indian people. This is a new and magnificent episode of the world, for the year 1930. It has placed the Labour Government of England face to face with a new national problem which puts the tradition of the party in strong contrast with that of the British empire. Everywhere in the British empire from Egypt to South Africa, from Canada to India, banners of national independence are being raised, which threaten to break its unity and power for ever. India, today gives us the sign of the great awakening of the continent of Asia. The Chinese nationalist movement, which is already triumphant, is more theatrical and uprearious; that of India is more profound. In India there is now a rapid, almost rectilinear progress of ideas and the masses. The deeds of individuals are added to those of millions of men. The year 1929 was very unquiet. The two bombs thrown on April 8 in the hall of the Parliament in Delhi during a discussion by the Legislative Assembly of a law which was to give full power to the Authorities for repressing unlawful agitation, might make one think of an essentially terroristic operation of some small groups in the country. But the decisions of the Lahore Congress, following upon a second attempt on the life of Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, have clearly demonstrated that behind the small groups the masses are already there.

All the political parties in India were represented in the Lahore Congress by twenty thousand delegates. After the President, Pundit Jawharlal Nehru, had spoken of a "British imperialism which thrives on exploitation of other races," the Congress voted a series of resolutions which are summed up in the three following points :—(1) proclamation of the right of independence of the Indian people together with the refusal to participate in the conference to be called by the British Government in London for discussing the solution of the Indian problem : (2) boycott of the central and provincial legislative assemblies, resignation of the members who form a part of the same, abstention from future political elections ; (3) full power of the executive committee to make a programme of civil resistance to Britain which may ultimately lead to the refusal to pay tax.

It is an open proclamation of a silent and passive revolt. Should it be realized, it will paralyse the entire administrative machinery of this vast and mysterious land with a population of 320 million. In 1922 Gandhi started the movement of Non-Co-operation with the Government, but it failed. It was not accepted by the masses. The British Government was stronger and able to do great damage to the Indian national movement. But times are changed. A new element, a formidable force—the mass, has entered the scene. It is already pervaded by the new national sentiment. Above all, it has learnt not to fear the danger of resistance. An experiment has already been made with the silent revolt of the peasants in the district of Bardoli. The English authority had imposed an increased tax upon the people of the locality. But the peasants, incited by the national propagandists, refused to pay. The government seized their lands and put these to auctions. But the peasants remained unmoved and continued to cultivate and sow them. When the harvest came the British Government, in order to avoid a bloody conflict with the mass, had to yield. A commission of inquiry was appointed and it was recognized that the new taxes were too high. Since that day the Indian masses have learnt the value of numbers.

There are two new mass movements in India—that of the workers' leagues and that of the youth leagues. Labour organization is advancing rapidly even among the workers in India. It is futile to look for its driving force in Moscow. Russian Communism and the agitation thereof counts much less in India as also in China than it seems and is said. There is no doubt that the Indian labour movement, which is born of a new consciousness of man, has its origin in the preachings of Gandhi. He is the great apostle of India, who, declaring equality of men and the crusade for the suppression of caste, especially that of the pariah or the untouchable which keeps 50 million men isolated in the cities and the villages depriving them of all human dignity, has not only stirred up the labourers and brought them nearer to the intellectuals, but has, above all, created a new conscience in them. It was a crowd of thirty thousand workers, which, for the first time, brought the cry of independence into the Calcutta Congress of 1928. The Whitley Commission, appointed to enquire into the social conditions of the two India, have affirmed that most of the hundred strikes declared in India in 1928 and involving 31,647,404 days of lost labour, had a cause more political than economic. To the workers' leagues which give the organized force of number, are added the leagues of young men who are the dictators in all Indian activities and are now at the head of the national movement. Young men of India today have the typical characteristics of their age in all countries. They are radical, uncompromising, bellicose, burning with nationalism, inclined to violence. Irish terrorism is suggested more by the Russian example of Sinn Feinism than by that of Moscow. Organised during the first struggle of Gandhi in 1920 for the boycott of the British schools, they represent a thought which is more purely

* Translated from the *Gerarchia*, a magazine directed by Benito Mussolini.

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Indian and antagonistic to the men who have been trained in English schools and have mixed themselves up with the life of the British government. Chauvinists and Xenophobes like all nationalists, in the movement of national re-awakening, they preserve that contact with the masses which the Russian intellectuals of all the revolutionary parties, from the Crabists to the Bolshevists, had really never had.

The two popular currents go ever forward. Even Gandhi, the mystic, is carried along with these. Even he had to join, in the Lahore Congress, the cry of independence because he felt that it had become the cry of the nation.

Resistance on the part of Britain becomes difficult when the enormous masses begin to move. Against 320 million Indians, there are, in India, only 120 thousand English men. But the problem is not merely that of numbers. There is something wrong in the atmosphere and the machinery of the British regime. The force of English defence is diminished and put to severe test by five negative elements. Above all is the transformation of the religious strife. The conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims has been long, obstinate, often bloody. The British Government has utilized this to fortify its position according to the policy of "divide and rule." But the conflict has passed into the administration itself of the Government where the Indian officers are counted by thousands, specially in the lower and middle grades, and has brought about a general disturbance of the functions. When the Indian opposition became stronger and the possibility of Dominion status or Independence appeared, the conflict lost its original sterile bitterness and its uncompromising religious spirit, and was transformed into a dispute for posts in the future antonomous government. The Hindus constitute three-fourths of the entire population of India, but the English law does not recognize them and for the purposes of election distinguish only between the Mussalman and the non-Mussalman. Gandhi is trying to keep the clash of faith in check but the struggle continues and today it has became a proof of the diminished strength of the British Government. No one believes that it will last for ever. The Mussalmans want to have assurances for to-morrow: a greater number of seats in the Legislative Assembies and posts in the future national government.

There is a want, in British politics, of the sense of the moment. In this vast Indian renaissance movement the English Government came late with a politics of concessions and repentance which has only caused a decline of its efficiency and prestige. The promise of autonomy for India, of Dominion Status, was made in August 1917 by Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India. England wanted peace in India during the war and flattered the national sentiment of Indians like that of the Arabs in Palestine. The war ended and the promise was soon forgotten. The Government India Act of December of 1919 gives to India a government which is far from that of autonomy. It is a mixed system of essentially executive power of bureaucratic government dominated by England and a national parliamentary regime. The Viceroy who resides in Delhi governs with the assistance of a Council of Ministers, of whom only two are Hindus, and the legislative power is exercised by a Council of State and an elected assembly in which only two hundredth part of the population participate by vote. It is a transitional government which betrays England's will to preserve her direct control upon India allowing the Indian element to intervene only in a moderate degree. But in ten years it has changed itself to become again what it was before. The nationalistic parties have been unwilling to collaborate and have boycotted the political institutions. The British bureaucracy in India, has in its turn, retaken its domination and reduced the margins of autonomy and representation of the people.

The constitution of 1919 provided for a revision after a period of ten years of experiment. For this purpose, the English Government appointed in 1928 a Commission of enquiry presided over by Sir John Simon. The Conservative Government wanted that there should be Indian representation on the Commission. But the English bureaucratic government of India disagreed. The Commission was left alone and boycotted. It had to travel across all the provinces of India, to ask questions, to gather facts and propose reforms on the basis of a direct inquiry. But isolated on account of the passive resistance of Indians, directed by young men and the workers' leagues, the commission worked without any contact with the immediate problems of the nation, and its work is not yet over. The Calcutta Congress of 1928 dominated by the youth movement, was for demanding independence and was only restrained by Gandhi by a ruling of the day which gave a year's time to the English Government to fulfil its promises and grant Dominion Status to India. The English Government is in a fix. Neither the Conservatives nor the Labourites know how to meet the great problem which threaten to overthrow the tradition of a century and contains in it the possibilities of no one knows what terrible and gigantic developments. Only on Nov 1, 1929, Mr. MacDonald in London and the Viceroy in Delhi announced in cautious phrases the coming of an autonomous government. But in London the declaration created a flutter in certain political circles and was vehemently opposed. Lloyd George of the Liberal party, Lord Birkenhead, ex-Secretary of State for India, and Lord Brentford attacked it as the sign of a politics of surrender. A month after, the Indian National Congress in Lahore declared independence.

One might say that England, who in the past gave classical examples of taking perfect measure of time and necessity with a prompt sense of compromise, has lost all contact with realities. One might perhaps add that she has lost this contact because between London and the Indian reality there is an exhausted colonial bureaucracy, crystalized in tradition, obstinate in resistance, and incapable of renovation. The Civil Service was, in the past, the marvel of British imperial power. It governed India for a century with a few thousand functionaries scattered over the most distant regions, isolated in the midst of millions of hostile children of the soil. To day its power is on the wane. The struggle against the passive resistance of Indians exhausts it. The penetration of the Indian element which brings with it internal discords and an impatient spirit, dissolves it. The pressure of the local British capitalists makes it inflexible. The solid armature

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of the British Government in India is thus being slowly disarmed. This is the third negative element of the English regime.

A fourth negative element is the loss of British prestige. The prestige of her name and government which has been England's greatest strength in preserving and ruling all her possessions is no longer unrivalled. It is not merely the slow dissolution of rigid British customs, owing to long stay in the colonies, which explains this decadence. The war with its great mass movements, its new experiences, has brought a new light to the spirit of the Indian people. One million Indian soldiers were mobilized and a large number of them was sent to Europe. There they became aware of the fact that England is not alone in making the conquests of civilization, in technical progress and in those arrangements which are symbols of her power. A new spirit of criticism, born of experience, has entered into India after the war. It has been re-invigorated by the afflux of young Indians who come to other countries of Europe and not merely to England.

Two countries, seeking for means of economic conquests and political struggles in India, contribute to this spirit of criticism. These are the U. S. A. and Germany. This is the fifth new negative element of British regime in India. It is not Moscow, as is generally believed, but America and Germany that excite this anti-British feeling in China as well as in India. Germany is generous in spending money for bringing the young intellectuals of India nearer to her own culture and spiritual influence through her schools, universities and books. But she also works through her banks, commercial societies and navigation. The United States unite the economic action with that of politics, and with a subtle propaganda encourage the silent revolt and resistance of Indians which is daily corroding British prestige.

Thus not only on account of the numerical strength but also due to the changed conditions of the struggle, British resistance in India has been to put day to a difficult and decisive test.

These new aspects of the Indian movement being established facts, it is useless to forecast anything. It is a national re-awakening which has just begun to illuminate the masses. It will advance and raise millions of men. But no one can say how and when. The east with its huge nameless masses remains indecipherable in its mysterious depths. Logic does not serve us here. The European observer may well think that these enormous Indian masses are as yet unfit for autonomous Government. He may think of the tragic experiences in Russia—the rise of the masses—the destriction of the bonds of tradition and of Government which kept them docile, from will, fear and habit—and ask himself as to what would happen in India, left to herself with her 320 million men, her 150 dialects, her profound religious differences, her 678 states of which only 16 are nominally independent, her fundamental and unsolved problems of the "untouchables," of hunger, misery, epidemics, ignorance of masses against which odds groups of young intellectuals are heroically fighting in spite of the overwhelming strength of number, space and time being against them. But history advances even through elemental forces.

The re-awakening of India will fill the history of this century which will see the rise against the white races and occidental civilization of the coloured races and the spirit of other traditions and alien civilizations stronger in number and having a more virginal conscience.

FINANCIAL NOTES

Simon Report on Indian Finance

Few chapters in the Report of the Simon Commission evince such careful and learned study combined with a curious logic in arriving at the recommendations as those dealing with the finances of the Central and Provincial Governments.

It has been rightly recognized that the solution of the problem of India's political advancement must be of an All-India nature and must not create divergence between the two Indias, namely, British India and that of the Indian States; and further, that consequently, the ideal should be one of ultimate federation of several autonomous units with varying degree of democracy in each as demanded by different local Socio-economic features, needs and aspirations. It has also been fully realized that financial autonomy is essential if the process of decentralization is to be completed by constituting the provinces as self-governing units in a federation. The general principles of the scheme prepared by Sir W. T. Layton, the financial assessor attached to the Commission, regarding the division of resources in British India between the Central and Provincial Governments have been accepted and fully endorsed. It is stated that any measure of interference of central control would run counter to the whole trend of federal constitutional development recommended, and in order to ensure adequate resources to the provinces without infringing their autonomy the constitution of a Provincial Fund, which could not be drawn upon for any purpose of the Central

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Government, is recommended. The Provincial Fund is to be fed by the product of certain indirect taxes voted by a Federal Assembly representing the provinces, but collected centrally, and the Fund should be distributed among the units of the Federation on the basis of population. So far as good.

Then follow a series of complications and inconsistencies that must necessarily result in any attempt at bringing together incompatibles. The Commissioners are "strongly of opinion" that a "rigid division between expenditure on central and provincial subjects should be modified." They recommend that "it should be rendered constitutionally possible, under suitable restrictions, to assist provincial objects from central funds and vice versa."

The power of initiating measures of taxation for central purposes will, as heretofore, be vested exclusively in the Executive which will remain as non-responsible as before, and should the central legislature refuse to accept the proposals the Governor-General may certify any measure to have the force of law in case he "considers that its passing is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof." The division between votable and non-votable charges will remain as at present, and even if the Federal Assembly contents itself with a mere "cut" in any expenditure the Governor-General in Council will have the power to restore the demands "where he considers they are essential to the discharge of his responsibilities." India knows full well the implications of these safe-guards and qualifying phrases.

The proposals for raising additional taxes for the Provincial Fund should, however, emanate from the provinces and should be first discussed in an Inter-Provincial Financial Council consisting of the Finance Member and the Ministers of Finance of those units of federation which would be entitled to draw on the funds. Any proposal supported by the representatives of at least three of the Governor's provinces should be laid before the Federal Assembly. The final decision on the proposal will be with the Federal Assembly, and while the assent of the Governor-General would be necessary before any legislation became effective, he should have no powers of certification for over-ruling any rejection by the Assembly.

In the provinces financial autonomy is proposed, but the Governor will have powers "to restore rejected demands for grants, and to certify legislation, if in his opinion it is essential for *any interest* in the province." (Italics are ours).

"The Governor should also have statutory powers to declare that a state of affairs has arisen under which the Government of the province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Statute," and thereupon all the powers normally possessed by the Governor with his Ministers will vest in himself, and he will have the right to appoint any persons to assist him and to delegate powers to them.

Not satisfied with all these extraordinary powers of the Governor the Commissioners further add that the Governor-General in Council should exercise superintendence, direction and control over a Provincial Government on a defined field including amongst others the raising of loans, employment of All-India Services, *safe-guarding Imperial interests* (Italics are ours) and questions arising between India and other parts of the empire. Speaking of financial stability of the provinces the Commissioners think that a certain corrective power should reside in the Central Government through a right to control borrowing by a Provincial Government, and that the Central Government should be in a position either to refuse a loan required by a province to meet a deficit, or, if need be, to impose discriminatory rates of interest on any loans which it grants.

This is how "Provincial Autonomy" and a substantial degree of constitutional advancement are proposed to be secured to the people of India. Can mockery go further ?

Compared to these recommendations Sir W. T. Layton's survey of India's past and present financial administration, and his proposals for the future offer instructive reading.

Three of the chief features of the financial situation in India are stated to be that

(a) The mass of the people are extremely poor,

(b) India is incurring expenditure on the primary functions of Government, such as defence and the maintenance of law and order as high in proportion to her wealth as Western nations, and

(c) Her expenditure on social services such as education, health, sanitation, etc., is far behind Western standards, and indeed in many directions is almost non-existent.

The fiscal arrangements in India are

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profoundly affected by "India's dominantly rural character, its isolated villages, and the dependence of the vast majority of its people upon agriculture ; the low standard of living of the masses, and their poverty ; and the long tradition of centralized administration." With the most optimistic estimate the average income per head in India in 1922 was about £8 only while the corresponding figure for Great Britain was £95. "The contrast remains startling even after allowing for the difference between the range of needs to be satisfied." Great disparity exists in the incomes of different classes of people in India, and grave inequalities prevail in the distribution of taxation. Thus, a poor cultivator, who not only pays to the State a substantial portion of his income from land, but also bears the burdens of the duties on sugar, kerosene oil, salt and other articles of general consumption, receives very different treatment from the big zamindar or land-holder in areas where permanent settlement prevails, who pays to the State a merely nominal charge fixed over a century ago and declared to be unalterable for ever, while his agricultural income is totally exempt from income tax.

Sir W. T. Layton assumes that "it is both possible and desirable to improve the economic and social condition of the Indian people by a substantial increase in expenditure on the "nation-building" services, and that it is possible to raise additional revenues for this purpose, provided that the incidence of further taxation is adjusted to the capacity of the tax-payer to pay."

Any scheme for financial reform should ensure :

(a) that the services of revenue appropriate to the requirements are available for those authorities who have urgent and expanding services to administer,

(b) that all the parts of India make an equitable contribution to common purposes, and

(c) that the responsibility for imposing additional taxation is definitely laid upon those who will have to incur the additional expenditure. Under the existing financial administration these conditions are not adequately fulfilled especially as the provinces with rapidly expanding needs have sources of revenue which are almost stationary, many of the provinces are inequally treated, and the industrial provinces are handicapped having no power to tax the industries.

An examination of the balance sheet of India's finances during 1929-30, taking central and provincial finance together, shows that on the revenue side out of Rs. 146 crores, of taxation customs produce Rs. 51 crores, land revenue Rs. 35½ crores, alcoholic excise Rs. 19½ crores, income tax nearly Rs. 17 crores, stamps Rs. 14½ crores and salt Rs. 6½ crores. On the expenditure side debt absorbs Rs. 15 crores, defence Rs. 5[illegible] crores, law and order, justice, etc., and pensions Rs. 7 crores. Of nation-building services education accounts for Rs. 13 crores, health and medical services Rs. 6½ crores, agriculture and industry Rs. 3½ crores only, while expenditure on civil works amounts to Rs. 14 crores.

On the Revenue side of the Central Government the key to future prospects is to be found in the field of Customs. Provided that a liberal fiscal policy is maintained and serious political dislocation does not occur the growth of India's foreign trade is likely to continue at an even faster pace than heretofore. Moreover there are reasons for thinking that the economic development of trade in the next ten years should be much more rapid than in the last decade.

On the other hand, the expenditure for defence is a dominating factor in India's financial situation. Current expenditure on defence bears a very high proportion (62½ per cent) to the total expenditure of the Central Government—"a higher proportion in fact than in any other country in the world." "Even when account is taken of provincial and central expenditure together, the ratio (31½ per cent) is still a very high one." "Security is, of course, essential if production is to develop ; but it cannot be claimed for expenditure on defence either that it is a mere re-distribution of income or that it promotes productive efficiency. Indeed, economically speaking it is the most burdensome form of expenditure, and this is particularly the case where, as in the case of India, the Army contains a large element drawn from elsewhere." India's expenditure on Armaments is between two and three times as great as that of the rest of the Empire outside Great Britain and has increased by nearly 100 per cent as compared with the pre-war situation, while the rise of wholesale prices in India has been only 41 per cent between 1913 and 1928. Whether anything is done on

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not in regard to the claim of India for Indianization of the army, or release from a portion of the expenditure on defence which is more or less an Imperial concern, there seems no reason, in the absence of wars, why the expenditure on army should not be reduced. Sir W. T. Layton estimates that in ten years, the military expenditure to be borne by India alone, exclusive of Burma, should come down to Rs. 45 crores.

As to the cost of general administration the Indian Government is expensive, owing to high level of salaries in the upper grades of the Indian services. So long as British personnel will be required for these services, these standards must continue.

On pages 225 to 235 of the second volume of the Report a very interesting study is given on the financial situation in the provinces. Space does not permit us to examine them in course of this discussion. It is shown that between 1921-22 and 1925-29 provincial expenditure has risen substantially, being no less than 22 per cent, while revenue has increased by 4 per cent only. This is in marked contrast with the situation at the centre. Moreover, the disparity amongst the various provinces in *per capita* revenue as well as expenditure on different items is stupendous, for example, while total expenditure per head in Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal stand at Rs. 1·8 and Rs. 2·5 respectively, they are as high as Rs. 8·3 in Bombay and Rs. 8·6 in Burma. Figures go to show that the standard of service rendered by Provincial Governments—both in quality and in amount—is appreciably lower in the poorer parts of India than in those that are well-to-do. The inequalities have been accentuated under the Reforms.

The following figures of expenditure on the principal nation-building services in the different provinces show the extent of inequality existent :

I. Expenditure per head of population according to 1929-30 budget estimates, in rupees.

	Education	Sanitation	Law & Order
Madras	·61	·33	·79
Punjab	·81	·39	1·10
United Provinces	·42	·14	·63
Bombay	1·06	·47	1·45
Bengal	·28	·21	·78
Bihar & Orissa	·26	·15	·43

II. Percentage of increase between 1922-23 and 1929-30.

	Education	Sanitation
Madras	82	115
Punjab	78	94
United Provinces	47	67
Bombay	23	43
Bengal	21	24

Future requirements are everywhere almost unlimited and the revenues of the provinces need to be increased by something like 50 per cent. Any prospective surplus in the Central Budget, however, will go a comparatively little way towards meeting the need of the provinces. It is, therefore, essential to find new sources of revenue. Sir W. T. Layton proposes the following sources :

(a) Abolition of the exemption of agricultural incomes from income tax.

(b) Increased yield of the income tax by lowering the exemption limits, by steepening the graduation in the case of intermediate incomes and by amendment of the law relating to the taxation of income invested abroad.

(c) National excises on such commodities such as cigarettes and matches, and

(d) Terminal taxes.

Instead of dividing the revenues of India as at present into two sharply defined classes for purposes of allocation between the Central and Provincial Governments Sir W. T. Layton examines them as follows :

(1) Revenue collected and spent by the Central Government ;

(2) Revenue collected and spent by Provincial Governments.

(3) Revenue collected by the Central Government and distributed to the provinces according to the province of origin ;

(4) Revenue collected by the Central Government and distributed to the provinces on the basis of population.

A complete scheme of allocation should, says Sir W. T. Layton, provide for the distribution of centrally collected revenue in part according to origin and in part on a population basis. In accordance with such principles the scheme proposed is as follows :

(a) Customs duty on imported liquor should be brought into relation with the excise policy of each province, since the present arrangements have led to considerable administrative friction. This duty should be reduced to the standard luxury rate of 30

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per cent and the provinces should be given the right of imposing further duties in the form of excises to bring them in line with their excise policy.

(b) Revenue from commercial stamps should be transferred to the Centre.

(c) One-half of the proceeds of the income tax paid by residents of a province (including the tax on dividends received by them from companies operating outside) should be assigned to the province concerned. Super-tax should, however, continue to be entirely central for the present.

(d) Provincial Governments should have the option of levying a limited amount of surcharge on the income tax collected on incomes of residents in the province.

(e) The exemption from income tax of agricultural incomes should be abolished by definite stages and the whole of the proceeds should be assigned to the province of origin.

(f) Provinces should be empowered to levy terminal taxes at a low rate for provincial purposes for a temporary period.

(g) There should be a Provincial Fund fed by specially designated taxes such as excise on cigarettes, on matches and the duty on salt which may be transferred when central budget situation permits. The resources of this Fund should be automatically distributed to the provinces on a *per capita* basis. This proposal is essentially a federal idea.

If all the preceding proposals are carried out it would add nearly Rs. 40 crores to the revenues of the provinces by 1940, of which Rs. 12 crores, will be transferred from the central budget.

In any case attempts should be made to equitably treat and harmonize the finances of the Indian States and that of British India. If necessary, representatives of Indian States should be consulted on financial policy, and the machinery of consultation between British India and the States should be progressively developed.

Sir W. T. Layton's proposals leave ample room for criticism, but on the whole he deserves to be congratulated on the masterly way he has presented the problems of Indian Finance. One is, however, inclined to feel that he is rather too optimistic in his estimates. The abolition of exemption of agricultural incomes from the income-tax, the re-grading of the income tax, the levy of death duties, excise on cigarettes and matches, increase in total rates etc., as recommended, are measures which are more or less admissible. But we are surprised to find an able economist like Sir Walter recommending terminal duties. He has shown some amount of hesitation in supporting this taxation, but has ultimately fallen a victim to the demand for increasing provincial revenues at all costs. A terminal tax is not only dangerous to trade and commerce of a country, but is also positively harmful, inasmuch as it places artificial barriers to the equalization of economic standards in different parts of the land and prevents that adjustment of productive resources which make for most efficient and economical working. In the matter of taking agricultural incomes and in bringing down the evils due to a permanent land settlement to a minimum we are at one with Sir Walter, but we feel that unless proper safe-guards are provided to prevent a further desertion of the villages and rush to the towns for living, taxation of agricultural incomes may lead to disastrous social consequences. A re-grading of the income tax has our sympathy, but we can not see how, on the face of the low standard of living and acute distress of the middle classes and in the absence of any provision for remissions or rebates based on the size of the family to be maintained, Sir Walter Layton can propose a lowering of the limits of free income.

The most important part of Sir Walter's recommendations lies perhaps in his methods of division or allocation of revenues between the provinces and the centre. His proposals are certainly an improvement on the Montague-Chelmsford or the Meston schemes, but we are doubtful if adequate attention has been given to the practical difficulties involved in carrying them into effect, lastly, with regard to the resources in the Provincial Fund we do not think the proposals have provided for an adequate sense of responsibility of the provinces in the matter of new taxation.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

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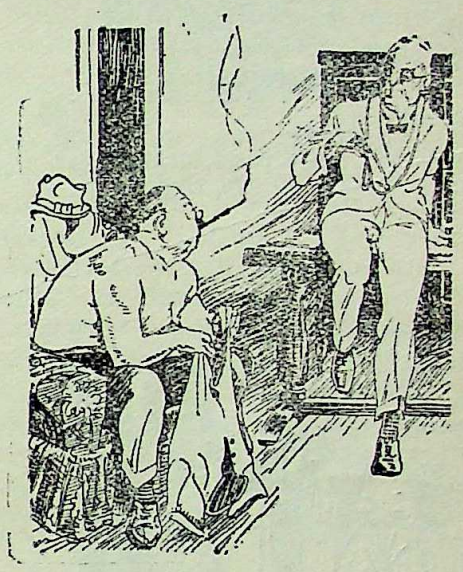
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The World's Humour



"Just think! He called me an old idiot."

"Heaven, and how old are you really?"—*Rolig Halv Timma*, Gotenburg.



Doctor: "Your trouble is laziness."

Patient: "Yes, doc.. I know. But what is the scientific name for it—I've got to report to the wife."

—*Bulletin*, Sydney.



"But, Dr. Scott, why don't you prescribe for yourself instead of calling in Dr. Bobs?"

"I canna afford it. My charge is two guineas and Bobs charges only half-a-guinea."—

Aussie, Sydney.



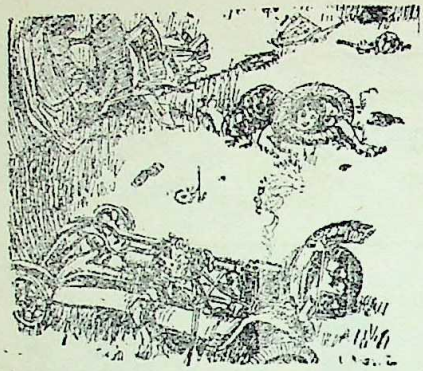
"I'll carry your three bags to the station for 2/-."

"It's very dear; you must make it less."

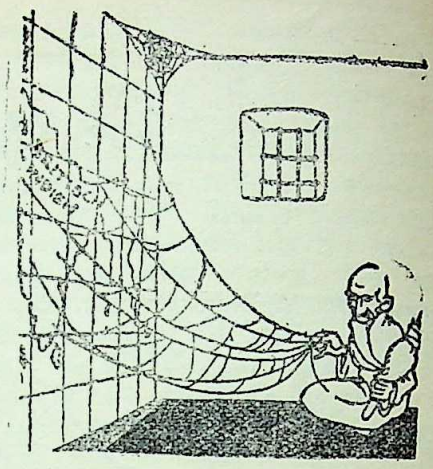
"Good, then I'll carry only two bags."—*Buen Humor*, Madrid.

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Wife : "Never mind, we'll have plenty of spare parts for our next car."—*Smith's Weekly*, Sydney.



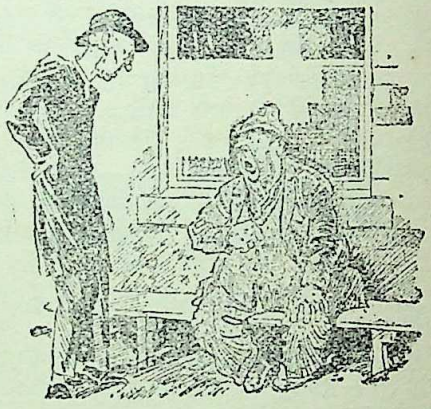
Mr. Gandhi in prison is passing the time spinning.—*Gotz*, Vienna.



"Do you always carry your wife's photo with you ?"

"Yes, then whenever I feel like going back to her I take a look at it and change my mind."—

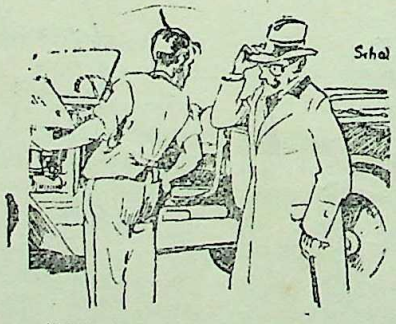
Smith's Weekly, Sydney.



Minister : "I'm sorry to hear you waste much time at the public house."

"Me waste time ? Why, Boss, I can drink a pint quicker than any other man in the place."—

Bulletin, Sydney.



"What is the total cost for repairing my car ?"

"Two pounds."

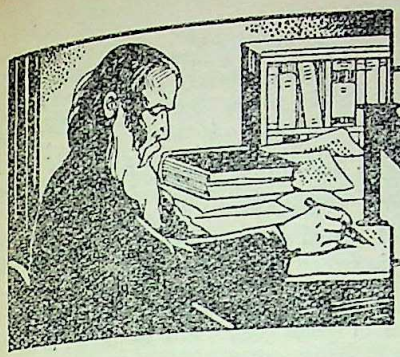
"And what was wrong with it ?"

"The petrol had run out to the last drop."—

Lustige Sachse, Leipzig,

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NOTES

An American Comment on Simon Commission Report

The New Republic had to comment on the report of the Simon Commission before its first volume had been received in America. But it could anticipate from the news despatches covering the substance of the first volume that "its effect is likely to be extremely unfortunate," which has turned out to be true. The American Liberal weekly thus indicates its reasons for its comment :

Here is a nation which is seething with the demand for freedom. Its leaders anxiously await a clear statement of policy by the Government of the nation which at the moment is employing force to retain its rulership. And the recommendations are to come from a Commission consisting wholly of representatives of the ruling country—representatives, moreover, whose responsibility is emphasized by the fact that they comprise members not of one British party alone, but of all. Yet the first part of the report consists largely of a summary of difficulties assumed to lie in the path of Indian self-government—the complex populations, the religious antagonism, the caste system, the status of women, the independent states, the necessity for military defence. It passes judgment on Indian institutions, concluding that the Indian people themselves are responsible for most of the evils for which British rule is blamed. It states that "Indian political thought finds it tempting to foreshorten history, and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution." All this is an old story. If elaborated by impartial scientists, it might conceivably have some beneficial effect on the mind of India. But, as the pronouncement of an alien sovereignty to a people who demand the right to judge and rule themselves, it is likely to sound insufferably pretentious. Questions of sovereignty are sharp and exclusive; they must be solved by action, not by moralizing.

—

"MacDonald's First year"

The same journal devotes an editorial article to the examination of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's achievements during his first year of office. It notes that the debate on India on May 26 was ended without a formal vote, but with every indication that both Liberals and Conservatives were ready to support the Labour Government's policy in overwhelming numbers, adding that "as to India, he has been supported by the Conservatives because on the whole he has done what they would have asked him to do." Passing in review the principal achievements of the MacDonald Government *The New Republic* writes :

It is felt, to put the matter candidly, that the MacDonald Government is in danger of staying in office at the expense of sacrificing too great a share of its principles.

It holds that it is not unfair to consider India as a test.

For seven months after coming into power, the Labour Government let matters drift. They knew from the beginning that a crisis was imminent; and during the latter months of that period they even knew the date at which civil disobedience would begin. Yet they did nothing. Since the beginning of Mr. Gandhi's campaign they have been equally dilatory, disregarding the excellent advice on this subject which they might have found in Mr. MacDonald's own books on India, and in the speeches of many Labour members of Parliament uttered in past times from the Opposition benches. Their efforts to solve the Indian question by constructive measures have been too insignificant to be visible to the naked eye. Instead, they waited as long as possible and then resorted to cruelly repressive tactics. Just what has been done it is impossible to say; an effective censorship has been laid upon the native press and most of the European correspondents are either unable to get the news or their reports give evidence of being coloured by their sympathies with the British rulers of the country. We know, however, that the native leaders are being thrown into prison; that many lives have been lost and that nearly all of these are the lives of Indians; that the flames of revolt are being fanned by a ruthless policy of suppression which is indistinguishable from that of the blackest Tory government of modern times.

The defence which the British premier and his friends make is outlined in the following sentences :

They admit that the policy is bad from the point of view they themselves maintained before

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taking office. But they argue that any attempt to behave decently toward India now would result in the instant overthrow of the Government. They think it is better to stay in power and do what they can under the restrictions of a minority government, than to go out on this issue and see the matter put into the hands of the Conservatives.

This defence is criticized as follows :

It is a problem of the greatest importance, and one by which every idealist coming into office is confronted. Naturally, the man with responsible power must proceed with a certain caution which is not necessary for the independent critic. The question is, how far should this caution go? In the case of the MacDonald Government and India, we submit, it has gone too far. The Labour Government was elected by the working men and women of England. It was elected because it stood for certain ideas, certain principles, of which those men and women approve. If in office it refuses to live up to them, the members of the Government as individuals lose all claim upon the suffrage of their constituents. It would be better to be forced out of office by the Conservatives because of going too far, than to stay in office and fritter away their prestige with the rank and file of Labour by doing the Imperialists' dirty work for them. The publication of the Simon Report gives Mr. MacDonald an opportunity to put the whole treatment of the Indian question on a new plane. History will judge him by the choice he is about to make.

—

Social Boycott in Gujarat

Mr. Slocombe, who came out to this country as the representative of the *Daily Herald* of London, sent many despatches to that Labour organ. One of these was devoted to a description of the social boycott of Government servants as practised in Gujarat. *The Free Press Journal* of Bombay has made an extract from this despatch, from which we learn that Mr. Slocombe based his description on a picturesque account, received by him, of the life in those Gujarat villages where Mr. Gandhi's campaign against payment of land revenue had already been launched.

In many villages, the headman who is the local Government agent responsible for the collection of land revenue and for all civic functions, has resigned his office either in sympathy with the civil disobedience movement or in fear of the social boycott practised against Government servants which is a terrible weapon in rural India. The district authorities have retaliated by declaring the peasants' lands forfeit and seizing their furniture and other possessions. The visit of revenue officers to the defaulting villages is the signal for feverish activity. Look-out men, posted in palm trees, warn villagers of the approach of Government officials by beating of drums. All huts in the village are then hurriedly locked and the peasants decamp for the fields with their wives and children, leaving only an abandoned and foodless village to be occupied by the Government agents. Even the village well, which is of enormous importance in many of these waterless desert tracts of India, is covered by planks which are clamped down and locked. The plight of revenue officers who arrive in a village hungry and thirsty, only to find it foodless, waterless and inhospitable, becomes precarious.

The writer then describes how social boycott works in Gujarat.

Social boycott, which is already applied to the police in Surat, Poona and even Bombay, is another factor of increasing importance in Mr. Gandhi's campaign. In the complicated fabric of Indian social life in which caste and religion play a preponderant part, the village headman or other minor Government official who defies the Congress edict and aids in the collection of land revenue or in the enforcement of the Anti-Picketing and other Ordinances finds himself rigorously boycotted. His friends abandon him ; shop-keepers refuse to serve him ; his servants leave his employment ; even his wife and children treat him with chilling silence or open hostility. In the frequent marriages, births, and deaths which occur in patriarchal life in Hindu and Mahomedan families, services are refused to such recalcitrant official and his children. He cannot marry off his daughters, for no Brahmin will perform the ceremony. He cannot borrow money or buy or sell in the market. His life is henceforth cursed. Such is the occult power of this silent and bloodless new weapon forged by Mr. Gandhi in his campaign for Indian freedom.

We cannot either corroborate or criticize from personal knowledge Mr. Slocombe's description of and remarks on social boycott in Gujarat.

—

Non-Co-operation and Tagore's Knighthood

In the course of an excellent article on Mahatma Gandhi and the non-violent non-co-operation movemement, Mr. John Haynes Holmes writes in *Unity* :

It was in August, 1920, that there began in India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, that vast campaign of non-violent non-co-operation against the British *Raj*....., the Indians of all classes were mobilized into one great body of revolt. They surrendered all titles of honour and all honorary offices—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, for example, returned his knighthood to the British crown !

This may lead readers to think that the poet renounced his knighthood *after* the Non-co-operation movement had been started. As a matter of fact, he renounced it more than an year earlier—on or before the 1st of June, 1919.

—

Mr. Holmes' Estimate of Mr. Gandhi

In the same article, Mr. Holmes observes that, "in the confusion of the hour, it is

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important to understand the purpose of Mahatma Gandhi and his immortal significance for posterity."

What we have in this great Indian, first of all, is the leader of his country's cause of independence. Here he ranks with George Washington as the determining personal influence in his nation's destiny.

But the Mahatma is more than a mere nationalistic figure. He is the leader of a civilization, of a world—of the revolt of the East against the pride, the power and the vainglory of the West. Here Gandhi ranks with Sun-yat Sen, as the saviour of the culture and very life of an awakened Asia.

But the Mahatma belongs not merely to India and Asia but to the world. He comes that men may learn again the way of life. For what do we see in this revolt which Gandhi leads? On the one side the greatest empire that history has known since the decline and fall of Rome, equipped with vast resources of men and money, armed with rifles, bayonets, machine-guns, tanks and bombing-planes, all the immeasurable power that wreaks devastation and death in this modern age. On the other side, one feeble man, with emaciated body and halting step, naked save for the cloth that binds his loins, accompanied by no army or even band of followers, but only by a little group of disciples, as unarmed and, therefore, as defenceless as himself. When has the world ever seen such a duel as this between sword and spirit? Not since Jesus the Nazarene confronted Pilate, and declared to this viceroy of imperial Rome, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight but now is my kingdom not from hence." Again, after two thousand years, the throne of Pilate is set up among the nations, and before it stands the saviour of mankind. Must there be another crucifixion? And if so, will not Gandhi rise, as Jesus rose, to vex the peoples of the earth for ever?

—

Mr. Sastri's Attack on Simon Report

London, July 22.

"To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes, the British minority communities and the Services, is to involve Britain and India in a strife of which none can see the end," declared Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri criticizing the Simon Report in an address at the East India Association. Mr. Sastri declared that the form of Self-government envisaged by the Commissioners was nothing like Dominion Status. He referred in this connection specially to the proposals regarding the Army and Indian States and declared that the former depriving India for ever of the means of self-defending had denied her the power of exercising the right of secession and thus ruled out the possibility of Dominion Status.

Mr. Sastri contended that proposals relating to States would involve the existence side by side of two final authorities in India. Mr. Sastri asserted that the Commissioners had shown even greater regard for Princes' susceptibilities than the Butler Committee. Examining the Federal scheme, Mr. Sastri declared that the introduction of responsibility in the Centre was essential and all parties and communities in India, even the Princes, were united on it.

Mr. Sastri approved generally provincial proposals while dissenting from the suggestion that an official should be appointed as minister.—*Reuter.*

The summary of Mr. Sastri's speech cabled out by *The Statesman's* correspondent to that paper makes some points clearer. According to him, the speaker "severely criticized the defence proposals," declaring that

In depriving India for all time of the means of defending herself the Commissioners had denied her the power of exercising the right of secession, thus ruling out the possibility of her ever attaining Dominion status.

Moreover, it was obvious that even self-government in civil matters, which the Commissioners contemplate for India, must be seriously crippled by the existence within her territory of a powerful striking force beyond her control.

Mr. Sastri was of opinion that the proposal to establish on a permanent basis the connection of the States with the Crown would bar altogether the continued association of the Government of British India and the States as at present, even if the Princes could be brought to agree to such an association.

Reviewing the federal proposals, Mr. Sastri said that a combination of incongruous elements with bureaucracy at the Centre and democratic administrations in the Provinces would create constant friction and instability.

Whatever the internal differences might be, all parties and communities in India, even the Princes, were united in the demand for Responsible Government.

To postpone or deny it was to ignore human nature.—*Copyright.*

—

Dr. Howells on India's Claims

In the course of an interview Dr. Howells, late principal of Serampore College, who is now at "home," said:

"I have always been a strong sympathizer with India in her aspirations, and I pointed out that India's claims to political self-determination should be made to depend not merely on political fitness as estimated by foreigners, however impartial, but ultimately on India's own rights as a national entity.

—

Bombay's Quota of "Volunteers"

According to a *Free Press* message, dated Bombay, July 22, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has issued a statement to the effect that there have been 86,000 enrolments during the Congress week.

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Srimati Champaklata Devi

The Amrita Bazar Patrika records the sad and untimely death of Srimati Champaklata Devi of Bhagalpur. She was the wife of Srijut Upendranath Mukherjee, President of the Bhagalpur District Congress Committee, who is now under trial. She died of failure of the heart at the age of only about thirty.

She was an orthodox Hindu lady and had observed purdah all along according to the custom prevalent in Bengal and Bihar. Moreover, she had not received any "modernizing" university education. But when her husband accepted the Presidentship of the local Congress Committee, she discarded the purdah and took a prominent part in public activities, in spite of the fact that she had recently had an attack of beri-beri. In consequence, the women of Bhagalpur of all classes imbibed her public spirit under her leadership.

"Far from being depressed or daunted by her husband's incarceration, she was lately engaged in organizing ladies' Khaddar and Charka work. Even a few hours before her death, she had gone out into the suburbs on the same mission. She had been taking only one meal a day, and did not allow her ill-health to stand in the way of her work.

On account of her charming and yet dignified personality, she had endeared herself to every man, woman, and child at Bhagalpur, and her death came upon all like a bolt from the blue. A procession of about 15,000 strong followed the funeral bier to the Ghat. Sj. Mukherjee, who had refused to come out on bail when his trial was going on, was released on bail this morning and accompanied the body. The whole town immersed in deep grief and gloom."

—

"Fighting Malaria"

The League of Nations *News for Overseas* for July contains the following paragraphs :

The League Health Organization is nothing if not practical, and among its many other activities has organized courses in the prevention and cure of malaria at Paris, Hamburg and Rome, in order to pool the most expert knowledge and practical experience of the world and put them at the benefit of public health services. These courses, which are held annually on a common programme, last for about six weeks, (June 3rd to July 15th) this year.

Scholarships are supplied by the League and in some cases by the Governments benefiting by the course. The training is thorough and comprises a study of the habits of the mosquito and the way it spreads malaria, how to detect the presence of the parasites in the blood and to treat malaria patients, the best methods of combating malaria (destruction of and protection against mosquitoes and their larvae, the use of quinine and other febrifuges, propaganda and popular education, the role of the State, general measures of hygiene and drainage, etc.) The laboratory and clinical work is followed by a month in areas of Spain, Yugoslavia and Italy where the fight against malaria is being actively conducted by the latest and most scientific methods.

The training of medical officers in anti-malaria work is one of the forms in which the League is assisting the Greek Government to build up a modern public health service.

In this year's course health officers from the following States are represented : Bulgaria, France (Tunis), Greece, Honduras, Italy, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Spain and Yugoslavia.

Most provinces of India are malarious. Some very populous provinces, like Bengal, are among the worst malaria-stricken regions of the world. And India stands sixth in the list of member States contributing to the funds of the League of Nations in the order of the largeness of the amounts paid by them. Yet, when it comes to holding offices in the League secretariat or receiving direct benefit from any work undertaken by or under the auspices of the League, she is almost nowhere. This state of things cannot be remedied so long as India remains deprived of the primary human right of self-rule.

—

Political Dacoits in London ?

The following news items have appeared in *The Statesman* :

London, July 16.

The second mail bag robbery in London within a fortnight occurred to-day.

A postman was delivering letters in Westminster when a man on a bicycle snatched away his bag and remounted dashing across Westminster Bridge.

It is stated that the bag contained only one registered letter, the value of which is not yet known.

Nine days ago a 63-year-old postman was carrying a bag of 100 registered letters along High Holborn when a saloon car drew alongside the pavement, two men jumped out, struck the postman and jumped back into the car, which immediately dashed off.

The postman was partially stunned, but nevertheless he managed to follow the car for some distance before he lost sight of it. He was able to furnish Scotland Yard with a description of his assailants.

Have any Indian political dacoits and anarchists migrated to London from Munshiganj in Bengal ? How did they manage to travel without passports ? Or

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were they able to obtain passports in spite of the omniscient C. I. D. ? We ask these questions, as officials in India appear to believe that none but political dacoits and anarchists commit mail robberies and that such offences are peculiar to India.

—

Medical Research Institute Site

A resolution has been passed by the Medical Research Conference at Simla that the Central Medical Research Institute, on the lines advocated by the Fletcher Committee, should be located at a university centre as soon as financial conditions permit. That is the only reasonable decision about the site which could be arrived at.

—

Irwin-Sapru-Jayakar Move

It would not be proper to discuss whether the Sapru-Jayakar mediation could by any chance be considered a "command performance"; for both Lord Irwin and these two Indian gentlemen have written letters implying that it is not. And the latter have also in interviews expressly said that they have undertaken to negotiate on their own initiative and responsibility. So let the matter be left to some future writer of the diplomatic history of India in the month of July, 1930.

At the time of writing (July 26, 1930)—and we are writing from a hamlet away from Calcutta—we have not got even an inkling of what has passed between Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi and the two Nehrus on the other. But let us say how one would have liked the negotiations to be carried on.

Mr. Vithalbhai Patel was right in asking, "Have you ever heard of peace terms, being discussed by non-combatants ?" though we are told Dr. Sapru and Jayakar are not authorized to offer any terms.

If Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been brought together in one jail and if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar had seen them in the company of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, that would have been fair to those imprisoned Congress leaders and to the Congress. Of those three leaders Pandit Motilal Nehru was the last to go to jail, and therefore he is, comparatively speaking, possessed of more up-to-date knowledge of the turn the civil disobedience movement has taken than the other two. Pandit Jawaharlal was the first to be clapped in prison and after him the Mahatma. So, if no Congressman outside prison walls could be allowed to see the imprisoned leaders in the company of the two semi-official liaison 'officers,' the latter ought to have seen Pandit Motilal first, as he possesses the most recent information relating to the world outside prison walls, and then they ought to have seen the Mahatma. In that case the Mahatma could have known what Pandit Motilal thought of the whole affair. It may be said that the information possessed by Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar is more up-to-date than even that of Pandit Motilal. But information relating to a movement is obtained from the inside as well as from the outside. Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar possess no inside knowledge of the civil disobedience movement, and they may think that the official diagnosis that it is losing its strength and gradually collapsing is correct; and even as regards outside information, a congressman or one in sympathy with the movement would naturally read more news and know more about it than those who are not in sympathy or touch with it. For these reasons Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar are not the most competent persons to give the imprisoned leaders all necessary information relating to the movement. And such information is necessary in order to suggest or settle the terms of agreement or compromise. For the winning party may suggest or accept terms which the party about to be defeated would not think of mentioning. We do not, of course, know what the three imprisoned leaders would say or do;—we are describing what usually happens.

The way in which the negotiations are being carried on is unfair to the imprisoned leaders as well as to the other leaders and rank and file within and outside prison walls. No doubt, Mahatma Gandhi is the supreme leader and is the embodiment of Indian national aspirations to a greater extent and in a higher degree than any other Indian. His co-workers and followers owe loyalty to him; but he also owes loyalty to them. Therefore, for the discussion and acceptance of any settlement, he should be placed in contact with them and they with him through

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some accredited representative. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel would have been the best of such representatives.

Both Mahatmaji and Pandit Motilal are shrewd politicians and, as such, are not likely to accept any vague promises and assurances. But if by some chance what is unlikely happens, if that which is not likely to satisfy national aspirations is accepted by the three imprisoned leaders, the result is likely to be an aggravation of the situation. The nation is not in the mood to be satisfied with anything which is not a clearly worded definite promise of "the substance of independence."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is a very clever and shrewed tactician. No Indian can at present be expected to be a match for him in tactics, and that because of want of practice and experience. He and the like of him can be faced by Indian leaders with any hope of success only if they are unflinchingly straightforward in sticking to what the Indian nation has put forward through them as the minimum of Indian rights and claims.

Some Liberals appear to think, as they have said: "What is the harm in going to the Round Table conference and arguing our case? If we do not win, if we fail, we can again start doing that which we have been doing hitherto."

Now, apart from the insult and humiliation involved in going, not as equals, but as suppliants, there are three things which the Liberals do not seem to understand. They do not appear fully to realize the difference between arguing a *case* like an advocate in a law-court and staking life and limb and all and non-violently fighting for a *cause*. They do not appear to understand that there are times and occasions when argument is of no avail, and that the present is such an occasion. They have also to understand that even if argument be of any use now or in the near future, it is or would be because of the pressure exerted by other circumstances, and last of all, they don't perceive or visualize that, in case of failure, the difficulty of reorganizing and re-mobilizing the Congress "forces" after civil disobedience has been once called off and those "forces" have been disbanded and demobilized. The Liberals have been praying and protesting and agitating. There is no need for them either to mobilize, de-mobilize or re-mobilize. The case is different with Congressmen. If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald succeeds in his manoeuvre, the imprisoned Congress leaders may be out-manoeuvred. The vast majority of politically-minded Indians, as well as ourselves, will be glad indeed if civil disobedience is called off on the definite and clearly-worded understanding that the London Conference is meant primarily and mainly to draw up a constitution for a substantially independent India and settle its details. Nothing short of it will inspire confidence. We speak of Mr. MacDonald's manoeuvre; for it is almost certain that he has been privy to what has passed between the Viceroy and Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar, and that everything has been done with his previous knowledge and consent. If he succeeds in practically getting the imprisoned leaders to say or do something without their giving other congressmen, in and outside jail, any opportunity to make their views known to them, there is likely to be a split in Congress ranks to the sure joy of their opponents. May the time never come to shout, "Divide et impera *Zindabad* !"

—

An Unconscionable Bargain

It is reported in the papers that Mr. Hopkyns, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, has circularized the servants of that Government to the effect that they would be held responsible for not only their own conduct but also for the (political and politico-economical) opinions and conduct of their families and dependants. Of course, the circular would not in practice be enforced against European and Anglo-Indian Government servants. For their families do take part in politics; and politics, in bureaucratic parlance, mean, 'anti-bureaucracy' politics. Col. Gidney in the course of an appeal to his community recently observed: "We know the members of the I. M. D. are prevented by military law from joining any association, but this should not prevent their wives or family relations from becoming members [of the Anglo-Indian Association] and so showing their appreciation of our labours on their behalf."

In a subject country like India a native servant of the Government should not complain if it is held by Government as understood that the salary paid to him is the price not only of his services but also of his freedom. But it would be an uncons-

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cionably hard bargain if it were argued that the salary paid to one Government servant is the price of the freedom of every member of his family and of every dependant of his. The thought of driving such a bargain can have occurred to the British bureaucracy here, only because they possess irresponsible political power and because unemployment is a distressing problem among educated men.

In a free country, say Britain, a Government servant like Mr. Baldwin when he was Premier, could not be expected to control the political opinion and conduct of his son Mr. Oliver Baldwin, nor was the late Lord Curzon, when a Cabinet Minister, expected to be responsible for the political opinions and conduct of his daughter, the Hon'ble Lady Cynthia. At present Lord Passfield, a Cabinet Minister, cannot control the opinion of his wife, who still calls herself Mrs. Sydney Webb, not Lady Passfield.

Though Government does not pay anything to the dependants of Government servants and has not, therefore, purchased their freedom, it may be argued that indirectly they have been paid, as they owe their living to the Government servant. But some of them can retort that they are not exactly dependants; for they render some service to the aforesaid Government servant, which is equivalent to what they get. It was never understood that they would have to part with their freedom to boot.

As regards the families of the Government servants, many Hindu and Moslem and some Indian Christian families are joint families. In many such families, it is not merely the Government-servant-member who is an earner. There may be, and in many actual cases there are, other members who earn (and sometimes earn more than the Government servant) by following some independent profession or by engaging in some business. Is it not absurd to expect them to shun politics as Government would wish them to? How is the Government servant going to dragoon them into conformity with official politics or no-politics?

In the Hindu view, a son is bound to maintain his parents. How he does it is his own look-out. He would be an undutiful and despicable son who would expect his parents to give up their freedom in consideration of being maintained. Similarly, a Hindu wife has the right to be maintained by her husband so long as she is chaste, irrespective of her political opinions or conduct. Her maintenance is not the price paid for her freedom. It would be highly resented if she were told that she was a slave because her husband had sold himself for a consideration. This is particularly the case today when there has been a great awakening among Indian women of all classes, literate and illiterate.

When the wife has an independent income, would the Bengal Government even then expect the Government-servant-husband to coerce his wife into political conformity? How is that to be done? There is no divorce in the Hindu law that is recognized by British-Indian law-courts. Will Government enact a new law or promulgate another ordinance to the effect that an "official" husband may legally divorce a "non-official" wife if she does not subscribe to her husband's political opinions?

The people of India have many divisions among them. One of comparatively recent creation is that between officials and non-officials. It is proposed to extend it to the families and dependants of these two classes of peoples. So caste-feeling is going to have greater scope than now. Britishers are supposed to be opposed to caste. Are they so in India?

Those heads of families who are Government servants are not likely to be always and in all cases able to be efficient conscience-keepers and jailers to their wives, grown-up sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, etc. There may be revolt and civil war in many families. This may not be unwelcome to our opponents. But from the point of view of the solidarity of the Indian people, such a contingency cannot but be feared and deplored.

The families and dependants of Government servants are expected to steer clear of not only the civil disobedience movement, but also of "allied" movements. We suppose this means that, for example, a Government servant's wife may not ply the spinning wheel or buy or encourage in any other way home-spun, home-woven goods or promote Swadeshi in any way. And yet we may have been frequently told by very high officials that they are all for *Swadeshism*—they are opposed only to the boycott of British (and other) foreign goods.

One of Lord Irwin's ordinances makes it penal to instigate, compel or tell any Government servant to give up his job.

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If Mr. Hopkyns' circular leads some members of the families of some Government servants to feel a desire to commit that offence in secret, we hope there is no thought-reader in the C. I. D. to detect that secret inclination and punish anybody for it.

We hope it is not an offence to remind the Government that, though it is powerful, it is not all-powerful. There is always a danger of overdoing a thing.

—

Indian Insurance Companies

According to a Free Press message, in opening the office of an Indian insurance company in Madras Sir P. C. Ray said that he had heard that 60 per cent of the lives insured in India were with Indian companies and that was a hopeful sign of the times. There was no reason at all, Dr. Ray said, why the wealth of the country should go outside the country so far as life assurance was concerned. "Unhappy India has been the happy hunting ground" said Acharya Ray "of all classes of foreign exploiters. Every Indian should deem it a point of honour to insure his life with an Indian insurance company." Acharya Ray said that the drain of wealth from India was due to causes over which they have sufficient control but about which they were indifferent.

—

Getting Afghanistan into the League of Nations

At a Conference held last month under the auspices of the Indo-British Mutual Welfare League in Piccadilly, London, Mr. Srinivas Sastri criticized the Simon recommendations in connection with the Army and said that the proposal to make the defence of the frontier an Imperial responsibility was a way of making permanent the establishment of the British Army in India. He would make a suggestion regarding the part that India and Britain could play in promoting world peace. That was that the two countries should get Afghanistan into the League of Nations. Afghanistan, however, cannot be brought into the League unless Russia is also brought in and that brings the question into the field of European politics. It is true, no doubt, that the question of Russia's entering the League is a problem of European politics. But it does not seem axiomatic that Afghanistan cannot be brought into the League unless Russia were also brought in.

The suggestion that Afghanistan should be made a member of the League of Nations is, however, an excellent one, and, if carri out, would make for peace in Asia.

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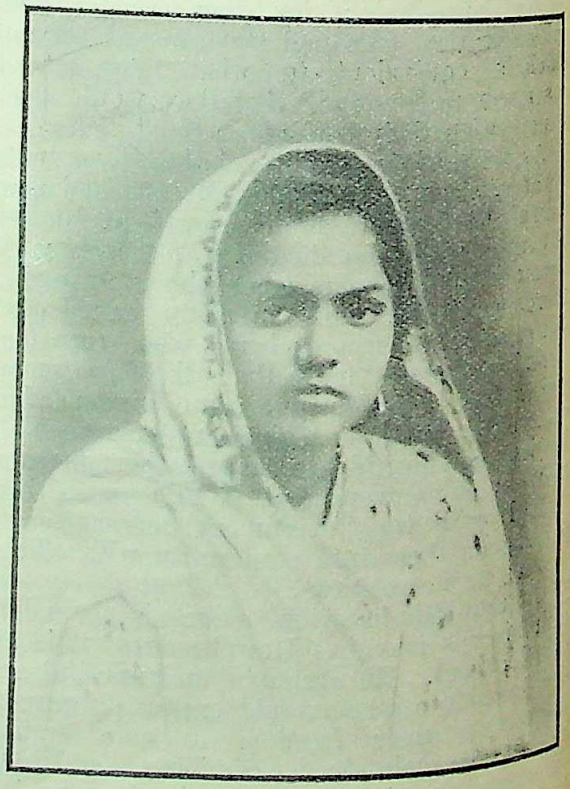
Disuse of Foreign Toys

Some months ago we wrote a note i *Prabasi* urging that our children should b given toys made in India to play wit The use of foreign toys not only take away much wealth from India and deprive numbers of our craftsmen of a profitab occupation, but it also accustoms ou children from infancy to unconscio dependence on foreign countries. What worse, they unconsciously come to imbi a taste for foreign styles of dress, foreig features, foreign complexion, etc., whic breeds a sort of inferiority complex i them. It is easy to get beautiful toys wood, porcelain, tin, etc., made by ou craftsmen. They would be cheaper, to The establishment of factories for makin India rubber and celluloid toys also is n beyond the resources of Indians.

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Women Satyagrahis

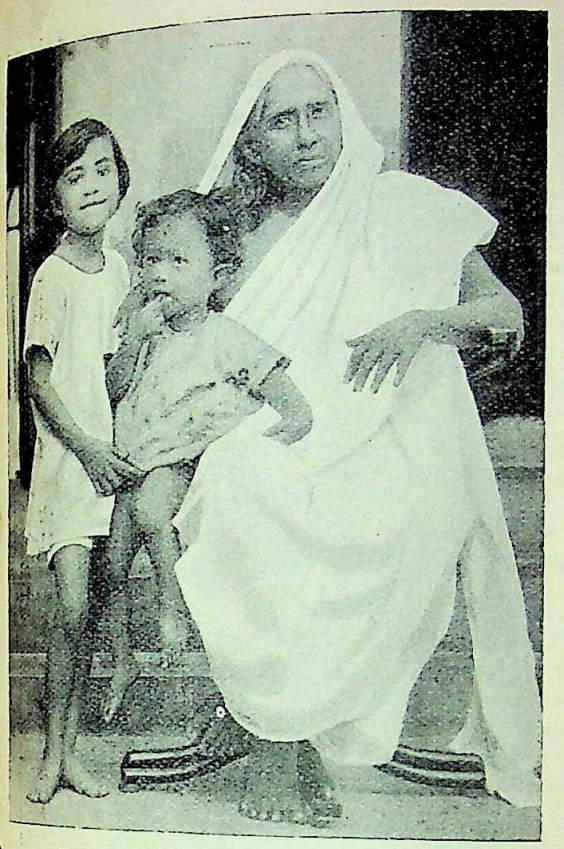
The active part which Indian ladie have been taking in the civil disobedience



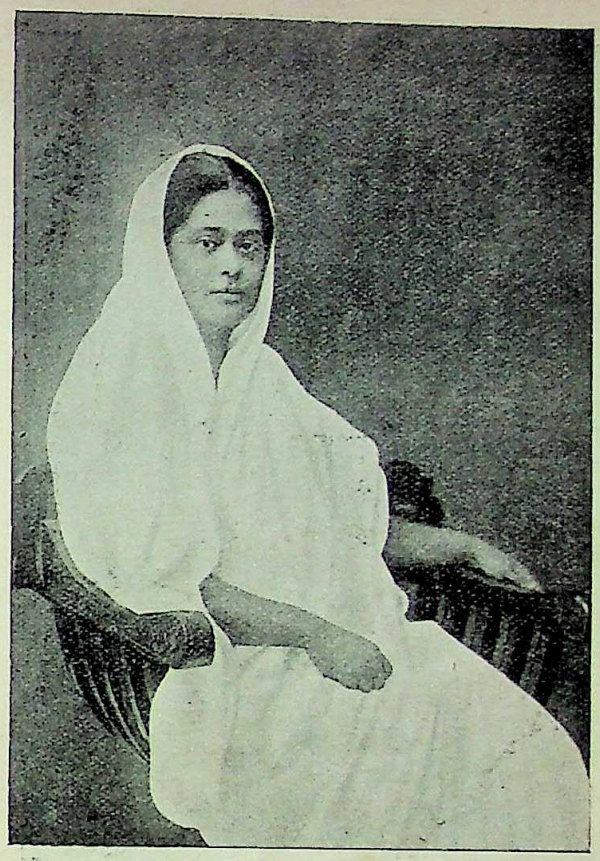
Srimati Indumati Goenka

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Srijukta Mohini Devi among her grand-children



Srijukta Urmila Devi

movement has been a surprise and a revelation to friends and foes and neutrals alike. Even in purdah-ridden Bengal they have been in evidence. Some time ago Srimati Indumati Goenka, Srimati Bimal Pratibha Devi, Srimati Urmila Devi, Srimati Mohini Devi and Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli, M. A., were sent to jail in Calcutta. On the 24th July in the same city the following seven ladies received the sentences mentioned against their names :

(1) Srimati Jogeswari Devi—4 months' simple imprisonment.
(2) Srimati Saraswati Devi—4 months' simple imprisonment.
(3) Srimati Bhanquar Devi—4 months' simple imprisonment.
(4) Srimati Devi—4 months' simple imprisonment.
(5) Srimati Bachuli Patel—4 months' simple imprisonment.
(6) Srijukta Chameli Devi—6 months' simple imprisonment.
(7) Srijukta Santi Das, M.A.—4 months' simple imprisonment.

And what is more, their number is added to almost everyday.

—

Do Shopkeepers Feel Molested ?

Only the other day many prominent Bombay merchants protested against the punishment inflicted on picketers, saying that the latter did not molest them. Probably in other places, too, it is not the shopkeepers for the most part who object to picketing ; but the police arrest them all the same. More than a month ago shopkeepers in Calcutta observed hartal because some lady picketers and others had been roughly handled. On the 23rd July also what happened is that the cloth-dealers immediately closed their shops and came out in the street. Being asked they said they had closed their shops as soon as they had heard about the arrest of the lady picketers in Burrabazar, Calcutta. If the ladies had molested the shopkeepers would they have closed their shops by way of protest against the arrest of the ladies ?

—

The Closing of Mills in Bombay

Business being dull, many cotton mills in Bombay have either closed or are about

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The Workers and the Office-bearers of the "Nari Satyagraha Samiti" The figure at the extreme left is that of Miss Santi Das, M.A.

to close. This is being made a count in the charge against the civil disobedience movement.

Some have lost their lives, some have received wounds, some have had their skulls battered, some have been imprisoned, and some are losing part of their expected incomes. There is nothing unusual in this. Whenever great changes have taken place in any country, they have been preceded by economic disturbances also. No class of people can expect their way of life to be strewn with roses during the period of transition. Those who like us are not in the fighting ranks should not expect to be rolling in wealth for that reason.

—



Srimati Jyotirmoyi Ganguli

Appeal for Help

Sad Plight of Kishoreganj Hindus

The following appeal has been issued by Sj. Anil Kumar Roy-Chowdhury, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha :

Reports from Kishoreganj sub-division reveal a most unprecedented state of things. A situation has arisen which is infinitely worse than the Pabna riot. Not a single Hindu within the jurisdiction of the Pakundia Thana has got any hearth or home. They are passing their days without food. They have nothing in their houses even to drink water with. They quench their thirst by taking handfuls from the pond. They have been absolutely in a deserted state.

Thousands have been living in jute fields for fear of molestation. Thousands of men, women and children have taken refuge in the schools and other public buildings in Kishoreganj town. They have been rendered penniless and are being fed by the public. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has so far sent a number of workers and some money to the Hindu Sabha, Kishoreganj for relief purpose. More money is immediately wanted. We appeal to all to come forward with help. Relief donations should be sent to the Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, at 160, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

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Economic or Communal Trouble

Along with the news of the diabolical deeds of the rioters, plunderers and murderers in the Kishoreganj sub-division of Mymensingh district a news agency supplied to the dailies the comment that the disturbances were due to economic causes—the debtors were having their revenge on the creditors. The Governor of Bengal also told a deputation that the cause of the disturbances was economic. If so, why were not the houses of Moslem money-lenders looted by the Moslem hooligans? And why were not Hindu debtors looting and murdering Hindu and Moslem money-lenders? These and similar doubts have assailed many people of Kishoreganj.

According to them it is neither a debtors' movement nor an economic trouble, but really communal, in the main. In support of their argument the following arguments are put forward by them :

(1) All the Hindu shops and Hindu shops only of Kargaon, Pakundia, Palerghat, Kaliachapra Hussainpur were looted. In one Hindu shop at Palerghat there were 25 bags of paddy and when it came to the knowledge of the ruffians that they belonged to Muhammadans they did not touch them but looted every other thing of that Hindu shop.

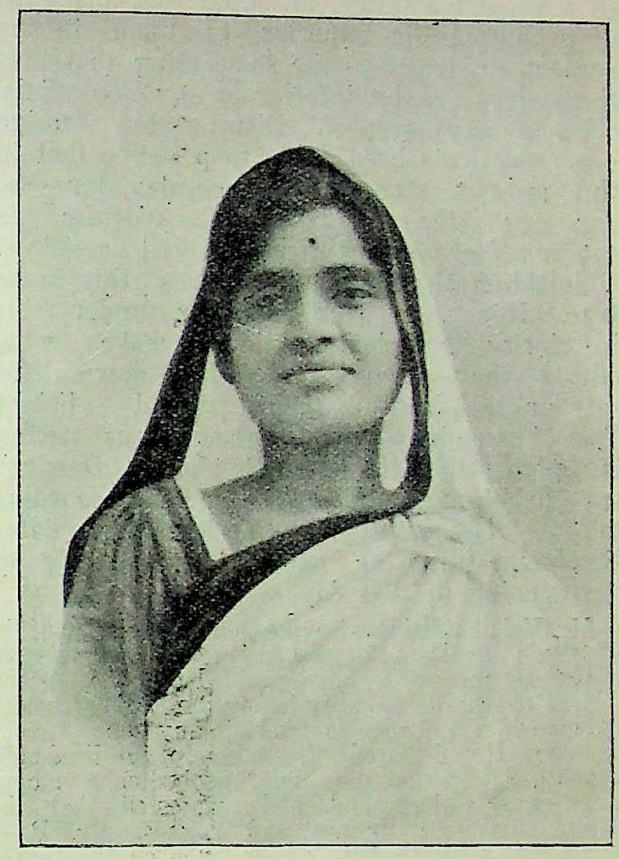
(2) A little over 60 villages have been looted up to this date, but report has not yet reached us that any Muhamadan has lost even a farthing.

(3) Owners of all the Hindu houses looted were not money-lenders. Their houses were looted simply because they were Hindus.

The Hindus state that the only redeeming feature of the situation was that instances were not rare in which Muhammadans rescued and gave shelter to Hindu victims even at the risk of their lives.

Official and non-official dwellers in Bengal have thus laid stress either on the economic or the communal factors. It has also been asserted that some Maulvies from Dacca district had told the Moslem villagers of Kishoreganj that Government would not take any notice of their looting and murdering the Hindus. But it was left to a nameless Simla official to make the civil disobedience movement answerable for the disturbances! The following passage occurs in the Government of India's latest report on the civil disobedience movement.

More evidence has been received of the effect of the Civil Disobedience movement in encouraging lawlessness in directions not connected with the movement. In Bengal there were disturbances involving many villages, caused by attacks upon money-lenders by debtors. A dozen people were murdered and much looting occurred before order could be restored.



Srimati Bimal Prativa Devi

The utterly baseless and unjustifiable slur on the Civil Disobedience movement contained in the above extract is at complete variance both with the Bengal Governor's and local peoples' explanation of the Kishoreganj disturbances. But perhaps in the opinion of the scribe who wrote "the Government of India's weekly appreciation of the situation which deals in detail with the events during the week ending July 19th," any stick is good enough to beat the Satyagrahis with. And his mentality is of a piece with that which finds vent in many provinces in the unmixed official praise of the police combined with the condemnation of the volunteers, although even in this matter there is a certain inconsistency to be found in official utterances. For instance, Mr. Haig, the acting Home Member has admitted in the Legislative Assembly that in the majority of cases the "volunteers" have observed non-violence. The general tendency, however, among officials is to assert that non-co-operation is generally accompanied with violence and even worse. This is natural. It is

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not in human nature, particularly in the nature of those who occupy positions of authority in a subject country, to admit that any class of people can be superior to them in any respect, or, which is the same thing, that they themselves can be inferior to any non-official class in any respect. Disinterested foreign observers have been able to perceive that in the present struggle the moral victory—*so far as the avoidance of violence is concerned*—rests with the civil resisters. Officialdom also perhaps believes this to be true. Hence, perhaps smarting under this inferiority complex, officials make what efforts they can to pull down the satyagrahis from their moral height. This conscious or unconscious effort is perceptible in the Bombay Governor's speech before the local council. According to an *Associated Press* telegram, dated Bombay, July 20, speaking in that city on the evening of that day,

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel expressed appreciation of the Viceroy's feeling reference to the innocent people injured by the police, but he added that the speech of the Governor of Bombay before the Legislature did not give him a chance to entertain any hope of compromise. He declared that therein Sir Frederick Sykes had said that the civil disobedience movement was violent and had suggested that the Satyagrahis were thieves and rogues. Mr. Patel urged that a compromise under such circumstances would be futile.

Fuller details are found in a report of Sardar Patel's speech published in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The Governor had stated that the dacoities in Kaira District were due to Congress movement. But he belonged to Kaira and knew the truth about it. The dacoities were instigated by interested parties and the victims were those who had joined the national movement, and they declined to complain to the police of the British Government. The Dharalas who had given up their profession of dacoity by the preaching of one follower of Mahatmaji were grossly libelled by the Governor.

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Police Censured in Punjab Council

The Legislative Assembly debates in the course of which many non-official members spoke of "police excesses" from their personal knowledge, were practically a censure on the police. The condemnation of repressive policy in the U. P. Council was also tantamount to such censure. In the Punjab Legislative Council a censure motion on police "excesses" was carried by 41 votes to 34. The gentleman who brought forward that motion admitted that all policemen have not been guilty of excesses—some had kept themselves within the bounds of the law. That is also the case elsewhere, we think. It should not give any pleasure to Indians to refer to police excesses. For the majority of policemen accused of such conduct are our own countrymen. We should feel ashamed when we read descriptions of such conduct.

—

"Nawabi" Raj

It has been published in some papers that when several villages near Dacca were looted, the plunderers said that *Nawabi raj* had come and they could do what they liked. No doubt, they did what they liked; but that did not prove either that *Nawabi raj* had been established or that such *raj* was always or generally equivalent to *Goonda raj*.

The Bihar Herald writes:

Closely following the Dacca riots we witness to-day mob fury at Kishoreganj. No Government can deny to the people the elementary right of protection. Should we remind our friends in the Assembly what our Moslem rulers did before the advent of the British? Speaking of Nawab Murshid Cooly Khan, Stewart says: "Moorshid Cooly Khan devoted two days in the week to the administration of justice, and so impartial was he in his decisions, and so rigid in the execution of the sentences of the law, that he sent his son to death for an infraction of its regulation." (P. 272). Nobody could oppress with impunity and "Vakeels were continually in search of complaints, and whenever they met with any person who had reason to be dissatisfied, they used every endeavour to pacify him, but if it happened that a well-founded complaint reached the ears of Moorshid Cooly, the offender was sure to suffer severely. If the officers of justice out of partiality or respect to rank, neglected to redress the meanest person upon a representation thereof from the party aggrieved, the Nawab tried the cause himself, and in his decisions shewed neither favour nor affection to any one, the rich and the poor bearing equal value in his sight" (p. 409).

We hold this picture before the eyes of the Indians that they may contrast it with the communalism that has been attempted to be stirred up to-day.

—

Lord Irwin on the London Indo-British Conference

In the Viceroy's address to both houses of the Indian legislature at Simla on July 9, 1930, he outlined the scope of the conference to be held in London in October, between the representatives of Britain and India, the so-called "representatives" of

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Nowhere in that speech is the conference called a Round Table Conference, though Indian publicists and others have been assuming that it would be such a conference. The Viceroy's exactitude in his address in this respect is praiseworthy. His abstention from the use of the words "Round Table" in the address leads us briefly to remind ourselves what those words stand for.

—

"Round Table Conference"

The original round table was a circular table at which King Arthur and his knights sat *that none might have precedence.* A round table conference is a conference held at such a table for the same purpose. That is to say, as Dr. Brewer defines it, it is "a conference between political parties in which each has equal authority, and at which it is agreed that the questions in dispute shall be settled amicably," etc. No one can assert that the London Indo-British Conference would be a round table conference in this sense.

Even before the meeting of the conference India has been branded with the stamp of inferiority. The British representatives at this conference are to be chosen by Britishers. But India's representatives are to be chosen not by any Indians, but by the British Government of India. In this decision there is the underlying assumption that the people of India have not even the fitness to choose their own representatives, or, that they have no right to choose them. Such being the inferior status assigned to India, how can there be a *round table* conference between Indians and Britishers ?

This is not a mere academic objection. Britain will be represented by Britishers chosen by Britishers. If Indians also are to be chosen by Britishers, naturally the choice would fall mostly upon such Indians of such classes as enjoy the favour, liking, or approval of the British bureaucracy in India, or at least such as are not disliked by them. So practically, the chosen Indians are likely to be for the most part Britain's men. How can such men be the true representatives of India ? It is well known, and even admitted by non-Congressmen, that the Congress has a far greater representative character than any other political body in India, and, therefore, it ought to have a proportionate representation and influence at the conference. But as Government is hostile to the Congress, either it will go unrepresented or will be meagrely represented. In fact, it has been officially stated that, so long as civil disobedience continues, even Mahatma Gandhi will not be invited—as if the Mahatma would at all agree to accept any such invitation unless he is convinced that the conference would meet for drawing up and settling the details of the most advanced Dominion Constitution for India.

Those Indians who have made or are ready to make the greatest sacrifices for the motherland are striving to establish and maintain her self-respect or honour. Other political parties have a similar aim. India's honour can be secured only by winning freedom. But neither beggars nor those who are content to occupy an inferior position at or before a conference can possibly win freedom for their country. This is not a mere assumption. Freedom can be won only by those who feel and can make also the other party to the conference feel that they "would either be free or not be at all." Can any set of men who can agree to be chosen by Britishers and who thereby accept the assumption that their own countrymen are unfit even to choose their representatives—can such men be men who "would be free or not be at all" and can they convince the British representatives that they are such men ?

Men who would go to the London conference with a beggar's mentality and with the obsession of an inferiority complex are not the men to come back with self-rule for their country in their pockets.

That the London conference cannot be called a round table conference will be plain also from the fact that the British Government will not be bound to legislate exactly according to the agreement arrived at. They will only make "the greatest measure of agreement" (whatever that may mean) the basis of their proposals to be placed before Parliament. So the British Government will be free to choose any items of the agreement and reject the remainder. There is no authoritative opinion in existence defining what proportion (large or small) of an agreement should be taken in order that it may be entitled to be called the "basis" of any proposals. Besides, the non-essential portions (which may be bigger

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in size) may be chosen as the basis and the essentials rejected. When such choice rests with only one party, how can there be that equality between the parties which constitutes the roundness of a round table conference ?

—

How India's Representatives could be Chosen

It may be asked, if the Government of India are not to choose India's representatives, how else could they be chosen ? There were more ways than one to do so.

Government have constituted central and provincial legislatures for India. Whatever non-officials or non-Indians may say, the British Government must recognize their representative character, because it has been claimed that India has got a parliament or parliaments and has been enjoying dominion status in action for the last decade. These central and provincial legislatures might and should have been asked to choose India's representatives. Of course, we refer to these bodies as they were constituted with regard to their personnel before most of the Congress members had resigned.

If the Government of India say that these legislative bodies do not represent India, the question may be asked : "Why did you constitute such sham representative bodies and lead the world to believe that you had given India at least a fair measure of self-government ?"

We know Government cannot definitely and expressly recognize the representative character of the legislatures without placing themselves in an embarrassing position. For the Legislative Assembly has twice formulated what is known as the National Demand, which embodies the substance of at least internal autonomy for India, and some provincial legislatures also have carried similar resolutions. Therefore, if Government recognized the representative character of the Legislative bodies, they would have to admit that Indian representative opinion was in favour of Dominion status, and no conference like the intended London Conference would be needed to learn what India wanted. All that such a conference might be required to do was to settle the details of an Indian constitution on the Dominion status basis.

But assuming that, for some reason or other, the legislative bodies could not be entrusted with the duty of choosing the representatives of India, what other way would be left ? The answer is not difficult. It must be universally admitted that the most unsectarian, non-communal, pan-Indian and all-sectarian representative body in India is the Congress. The National Liberal Federation similarly contains members from all religious sects and all provinces, though it is a much smaller body than the Congress. Of communal representative bodies there are the Muslim League, the Christian Association, the Sikh League, the Non-Brahmin Federation and some Sabha or other representing the Depressed classes. To these, the Hindu Mahasabha might be added, if it liked to have separate representation at the Conference.

All these representative bodies might have been asked to choose their representatives. It would not have been impossible to determine the number to be chosen by each, the preponderating representation being, of course, allowed to the Congress in view of the largeness of its following and the strenuous efforts and sacrifices made and the risks run by Congressmen.

Not that we admit that it was or is at all necessary to ascertain afresh the maximum and minimum political demand of India. There is no representative political body of standing and influence which has asked for less than Dominion status. Hence it is also generally agreed that it should be declared by the British Government definitely that the object of the conference would be to settle the details of a dominion constitution and some safe-guards of a temporary character for a few years.

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The Object of the London Conference

What the object of the conference should be has been indicated above. But with what object the British Government is calling it can only be surmised. The declared object is to arrive at the greatest measures of agreement between the parties and make that the basis of the proposals for legislation relating to the governance of India to be placed before the British Parliament. Let us see what chances there are for any such agreement to be arrived at as would be acceptable to Indian Nationalists in general.

The Indian representatives are to be chosen by Government, that is to say

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practically by the I. C. S. It is clearly understood that any progress towards real self-rule, not to speak of Dominion status, must result in relegating "Indian" civil servants to the posiition which such servants occupy in all free countries. In other words, under real Swaraj, they must be civil, not haughty, public *servants*, not *masters of the public*; and they must also somewhat rapidly be real Indians too. It is not in human nature for the majority and the most powerful section of the "Indian Civil Service," who are Europeans, to take any steps which would in the long run result in such changes. Therefore, they would not be a party to choosing such Indian representatives to fill the majority of seats on the Indian side of the conference as would be undoubtedly in favour of putting an end to the domination of the I. C. S. Their choice may fall for the most part on rank communalists, on dullards, on aristocratic noodles, and on the Moderates among Moderates. And the seats may be so apportioned that, either it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible for the Indian representatives to arrive at any agreement, or the agreement might be such as to be entirely worthless from the nationalist point of view. The rank communalists and the sycophants and suppliants for the favour of Britishers may refuse to agree with others except on condition that such provisions be made as would for ever stand in the way of Indians becoming a completely unified nation.

For it must be remembered that the greatest measure of agreement is not to be arrived at by majority voting. The Viceroy's exact words are :

> I would ask what fairer method could be devised for this than one by which all the various points of view can be sifted in discussion and where, not by majority voting but by the influence of mind on mind in daily personal contact a sustained attempt can be made to discover once for all the more excellent way in which Great Britain and India to the benefit of each other can walk together.

Let us analyse in detail this somewhat long sentence. If none but unanimous decisions are to be accepted, the Viceroy's statement means in effect that the most unprogressive, timid and sycophantic section of the Indian representatives are to set the pace. "The influence of mind on mind in daily personal contact" is an elegant phrase. But what if many of the men chosen to represent or misrepresent India have no minds of their own except such as British officialdom may put into their crania? What if the greatest Indian souls and intellects can produce far less influence on the so-called minds of such men than the influence of the favours for themselves, their class or community expected to be obtained from British officialdom? Is it impossible that some such men would be chosen?

But if by chance the Indian representatives be such that they can arrive at some agreed decisions which are acceptable from the nationalist point of view, what chance is there of these being accepted by the British representatives?

—

Self-determination or British-determination

It is to be remembered that the Conference is based on the exact opposite of the principle of self-determination, which *during the War* was declared by British statesmen to be the object of the world-war to establish. Instead of self-determination, we are going to have a double dose of British-determination. First, Britain is to determine who are to be the Indian "representatives," drawn in British-fixed proportions from British-chosen public bodies, classes, communities, etc. Secondly, an agreement among the Indian representatives alone will not do; the British representatives will pick and choose and accept and reject. For whatever their number, they would be the predominant partners in fact.

Perhaps we are wrong in stating that there would be a double dose of British-determination; the dose would be triple or quadruple. For, after the Indian and British representatives at the conference have agreed, if they do, the ministry will choose some portions from the agreed items to make them the basis of their proposals. And lastly, the conference, though it relates to the destinies of India, will be held in London, where the atmosphere created by public opinion would encourage the British representatives and act as a damper on the Indian ones. That a conference, ostensibly relating mainly to India, is to be held in London shows the inferiority of India's position and the unreality of the expression "*round table* conference." It is not a mere question of sentiment. If the conference had been held in Delhi or in any

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of the three presidency towns, the Indian representatives of a nationalist turn of mind could have felt strengthened in their demands by the moral support of the public and the noodles and toadies might have received their due meed of obloquy even during the progress of the conference.

—

Would it be a Free Conference?

Lord Irwin has said in his address that the London Conference would be a free conference. We do not think the word free should be applied to it. Where even the choice of the "representatives" of India can be made by Britain, obviously because India is held in subjection, where does freedom come in? These "representatives" may be allowed to talk as they like, but there is to be no self-determination, and hence no freedom.

—

Mr. St. Nihal Singh's Article

Mr. St. Nihal Singh's article on the Simon Commission's Report in this issue is written from the viewpoint of one who has been watching the play of British Imperialist forces in many lands. Everywhere the same thing is happening—Britain proposes to give her subject peoples new powers and privileges, while all the time she is trying to tighten her grip over them. The Simon recommendations are the latest refinement in this process. It is hoped that those Indian leaders who are displaying so much anxiety to go to London, while Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail, will pay some attention to what has been said in this article.

—

Harbours and Shipping in Ancient India

The late Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi was a distinguished statistician and economist. He gave valuable help to Gokhale and Ramesh Dutt in their work. He contributed an article on "Shipping in Ancient India" to the *Modern Review* for February, 1908, in the course of which he said:

As far as the recorded results of Oriental research enable us to judge, there can be no doubt that in ancient times India was one of the foremost maritime nations of the world. Her fine geographical situation in the heart of the Orient, with Africa on the West and the Eastern Archipelago and Australia on the East and connected with the vast mainland of Asia on the North, her magnificent seaboard extending over 4,000 miles and upwards—from Karachi to Chittagong—her ports and havens over 1,000 in number, some of them among the finest in the world, the boundless wealth of her material resources, the unrivalled richness and variety of her products, her shipping and ship-building—all these constituted advantages of unique value to the development of her maritime enterprise, and her marvellous colonizing and trading activity, the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen concurred to give her the command of the sea and helped her to attain to the proud position of a premier maritime power in Eastern waters. We had our colonies in Madagascar and Socotra on the one side and in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo and in all probability farther afield on the other. Similarly, we had our trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula, in Arabia and in all the chief cities of Persia and all over the East Coast of Africa. We maintained extensive intercourse with foreign countries. Our trade extended not only to the countries of Asia but to the whole of the then known world—including the vast dominions of ancient Rome. There was, for instance, a large and lucrative trade between the Pandya, Chola and Chera kingdoms of Southern India and the Roman Empire. The whole of this oceanic intercourse with foreign nations was in our hands and under our control. The shipping employed was our own; and our *gulbats* and *padavs*, our *ganjos* and *batelos*, our *bagalas* and *kothias* were in every sea, and our Jat, Kachhi and Gujrathi seamen visited every shore. A thousand ports participated in our extensive sea-borne trade of the time, and prominent among them were Lakhpat and Diu, Broach and Vallabhi, Beypoor and Cochin, Masulipatam and Balasore. Each seaport had its own ship-building yard, its own seamen and pilots, the ships were built of timber, mostly teak—the use of iron and steel as material for ship-building was unknown. A few references may here be conveniently cited from *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, part 1, History of Gujerat, Appendix IV, pp. 492-96, and elswhere.

"According to Vincent (Periplus 1, 25, 35, 254) in the time of Agatharcides (B.C. 200) the ports of Arabia and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujerat."

In the third century A.D. 247, the Periplus (McCrindle 17, 52, 64, 96, 109) notices:

"Large Hindu ships in the East African, Arab and Persian ports and Hindu settlements on the north coast of Socotra.

Fa Hian, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who set out on his great itinerary in 399 A.D. and did not return to his monastery till 15 years later, records in his joural that:

"He sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java and from Java to China in ships manned by Indian crews.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, the ports of Sindh and Gujerat were among the chief centres of maritime enterprise in the east. In the fifth century, according to Hamza of Ispahan, at Hira near Kufa on the Euphrates, the ships of India and

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China were constantly moored. In the sixth century, the Jats from the Indus and Kachh occupied the islands in the Bahrein Gulf. In A.D. 630 Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's Buddhist Records, II, 269) notices that in the chief cities of Persia, Hindus were settled as traders, enjoying the free practice of their religion. Before their overthrow by the Mahomedans, what large vessels the Rajput sailors of Gujerat managed is shown by Friar Oderic who about A.D. 1321 (Stevenson in Kerr's Voyages XVIII, 324) crossed the Indian Ocean in a ship that carried 700 people and these Rajput ships plied between Kattyawar and China. In the 11th century Somnath is refered to as a great port of call for merchants trading between Sofala in East Africa and China, as Diu was for Chinese ships.

The maritime enterprise of Indians declined during Moslem rule. But even during the first quarter of the 19th century and some years later, Indian seamen continued to cross the ocean in their own ships built in India. In those days warships as well as mercantile vessels were built in India. For instance, Appendix 10 of the *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* by W. S. Lindsay, vol. ii, gives a list of ships belonging to or chartered by the East India Company in 1820, mentioning where they were built and their tonnage, number of guns and men, in which 17 ships are referred to as having been built in this country. Seven were built in Bombay, six in Bengal, and four in India. Four carried twelve guns each and thirteen twenty-six guns each.

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Medical Inspection in Schools

In December last it was given out that

The Government of Bengal contemplates the introduction of a regular system of medical examination and supervision of boys in the Government High Schools and Senior Madrassas outside Calcutta and in hostels attached to them. A separate scheme is already in operation in Calcutta.

Under this scheme each moffussil Government school will have a part time medical officer attached to it who will be appointed on the recommendation of the Managing Committee of the school and will be required to undergo a course of training in school-hygiene in Calcutta for three months under the Public Health Department.

To examine the materials presented by the school medical officers a Provincial Board will be set up in Calcutta consisting of the Director of Public Health, Director of Physical Education, two persons interested in the welfare of students, preferably two members of the Students' Advisory Committee of the Calcutta University, and two members of the medical profession in Calcutta interested in the work of the Board.

The duties of the medical officers will be as follows :

(a) Medical examination and physical measurement of the students twice a year and reporting the "Defectives" to their parents as also rendering free medical advice.

(b) Advising the school-staff and working in co-operation with the physical instructors in matters relating to the health of the boys.

(c) Giving lessons in Hygiene and Health topics and supervising the general sanitary conditions of the schools and hostel premises.

The school medical officers will compile in collaboration with the physical instructors a detailed annual report on the health of students for submission to the Provincial Board referred to above.

The Board will advise the Government as to the future lines of action to be taken in the subsequent years for the improvement of the health of the boys.

The scheme which will involve an annual expenditure of Rs. 30,000 has been provisionally sanctioned for a period of two years for the present.

Though the scheme outlined above was a small one and the grant inadequate, still it was a beginning. We have no information as to whether anything has been done to give effect to it. A scheme worked out in greater detail was communicated to the Director of Public Instruction and to the Director of Public Health, Bengal, by Dr. Navajivan Banerji early in September, 1927. He has done practical work along these lines. Evidently the Government scheme is based on Dr. Banerji's communication, though it is not mentioned in the former. Dr. Banerji also contributed a paper on the "Height and Weight of Bengali School Children," with graphs, based on his own work, to *The Modern Review* for May, 1928. Those interested in the subject are referred to it.

—

Proposed Law in Russia for Obligatory Study of Adults

The All-Russian Special Committee for the elimination of illiteracy, of the Commissariat of Public Education, has drawn up the following plan for a law for obligatory study for adults. The plan is now being discussed in all the local organizations of the voluntary society for combating illiteracy. The text proposed for the law is as follows :

"Socialist reconstruction requires a higher cultural level of the entire working class and before all else the elimination of illiteracy and semi-literacy. The presence of illiterates in our socialistic enterprises is an obstacle in the realization of the Five Year

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Plan for construction of Socialist Economy. In order to further intensify work in the liquidation of illiteracy the Council of People's Commissars decrees :

(1) All workers and employees of State and other similar enterprises and institutions are obliged to eliminate illiteracy among their employees and workers during the course of 1930.

(2) The management of collective farms is obliged to eliminate illiteracy among all its members during the course of one year from the date of publication of this decree.

(3) Every form of co-operative is obliged to eliminate illiteracy and semi-literacy among its members during the course of two years, completing this work by the end of 1930-31.

Note : The right is conferred on local District Executive Committees to issue an obligatory decision for the immediate teaching of illiterates and semi-literates within the limits of their territory.

(4) The all-Russian special Committee and special local Committees for the liquidation of illiteracy are granted the right to make use of schools, clubs, churches, private homes and other suitable quarters (as factories, plants, Soviet farms, etc.) for this work.

(5) Persons evading the fulfilment of this decree, obligating them to become literate will be held responsible under the Civil Labour Codex.

(6) Persons preventing workers, employees, members of collective farms and members of co-operatives from eliminating their illiteracy will be held responsible under the Criminal Code.

(7) The Commissariat of Education, Commissariat of Labour and the Commissariat of Justice are required to issue instructions on the adoption and use of the present decree during the course of a fortnight."

It is not merely socialist reconstruction but the reconstruction of society in conformity to any enlightened ideal whatever, that the utter removal of illiteracy and semi-literacy is an urgent necessity, particularly in India. But while Britishers in general, individually and collectively, down to the Simon Commission, speak solemnly of India's illiteracy as a serious difficulty in the way of her getting self-rule, they have never dreamt of passing any law like the proposed Russian one for the extinction of illiteracy. The bloodthirsty Bolsheviks may probably have a thing or two to teach some enlightened peoples of the world.

—

"From Slavery to Independence"

When before proceeding to attend the last Lahore session of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru saw the Viceroy in order to obtain, if possible, some definite assurance to the effect that the "Round Table" Conference would settle the details of a dominion constitution for India, it was reported that Lord Irwin told the Indian leaders that anything from slavery to independence might be discussed at it. We wonder if any British authority could have mentioned to the South Africans or the Irish, on the eve of the discussions preceding the drafting of their constitutions conferring Dominion-hood on them, the insulting possibility of their being reduced to slavery by the new constitutions which they were going to get.

—

The Official Peshawar Enquiry Report

The report of the official committee appointed to enquire into the disturbances which took place in Peshawar on 23rd April, 1930, has been published along with the Government resolution thereupon. The committee consisted of one European High Court Judge and one Indian Musalman High Court Judge. On two important points the opinion of Mr. Justice Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, KT., is different from that of Mr. Justice Panckridge.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sulaiman believes that some persons were run over by an armoured car before the despatch rider was attacked, and that the situation would not have assumed such a serious aspect but for this unfortunate incident. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Panckridge does not on the evidence feel justified in coming to a positive finding as to whether the despatch rider was attacked before or after persons were run over."—*The Government Resolution.*

The Government resolution does not attach sufficient importance to this difference of opinion, and indirectly throws Mr. Justice Sulaiman overboard.

"Turning to the events subsequent to the second firing the Government of India observe that the two members of the committee have stated certain views in separate notes. After dispersal of the main mob some members of it

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went on to the roofs from which, as well as from the side streets, brick-bats continued to be thrown. With the object of controlling this, forty-four single rounds were in all fired at intervals at persons on the roofs; but, so far as is known, no casualties were inflicted. While the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sulaiman is doubtful whether the particular circumstances justified firing to this extent, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Panckridge considers that there was sufficient justification." *The Government Resolution.*

On this point also the Government resolution does not accept the views set forth by Mr. Justice Sulaiman. Neither the Report nor the Resolution appears to us satisfactory. The evidence on which the Report is based not having been published, it is not possible to discuss whether the Report logically follows from what the witnesses said.

When the report of the non-official enquiry committee is published, if it can be published at all, it may be possible to obtain more light on the tragic occurrences in Peshawar.

—

Working of the Press Ordinance

From the Home Member's reply in the Assembly to a question relating to the working of the Press Ordinance one learns that some 140 journals have felt its heavy hand, many having ceased publication. Serious as this result is, it does not represent the whole of the mischief. Legitimate publicity work has been seriously hampered. Mr. K. C. Neogy complained in the Legislative Assembly—and we personally know that what he said was literally true—that he could not get the Contai Enquiry Committee's Report printed at any press in Calcutta, every press to which it had been taken being afraid of the clutches of the Ordinance. It is to be presumed that that has been or may be the fate of the non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committee's report, too.

—

Indian Christians and the National Movement

We read in *The Guardian*, an ably conducted Christian weekly journal of public affairs of this city:

The Council of the All-India Christian Conference which has just met at Lucknow has passed a series of resolutions in regard to the present situation and the future constitutional developments which will, we think, commend themselves to the community as a whole and also to the country generally. The restrained and emphatic condemnation of the repressive policy of the Government in the face of the Civil Disobedience Movement does, we feel sure, represent the mind of the majority of Indian Christians who are thinking of the realities of the whole problem. The restraint of language should make the influence of this pronouncement still more effective not only here in India but also with our fellow-Christians in Britain and America. We are glad that in the face of the Simon Report the Council has re-iterated in the clearest possible manner its conviction that

"Immediate Dominion Status with transitional safe-guards should be laid down as the limiting scope of the Round Table Conference";

and that it be laid down as a mandate

"that the representative (of the community) invited to the Round Table Conference should ask the Conference itself to lay down Dominion Constitution as the main basis on which all other problems of internal and external relationships and responsibilities as *e.g.*, of the Army, should be worked out."

Again:

We are glad to see that Indian Christians are being drawn more and more into the National Movement. In Calcutta, Nagpur and Bombay representative meetings of the Indian Christian community have passed resolutions making clear that in the demand for Dominion Status they stand with the other national parties and that they are as keen on the development of *swadeshi* propaganda as the country generally.

—

U. S. A. Senator Blaine's Resolution

Great prominence is given in American newspapers to a resolution introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. It is a long document of which the last paragraph sets forth:

"That as India is an original signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the United States Senate instructs the State Department to use its best offices to insure a peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle, with no abridgement of the just rights of the people of India, who are seeking to emulate our own national independence."

The Washington Correspondent of the London *Times* has written to that paper that the resolution is the outcome of the efforts of a few Indian Nationalists in Washington whose statements the Senator accepted without question. That paper is angry with Mr. Blaine. It exclaims, "how could any one with the slightest power, judgment or knowledge of the world, show himself so gullible?" Of course, every one is gullible who does not accept as gospel truth the official and non-official British imperialists' stories relating to India.

According to some British and Anglo-Indian papers, "Mr. Blaine's resolution will

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get some publicity, but it will not be approved." The wish is father to the prediction, though it may be a true one.

We appreciate all friendly foreign interest in Indian affairs, though we know foreign nations can at the best give us only moral support. And we also know that nations by themselves are made.

—

Caste and the Coming Census

The Jat-Pat-Torak Mandal of Lahore has issued a manifesto from which a passage is extracted below:

The Jat-Pat-Torak Mandal of Lahore is striving to destroy the caste system completely. The next Census will take place in 1931. That year will be a year of trial for the well-wishers of the Hindu society. The Mandal calls upon every Hindu not to record his caste on that occasion. There is no law which can compel any person to register his caste in the Census papers, if he does not want to do so. Let us make a combined effort to wipe the present watertight compartments out of existence. To repudiate one's caste is the first step towards national unity. The Census Report of 1931 should on no account be stained with a declaration of our slavery to the caste system, which has spelt our ruin.

—

Proposed Indian Students' Tour in Europe

The Inter-University Board is in communication with all the Universities in India regarding a proposal put forward by the National Union of Students of the Universities and the University Colleges of England and Wales for a conducted tour of Indian students in Europe in the spring and summer of 1931. It is proposed that a party of a hundred students should be given an opportunity of travelling for three months in Europe in the company of Professors. It is expected that the cost would be about £200 per head. It is claimed that the tour should serve as an admirable general introduction to European culture at first-hand and would be invaluable for Indian students studying the political and cultural history of Europe.

The proposal is a commendable one. There are some Indian students, no doubt, whose guardians can spend £200 per head for such a tour. But many of our best students are poor. It would be desirable if they too could be enabled to take advantage of this proposal.

—

Three-Party British Representation

In his last November announcement the Viceroy declared that the conference would be between representatives of His Majesty's Government in Britain and the "representatives" of India. But his recent address says that it is to be "a joint assembly of the representatives of both countries." And it has been announced that the British representatives are to be chosen from the Labour, Liberal and Conservative parties, just as the Simon Commission was. That commission has produced a report which has been condemned by all parties and public bodies in India. But Liberal and Conservative leaders have declared beforehand that it must not be scrapped and have given the public to understand by their attitude that they would oppose any Indian constitution more advanced than that recommended by the Simon Report. So, though Lord Irwin says that "the Conference will be free to approach its task greatly assisted indeed but with liberty unimpaired by the report of the Statutory Commission or by any other documents which will be before it," practically the limit to political advancement will be set by the Simon Report. The Labour Party, in office, itself thinks that it is a great document.

The problems of Britain are being tackled by the Government in office. The problems of self-government in Canada, Ireland and South Africa were solved by the Governments in power in those days respectively. There were no three-party conferences with the representatives of those countries. That Labour has agreed to include the representatives of the two other parties in the conference shows that they are not prepared to take any risk for India and that they cannot face unpopularity with the two other parties, but that, nevertheless, they want to pose as friends of India.

It has been said that there would be a certain advantage in having representatives of all the British political parties at the conference. We presume the advantage might be this that if representatives of all the British political parties accepted any proposals relating to India at the conference there would be a greater chance of legislation based on such proposals being carried through Parliament than otherwise. That is true. But if the agreed proposals themselves were of a retrograde character—and from the anticipated personnel of British all-party delegation, they are not expected to be better—it would be worse than useless to have such legislation for the governance of India.

—

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Rabindranath Tagore as Painter

"Sir Francis Younghusband presided at a meeting of the India Society at the rooms of the British Indian Union, in London recently, when many recent paintings of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore were exhibited. The poet spoke of his discovery that he could paint in lines as well as words. He said that until he arrived in Europe recently, he was very diffident as to the merit of his paintings, but he was encouraged by the enthusiasm for them shown by some artists he chanced to meet in the south of France, who insisted on his exhibiting some of them in Paris. The judgment of some of their famous critics was extremely favourable. He was asked what preliminary training he had received, and his answer was that his training from childhood was in words, not in lines. He had an inborn sense of rhythm, even when he did not fully understand poetry. Verse especially Sanskrit verse, had an intense fascination for him, and since then, as they knew, he had been doing nothing better than turning out verse, a task in which he found a deep sort of ecstasy. Only those creations of the poet or of the artist had a right to survive which had their proper balance, for inter-relation was a principle of creation. He might be told that some of the pictures before them were weird; but, then, there were weird pictures in the history of creation. Camels were very weird; but in its own surroundings in the desert the camel was complete. He had found in his paintings a means for the expression of reality. His discovery of this medium had given him intense satsfaction and pride—a pride such as all artists should have in achievement."

—

Maharaja of Bikanir on Civil Disobedience Movement

The Maharaja of Bikanir is a *persona grata* with British officials and non-officials here and in England. He is to lead the next delegation to the League of Nations from India. In the course of an interview granted to a representative of the Associated Press he strongly condemned non-co-operation and civil disobedience. He also said: "I have now taken an active part in the administration of my State for thirty-two years and am a firm believer in strong rule." It would be interesting to learn what such a ruler thought of the strength of the satyagraha movement. His Highness told the interviewer:

Again in 1917, I ventured to bring home the fact that India even then was changing very rapidly and beyond the conception of those who on the strength of former residence or service in India or who while residing in England all the time have had official connection with this country, pose as critics of those who have the burden and responsibility and the duty of carrying on the King-Emperor's Government here. It is imposible for them really to be aware of the remarkable changes going on or appreciate the situation as it now exists in India.

I own a house and spend a month or two every year at the seaside in Bombay, admittedly the present storm centre in India, and though I was ill for part of the time, yet throughout my stay there last May and June, I kept my eyes and ears open and was able to go about and see things for myself. I also met frequently several local Moderate and Liberal friends amongst the British. I can thus claim to speak with some authority, based on first-hand knowledge and personal observations, when I testify to the extremely grave situation and the unmistakable depth and force of the widespread national awakening.

The movement has taken a firm hold on the people of practically all classes and communities of Indians, at least in the Bombay Presidency, including a very large percentage of the commercial community and even those who do not entirely see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi and others politically.

The Maharaja then dwelt on the practicability and wisdom or otherwise of crushing the movement by mere repression.

No doubt with all the power and resources at the command of Great Britain, a great Government like the British Government, with a mighty Empire at its back, can ultimately crush, at least for the time being keep, this movement under control. But even then the struggle is not likely to end as quickly as some may imagine, and the situation, it is apparent, is apt to get worse before it gets better, not only in Bombay but also in other parts of India. In the meanwhile, there will be created in an ever-increasing degree intense and widespread feeling of bitterness and hatred, the incalculable harm arising from which it is impossible fully to foresee at the present moment.

Such a policy in such circumstances would not succeed even in our Indian States, where the rulers are so to speak autocrats and the people not so advanced as in British India. Indeed those who advocate such an unwise and impracticable course appear utterly to fail to realize that we should then find ourselves in a vicious circle, from which all parties may ultimately find it difficult to extricate themselves.

—

Bombay Piecegoods "Hartal"

BOMBAY, JULY 24.

The Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants Association after a prolonged discussion lasting for three days adopted a resolution this afternoon declaring "hartal" for an indefinite period as a protest against the "repressive policy" of the Government. The "hartal" would not be called off until the Government conceded the "National demands."

The Association controls the main business of foreign cloth in the city, which imports foreign cloth worth Rs. 20 crores annually. The members of the Association, numbering about 500 are all wholesale dealers.

—

"Hold" of the "Movement" in Bombay

The foregoing item of news is an illustration of the fact, mentioned by the

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Maharaja of Bikanir, that "the movement has taken a firm hold on the people of practically all classes and communities of Indians, at least in the Bombay Presidency,..." Other illustrative facts will readily occur to readers of newspapers. A few, relating to Bombay, may be mentioned here. The merchants' procession in Bombay was one lakh strong, and the procession of the Parsis fifty thousand. There were large Muhammadan processions on Peshawar Day and after the Bhendi Bazar incident. Mr. Abbas Tyabji, ex-Judge of Baroda, led the movement and went to jail after Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. Among the ladies jailed are Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, poet, orator, ex-president of Congress, social reformer, and a leader of the woman movement; Mrs. Kamala-devi Chattopadhyaya, another leader of the woman movement, a promoter of woman's education, social reformer, a pioneer of the new theatre movement and herself distinguished for her histrionic talents; Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, a cultured and



Sjt. Dhirajlal C. Modi and Mrs. Hansa Mehta

fine speaker, wife of Mr. Munshi, ex-M. L. C.; Mrs. Lukmani, a Muslim lady aged 65, daughter of the late Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyabji, who was sentenced for picketing a liquor-shop; Mrs. Perin Captain, a granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, who was President of the Bombay Congress Committee and "war" council; etc., Mrs. Hansa Mehta, another President of the Bombay Congress Committee, who has been or may soon be imprisoned, is the wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dean of [illegible] King Edward Memorial Hospital, and daughter of Sir Manubhai N. Mehta, Diwan of Bikaner and ex-Diwan of Baroda who is to go to the "Round Table" Conference with the Prince. Her predecessor in the local presidential chair, now in jail, was Mr. Dhirajlal C. Modi, B. A., who is a man of business and a publicist belonging to a very respected Gujarati *baniya* family of Surat. His uncle gave a donation of two lakhs to the Surat Arts College.

—

Tagore Proud of His Countrymen

Reuter has recently cabled from Berlin that the poet Rabindranath Tagore told an interviewer that he was proud of his countrymen. This piece of news has a chance of turning out false, as certain other mythical interviews did. How deeply he loves his country and his countrymen is illustrated by his following poem, among others:

MY PRAYER FOR INDIA

What is my longing, my dream, my prayer, for my country, my beloved India?
I dream of her. I fervently pray for her, that she may no longer be in bondage to strangers.
But that she may be free!
Free to follow her own high ideals:
Free to accomplish her own important mission in the world:
Free to fill her own God-given place among the great Nations.

Among the mythical things which Tagore is alleged to have told some interviewer the other is the following:

"Interviewed by Reuter Dr. Tagore disclosed that at present he was producing three or four fresh pictures daily, and had temporarily abandoned poetry; also that he was losing interest in politics. Said Dr. Tagore

"I am out of all that now, I do not even have time to read what is going on in India."

About this the poet has written to a friend from Totnes, England, in Bengali: "I hear that, using some [alleged] interview with me in Paris as a handle, slander of myself has been carried to India across the ocean. I did not give any interview to any journalist or news-man; nor did I say to any of those who are unconnected with newspapers anything bad."

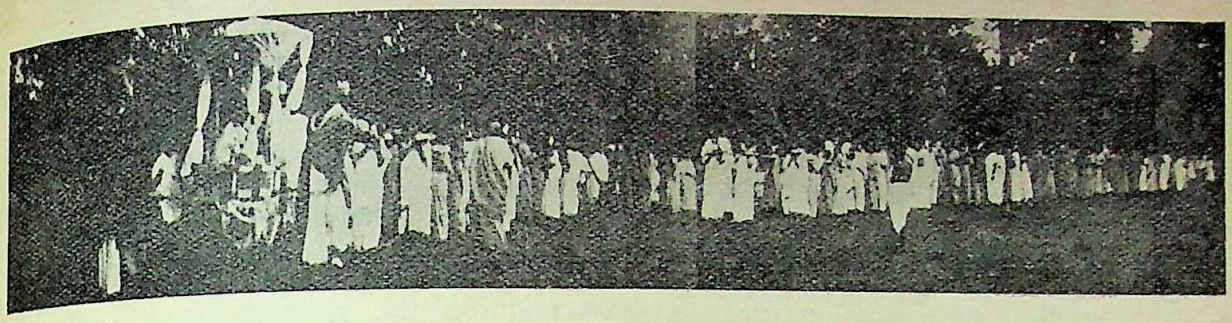
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Festival of Rains in Santiniketan

Though Rabindranath Tagore is at present in Europe, work and play and work-play are going on in his University as usual. On the 26th July the staff and students had the

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The Procession at the Tree-planting ceremony

Festival of the Rains. Had the Poet been here, he would have added the joy and the inspiration of some new songs and some new play or story. In his absence, old songs and verses did duty. Tree-planting was a part of the festival. The procession of girl-students, headed by two stalwart young men carrying a young *amalaki* plant in a flower-decked palanquin with an umbrella held over it, started from the boys' hostel, and singing appropriate songs all along the way reached Sree-bhavan, the girls' hostel, in front of which the tree was planted. Srijut Dinendranath Tagore, the distinguished musician, led the choir. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri officiated as minister, chanting some appropriate Sanskrit verses. Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee assisted at the planting of the tree. After night-fall, there were music and recitations at *Uttarayan*, the poet's residence, under the direction of Srijut Dinendranath Tagore. One of the items was a song sung by two little girls with graceful gestures and rhythmical movements.

—



Tree-planting ceremony

Picketing of Schools and Colleges

In connection with the picketing of schools, colleges and universities in many provinces to dissuade students from attending

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their classes, it is not necessary to discuss whether it would be good to destroy these educational institutions; for the picketers and their leaders do not mean by their present move to destroy them. They only want the students to suspend their studies temporarily. Now, such suspension, where it takes place, should be voluntary. And those students who have voluntarily given up their studies for some months or so, have also the liberty to try to bring other students to their own way of thinking by arguments and entreaties. If picketing were confined to these means of persuasion, even those who are against it would not strongly condemn and oppose it. But the picketers have nowhere confined themselves to the arts of persuasion. They have obstructed the entrance to educational institutions in many ways, thus preventing students from going in. They have invaded the class-rooms, some adventurous youngsters even dropped down into a class-room of a college from the skylight! These methods we condemn. Those who want to continue their studies should have unrestricted liberty to do so.

The question of what part students should or should not take in politics has often been discussed in these pages. It is not necessary at present to repeat our observations. Suffice it to say that we are advocates of neither "the pure atmosphere of study" nor of students taking any leading part in politics. But grown-up students should certainly be in touch with all public movements, political and non-political, so far as the ideas and arguments underlying them are concerned; and they may also play such subsidiary parts in them as would not seriously interfere with their studies. That ought to be part of their education for their future work in life. It does not require a very mature intellect to understand that Swadeshi industries should be encouraged by using Swadeshi articles in preference to and to the exclusion of foreign goods and that all intoxicants should be eschewed and banned. It is quite possible for students to work along both these lines without discontinuing their studies for good and even temporarily suspending them. Whether they should give all their time and energy to such public work, should be decided by them individually in consultation with their parents or other guardians. If students who are not minors decide to give up their studies contrary to the desire of their guardians, they should not expect to be supported by the latter. Independent thought and action presuppose independent livelihood and self-support. As we have not yet run the risk involved in picketing liquor-shops and foreign cloth shops, we should not advise young persons or old to do so; one should say "come", not merely "go". Nor have cold-blooded creatures the right to dissuade ardent souls from any course of conduct which the latter consider necessary for the good of the country and are prepared to make sacrifices and run risks for it.

—

Work of the Bengal Hindu Mission

Swami Satyananda, leader of the Hindu Mission in Bengal, is doing good work in East and North Bengal to promote the fraternization of the depressed classes of the Hindus with the other castes and thus to bring about the solidarity of the Hindu community. He should be helped in every possible way. One indispensable means of elevating the depressed classes is to teach old and young among them of both sexes to read good books. Officials profess great concern for their welfare, but have not given any proof of inextinguishable zeal in the cause of free and compulsory universal education.

—

Madras Women on Amendment of Sarda Act

A resolution was recently passed at a largely attended meeting of Madras women protesting against the motion in the Council of State to circulate Mr. Surpat Singh's amendment to the Sarda Act to elicit public opinion and requesting the Government of India not to go back upon their decision. If Mr. Surpat Singh's amendment became law, it would nullify the Sarda Act to a great extent. Mr. Surpat Singh is not wanting in patriotism. He puts very searching questions, many of which are disallowed on technical grounds, and those which are answered are not answered satisfactorily. But they show the trend of his thoughts for the country. We do not know him personally. But judging from his questions, we think he ought not to have been the man to seek to nullify the Sarda Act to any extent.

The meeting of the Madras women, whom we congratulate on their active zeal in the cause of social reform, which ought to be

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emulated by their sisters elsewhere, also expressed dissatisfaction at the reply of the Viceroy to the Moslem deputation to repeal or amend the Sarda Act, if necessary, without any regard for the feeling of enlightened women of the Moslem community.

—

Moslem Nationalism

Officials and other opponents of Indian national unity and freedom have been trying for a long time past, and particularly in recent times, to persuade the Indian public and the British and other foreign public to believe that Indian Musalmans have in a body or at least to a very great extent kept themselves aloof from the national movement and even condemned and opposed it. We do not believe in such propaganda, as it is opposed to facts. One has only to read the list of names of men and women recently imprisoned in the various provinces of India for political reasons and the reports of public meetings and processions all over India to find an effective refutation of such propaganda. Intelligent Musalmans have came to realize that the best way to safe-guard the rights and interests of their community is first to help in winning political and civic rights for the Indian people as a whole. If these are obtained, it is only then that Moslems like others can have a share of them. What rights are there in a state of bondage to share and safe-guard? Surely, neither the Moslem nor the Hindu nor any other community can be made free to the exclusion of the rest. In order to win freedom for one's own community, one must join all other communities in a united endeavour.

It is, therefore, a pleasure to find that at the U. P. Moslem Conference held at Lucknow, Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman said:

> It was time for the nationalist Musalmans to assert themselves and say "you (communalists) have no business to stigmatize the Moslems of this generation eternally. Let no future generation point the finger of opprobrium and say, you are men who deliberately aided in the process of keeping India in bondage than was otherwise possible."

Dr. Ansari, an ex-President of the Congress, said at the same conference:

> Out of the total Muslim population of India about 80 per cent. Musalmans belong to N. W. F., the Punjab, and Bengal and the remaining 20 per cent to other provinces. These Musalmans have shown to the world by their participation in the present struggle for freedom that the majority of them are nationalists to the very core and supporters of the Indian National Congress. The people who have been sent to jail in Bombay, Bihar, U. P., Madras, etc., include good number of Musalmans and this very fact shows that the Musalmans are taking their full share in liberating their country from foreign domination.

He added that flatterers do not represent Muslims.

Dr. Ansari exhorted the Muslamans to understand once for all that the party of the few communalists and interested persons which has taken up the profession of flattering Government and to pander to its will cannot represent 7 crores of Musalmans inhabiting India. The true representatives are those who have the freedom of the country at heart. Their voice, he said, is your voice and their deeds are your deeds (loud cheers).

Our opponents, he said, who are trying to hoodwink the nation, the Government and themselves, have been making statements and jubilating over the idea that the Musalmans have kept themselves aloof from the Congress. The Secretary of State has also expressed such wrong ideas, but we cannot close our eyes to the existing facts and we must, therefore, openly declare that the Musalmans as a community are with the Congress and the movement initiated by it, and that there is no sacrifice which the Muslims are not ready to make for the sake of their mother country (prolonged cheers).

—

Indian Professor Invited by Chinese University

The Chinese National University at Peking has invited Professor Phanibhusan Adhikari of the Benares Hindu University to teach Indian philosophy there for three years. Both by scholarship and character Prof. Adhikari is well qualified to keep alive the ancient Indo-Chinese cultural connection which was revived a few years back by Rabindranath Tagore, who took with him a party of cultured young Indians.

—

Public Meeting of Indian Women in London

At the public meeting of Indian women recently held in London, Mrs. N. C. Sen took the chair. It was held for the following purposes:

(1) To demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners.

(2) To urge upon the Government the futility of any negotiations at the proposed Round Table Conference without the participation of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the party most representative of Indian people.

(3) To warn leaders of communal interests and other political parties not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference until the above conditions are fulfilled.

Mrs. Sen made a fine speech. The following is one of the passages devoted to the Simon Report:

> What a lot of money and time have been spent to produce this. No new weapons have been found against us. The same old arguments, which we

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have been hearing for years, have been applied again, and supplied our judges justification for the existence of the foreign Government. I do not know why these very grounds do not condemn them instead? For if in 150 years they have not been able to remove our disabilities, are they likely to be able to do so ever? The report does not say much about our own reformers. But whatever social reforms have been done and are being done, Indians themselves have done and are doing. Every country has its own problems and it alone can solve them. There are a hundred different problems here, in this country and Governments are made and unmade frequently on these prob'ems. What outside power ever comes forward to solve the problems of this country? And would England tolerate anybody's interference? We are often asked, 'What will happen to us if the English left India?' Nobody can foresee things, but if the worst happened, as the diehards take delight in predicting, it would be our own affair.

—

The Dacca Tragedy

One of the most tragic events connected with the movement for closing down schools and colleges happened at Dacca, where Ajit Bhattacharyya, a student of the Dacca University who after passing the I. Sc. examination had come to seek admission in the B. Sc. class, died on July 21, as a result of injuries received during the *melee*, when the police charged a crowd in the Science Laboratory of the University.

After his death the students and the public approached the authorities for permission to take the body in procession to the funeral ghat. But it was refused by the District Magistrate on the ground that such a procession was likely to lead to communal trouble. And it is reported in the newspapers that, when in these circumstances the relatives of the deceased student and the students refused to take delivery of the body from the hospital, it was burnt by the police.

—

Sapru-Jayakar "Peace Mission"

The latest news about the Sapru-Jayakar "peace mission" received as we are going to press is that both these gentlemen had an interview with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Naini Jail, and discussed the situation with them. The latter gave them a letter for Mahatma Gandhi, and Mr. Jayakar is taking it to Poona while Sir Tej Bahadur remains behind at Allahabad.

No useful comment can be made on the "peace mission" till full details of these discussions are known. All that can be said at present, is to repeat our previous contention that the peace which is wanted is effective peace *with honour*.

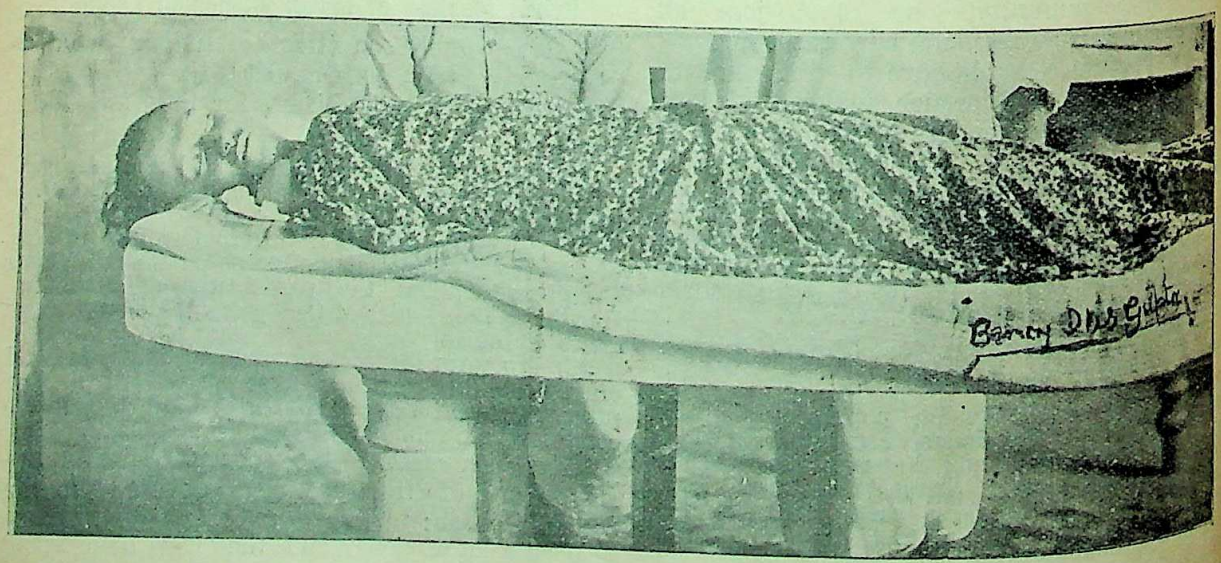
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ERRATA

There are a few misprints in the editorial notes in the July number of *The Modern Review*. The correct readings are given below:

Page	Col.	Line.				
115	1	12	*for*	united	*read*	limited
118	1	7	„	sane"	„	some
119	2	33	„	may	„	many

—



The body of Ajit Bhattacharyya at the Morgue

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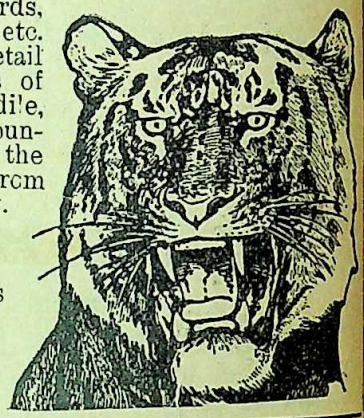
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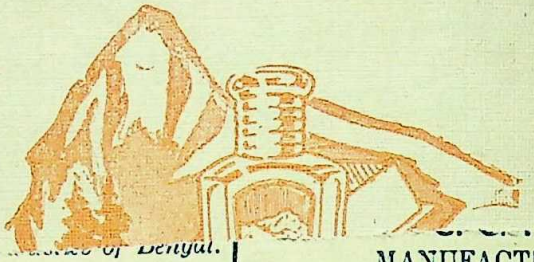
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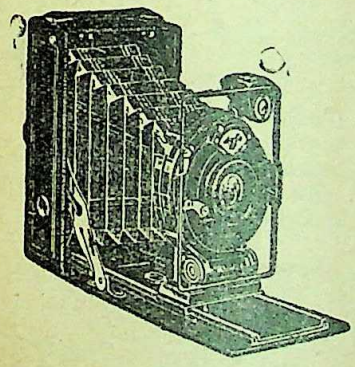
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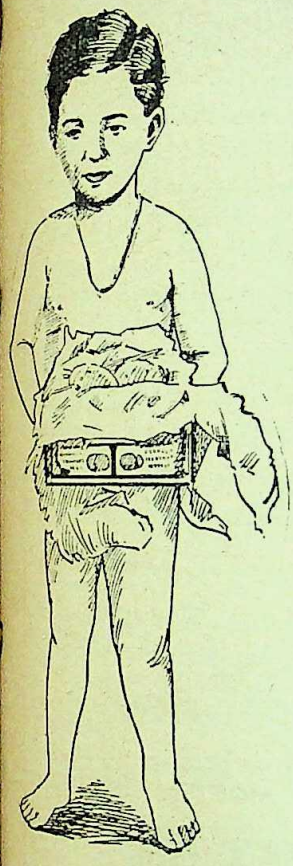
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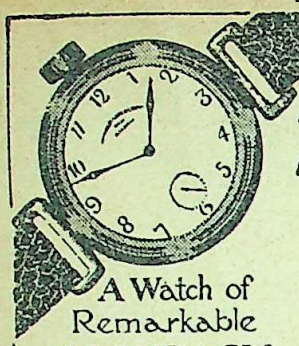
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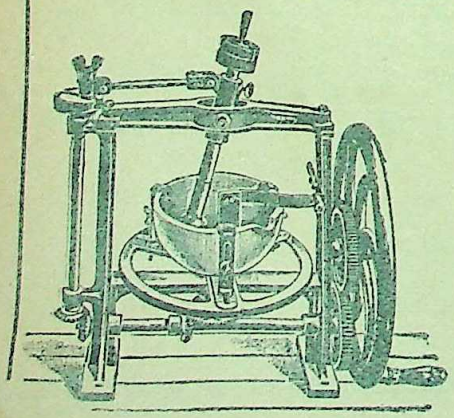
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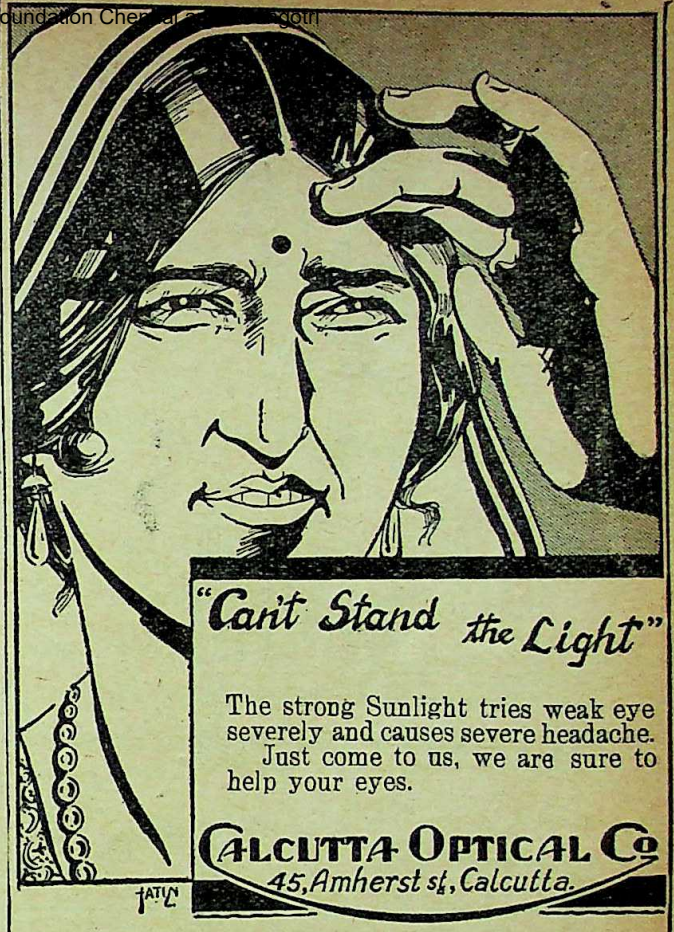
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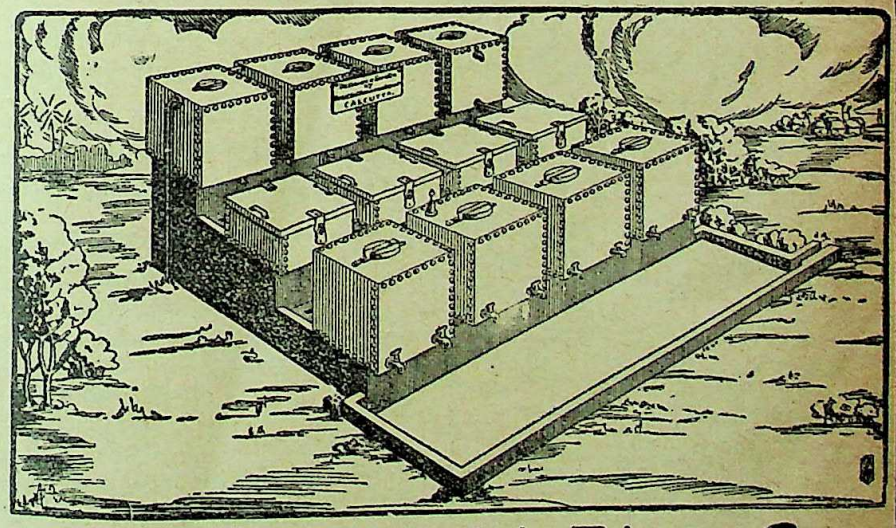
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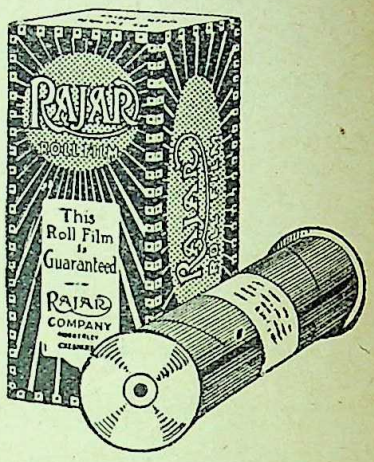
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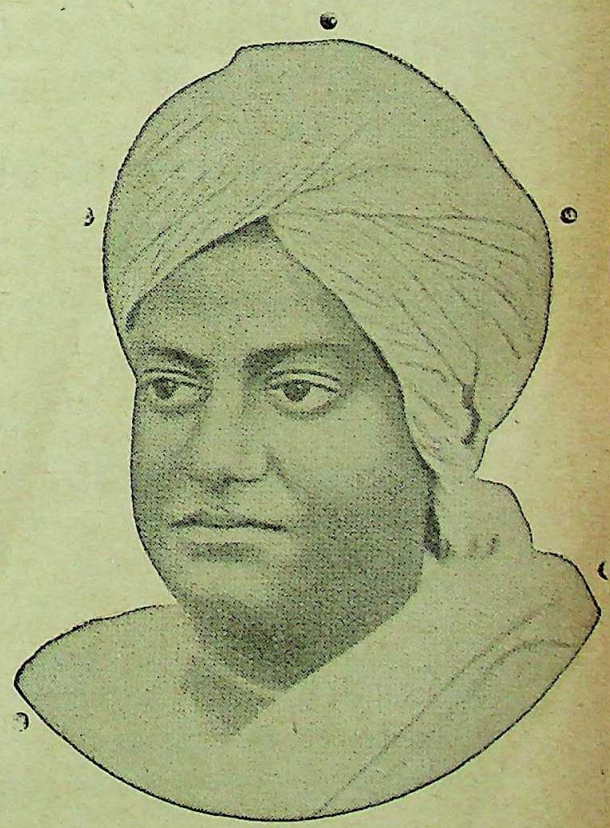
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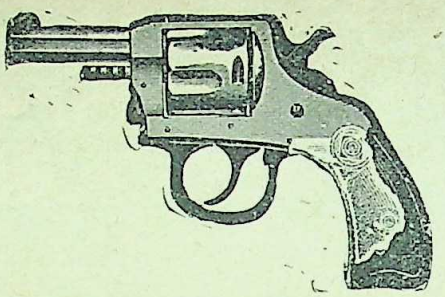
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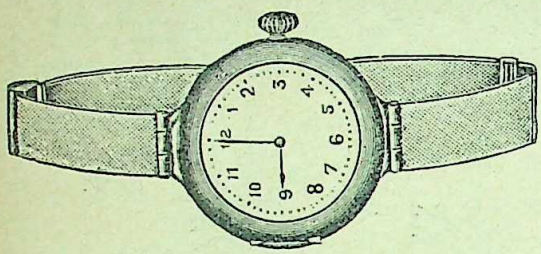
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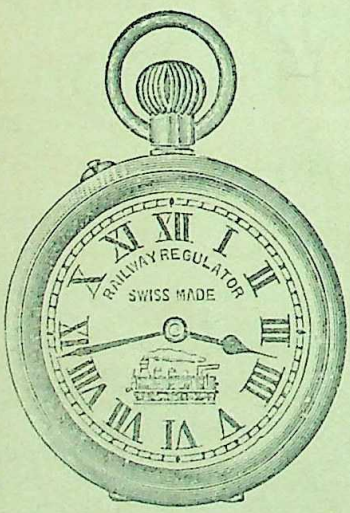
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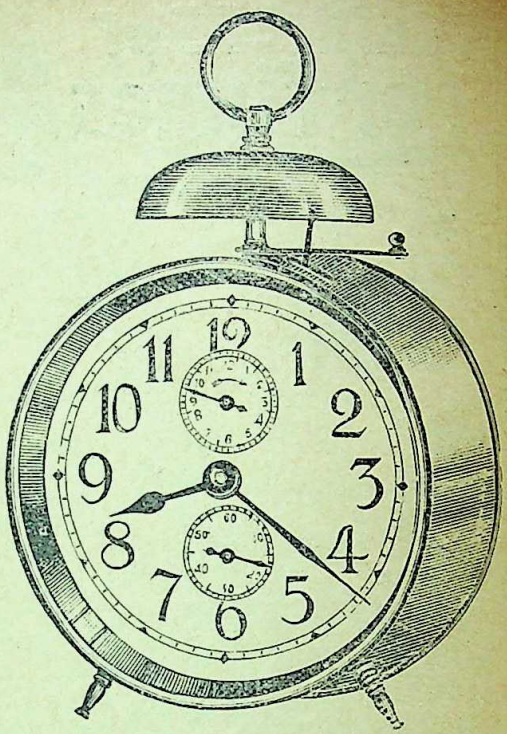
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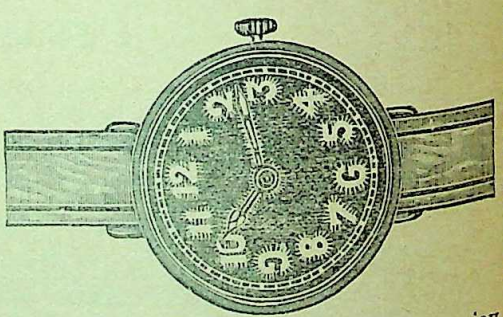


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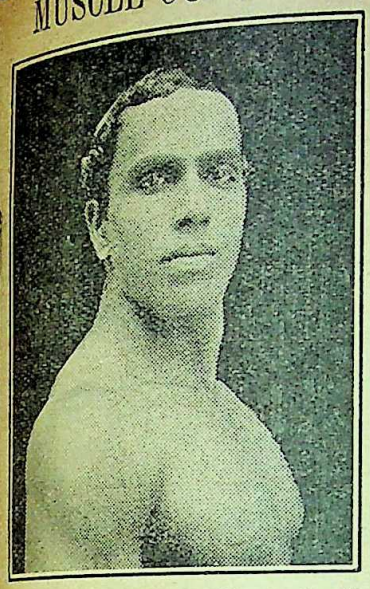
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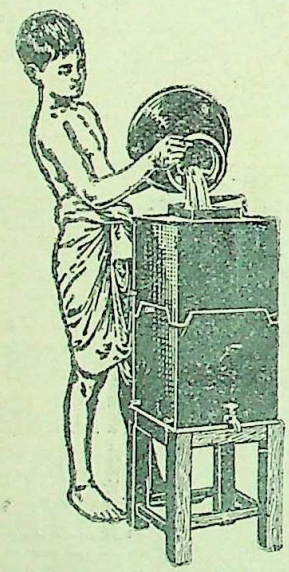
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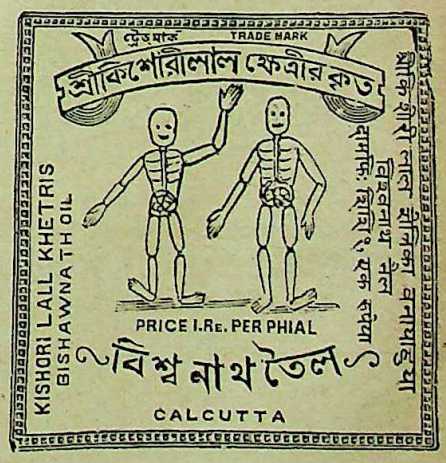
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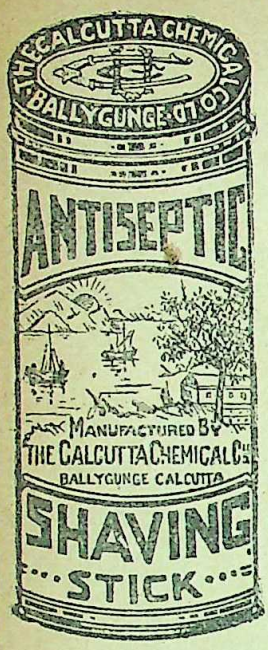


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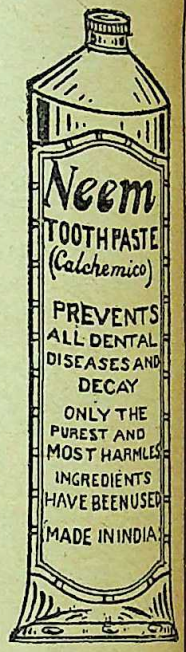
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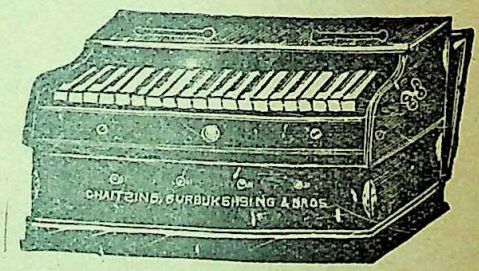
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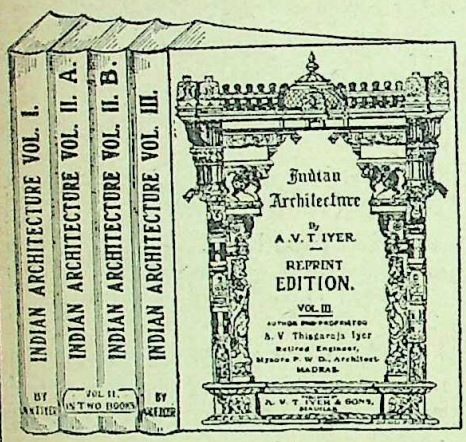
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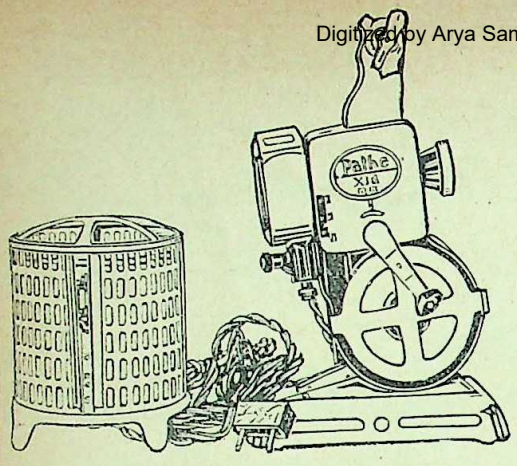
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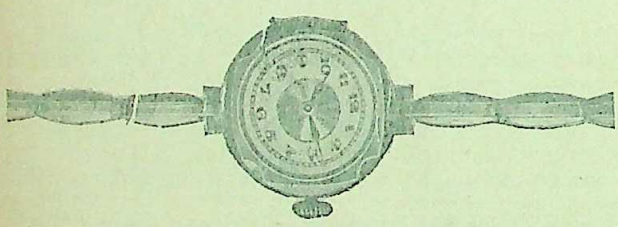
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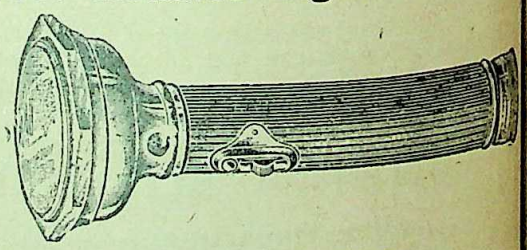
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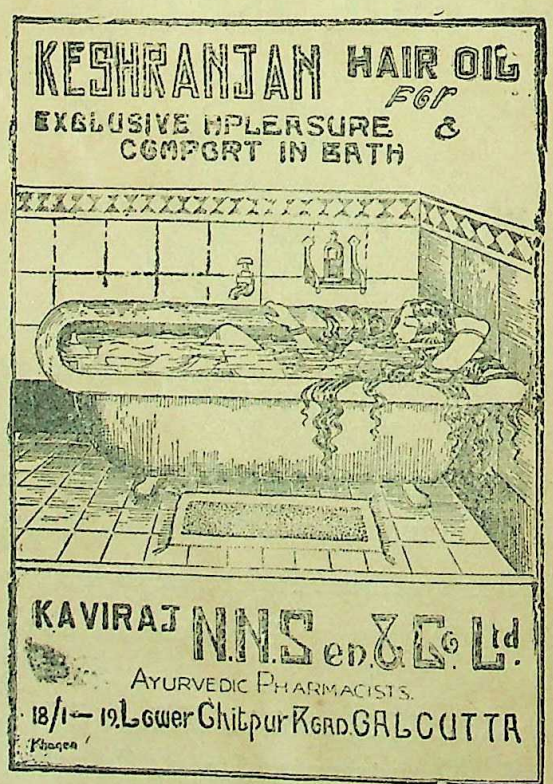
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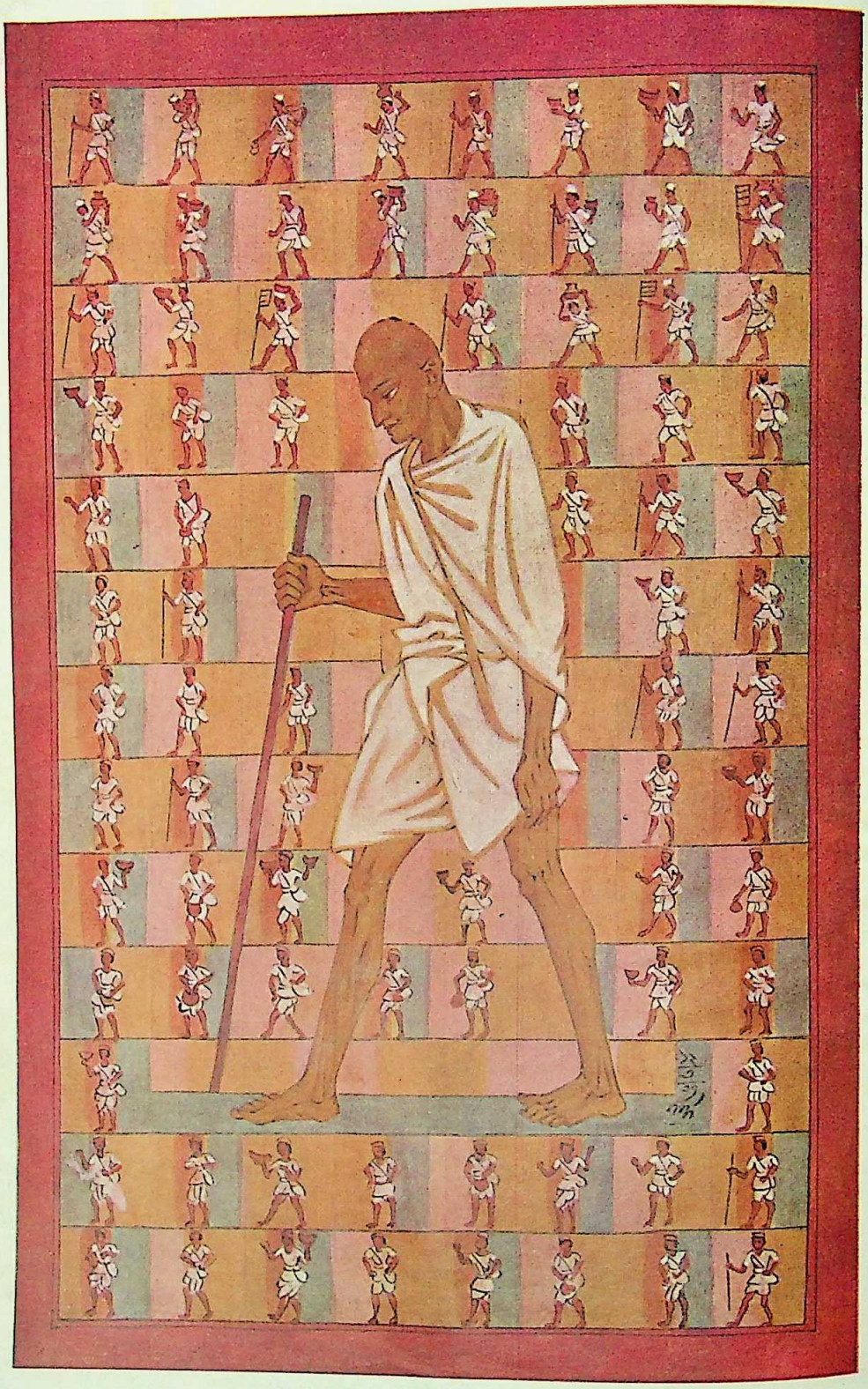


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WHOLE NO.
285

War and Revolution in China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THREE outstanding facts characterize the Chinese situation today : 1. The civil war. 2. The economic decline. 3. The peasant revolution.

Regarding the civil war : this has come to seem like a state of nature in China. But beyond the usual official war news, which nobody believes any more because they are so ludicrously censored by the Government and so in variance with the truth, there are a number of historical and social factors that will remain and play an important rôle in China, regardless of the outcome of the present war between the militarist cliques. These are : The Nanking Government with its present dictator, General Chiang Kai-shek, represents a very clear social force—a force of feudal large landowners in union with the rising capitalist class, one of whose strongest wings is the banking interests with both native and foreign imperialist affiliations. On the whole this Government enjoys the approval and support of the great foreign powers, and even if it is destroyed, the forces it represents will still strive for power. The Northern Allies now warring on Nanking, on the other hand, represent old-style Chinese militarism tempered by the paternalism and peasant mentality of Feng Yu-hsiang, commander of the Kuominchun, who leans more to the Reorganizationists, or left-wing Kuomintang, and whose simple personality wins for him the life and death devotion of his unpaid soldiery. The Reorganizationists, until recently a part of Northern Alliance, but no longer so, claims to be the one and only true Kuomintang. In the Hankow days of 1927 they represented a real revolutionary force of workers, peasants and the *petit bourgeois* ; to-day there remains of them nothing but the *petit bourgeois*—and a rather impotent *petit bourgeoisie* at that—able to stand alone only when united with other forces—which just now happen to be the reactionary Kwangsi clique whose leaders are known as "communist killers." It claims as its own the famous "Ironsides" of Chang Fa-kwei, and individual Generals in various provinces temporarily loyal to Chiang Kai-shek,—and kept loyal by bribes.

Each of these contending factions has its foreign and domestic programme. Nanking's programme is as clear as that of Mussolini's : it is a clear military dictatorship operating under the guise of a 6-year "political tutelage period" conducted by militarists and hand-picked Kuomintang men loyal to the ruling family of Sung of whom Chiang Kai-shek is one of the most important props.

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It wishes to unify and develop the country under this dictatorship along lines of clear benefit to the owning classes which it represents. Accordingly, foreign journals in China praise it for its "moderate foreign policy" as against the "ravings of the agitators," and say that even though it does not have the "mandate of the Chinese people" still only "foreigners of limited vision" would rejoice over its downfall, for no other Government would be "more complaisant in so far as foreign privileges are concerned."

The chief programme of the Northern Alliance seems to be to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and constitute themselves as the rulers in his stead. They say they wish a representative, constitutional government, but the prepared list of new rulers consists of the northern military men, including the feudal dictator of Manchuria, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, and the extremely reactionary Western Hills clique. They say they would "sympathize and co-operate" with the Kuomintang, and they offer Wang Ching-wei, the Leftist leader, a position in the new constellation. But the Reorganizationists, of which Wang Ching-wei is the political head, have broken with the North on this issue. They still hold to the dictatorship of the Kuomintang under a kind of revised 1926 programme. Conversations with their leaders show that their programme now differs little, save in phrases, from Nanking. They are now placing their hopes on the capture of Canton by the Ironsides and Kwangsi armies and the establishment of an independent Government in the south.

All of these warring groups have been struggling for the body and soul of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria with the result that this gentleman is emerging with a lot of new titles, and more money and power. If he really throws in his armies against the North, he will cast the decisive vote.

As is usual, powerful foreign imperialst governments are interested in one or the other of the warring parties, and each party shows a far deeper sensitiveness to the opinion of the imperialists than they do to the opinions of the Chinese people. The Americans in China, as well as Germans, although critical, seem to be solidly behind Nanking; the British seem to have a split on the issue—they will work every side; and the Japanese support and sell guns to both the North and Nanking,—making hay while the sun shines, so to speak. The French are clearly in sympathy with the North,—perhaps because the Germans support Nanking. The Reorganizationist leaders are leaning heavily on the imperialist British Labour Party and, in case of victory, they intend to replace many of the foreign advisers in Nanking with men from the British Labour Party and the Amsterdam International. The Chinese correspondent for the *London Daily Herald* and for the Social Democratic Press of Germany is a Reorganizationist leader in Hongkong who has just started a campaign in the foreign press in China proving that his party is just as respectable as Nanking in that they are against Communism and for the crushing of the peasant revolt. The Reorganizationists are depending on the British party that is incarcerating Indians.

The domestic programme of the warring factions differ according to the private interest they represent; but regarding the land question and the revolting peasants there is no difference between them. They all promise to settle this problem with bullets, the Reorganizationists differing only in their *explanation* of peasant revolts, saying these revolts are not due to criminality as Nanking thinks, but to economic causes and to "bad Communistic ideas."

There is also another problem that will remain, regardless of the outcome of the civil war and this each party will have to face: that is the disastrous economic decline that characterizes the present internal situation. This decline is not only the result of the impotence and reaction of the government that has ruled China for three years, but it is the logical consequence of China's subjection as a nation and the consequent impact of capitalism and imperialism upon the old Chinese economic system as well as the incompetence of the present government to solve such problems. A survey of a Chinese government research bureau in Shanghai shows that in the nine-months period from August 1929 to April 1930, 4,500 Chinese industries and businesses went bankrupt; this survey included only seventy districts in nineteen of the thirty Chinese provinces and in no way attempts to touch peasant life, although it is upon the backs of the peasants—85 per cent of the population—that the chief and final economic burden falls. The utter and criminal impotence of many

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Chinese officials who rule today is revealed most strikingly in a personal letter received by the writer from a high official in Shanghai. He writes: "The civil wars, the never-ending famine, the silver slump, business decline, and banditry have ruined our country. There is no force inside or outside the party (the Kuomintang) that can save us. And I—well, I drown my despair by eating and drinking."

But the dispossessed and heavily burdened peasants, deprived of all power and protection and delivered up for three years to the big landowners and usurers, and the masses of hand-workers, now unemployed, cannot "drown their despair in eating and drinking"; they have nothing to eat or drink. They have asked for food and they have been given bullets. The result is that today they are fighting ferociously all over central and south China. Today it is no longer "bloody Bolshevism" in China for one to admit the fact that there are peasant uprisings; but it is still considered a sign of criminality for one to declare that these uprisings are anything else than banditry. For officials to admit anything else would lay them open to the necessity of solving this problem by other than bullets. And that they cannot do. They have neither the ability nor the desire.

The entire foreign and Chinese press is now filled with reports of the peasant uprisings. In May and June the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, a big British daily, ran a series of ten leading articles on what it called "The Third Revolution," ending by saying, "The agrarian revolution, which nobody thought possible a few years ago, is in being." The sources of information of this big daily are press and missionary reports—and Consular reports. It says there are today thirteen Red, or peasant armies, with over 60,000 armed men under educated Communist military leaders trained in Germany, Russia and Japan. The highly "decent respectable" articles admit that in the early days the peasant revolts were chaotic and took the form of pure banditry, but that now they are "operating under a single organization and following a uniform procedure.... They forbid vice, gambling, opium-smoking, suppress temples and churches, destroy idols, deport missionaries, kill the enemies of the people' (big landowners, officials, the gentry), abolish private property and give the land to the peasants; in large districts they issue passports, control the post and telegraph and regulate business... The revolutionary intellectuals of China are abandoning their studies and going to the battle-fields with the peasants!"

But some foreign publications are not so objective. The *China Weekly Review*, the chief American weekly of Shanghai, is significantly permeated through and through with agitation against the peasants—and with the most vicious agitation against Soviet Russia. They use the peasant uprisings, the civil wars, and business decline as an excuse, however far-fetched, to attack Soviet Russia and to show the very danger of its existence. In its issue of 28th June is embedded one of the kernels for the reason of this agitation: American business, it says, cannot compete with the trade conducted by the Soviet State Monopoly in North Manchuria; and the Russian officials in the Chinese Eastern Railway have given railway orders to Germany and Czecho-slovakia instead of to America! Therefore Soviet Russia is a danger to the sovereignty of China! This magazine is a harbinger of the American-fomented and directed war against Soviet Russia in the near future.

The June issue of the *Far Eastern Review* of Shanghai, the chief organ of big business and finance in the Far East, backed by Japanese capital in particular, but also representing American, British and other big imperialist business interest, is much more honest. It makes no pretence of wishing to "help" China, as does the American journal and as do so many hypocritical Americans. Its leading editorial is a summary of the economic situation in China and of the peasant revolution, in which this magazine gives an open ultimatum to the Nanking Government, backed up by a threat of intervention. Frankly it says: "These facts are being slowly grasped, and when the influence of Big Business, International Finance—'capitalism' if you will—is brought to bear on their respective Governments, there will be no hesitancy when it comes to the choice between Communism and demanding that China put her house in order." "Putting the house in order" means massacring the starving and fighting peasants.

And this is the danger that faces China and the entire Far East in the future, and it matters little how the present sanguinary civil war ends. There is the danger of armed intervention of foreign imperialists to save their dollars and cents, or pounds and

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shillings, in China. It is a great danger of life-and-death importance not only to all Asiatic countries, but to Soviet Russia as the only power that has advocated the freedom of subjected Asiatic peoples, and as the only power that has broken the capitalist system and inaugurated a new and successful Communist system.

Of course, the imperialists have their excuses: blandly ignoring the century-old subjection that has reduced the Chinese masses to a degradation as great as that of the Indian masses, they now would have us believe that the peasant uprisings are the work of "Soviet agents." So they speak of the Indian movement for freedom, so do they speak of every movement of revolt of the oppressed. The truth, however, is that the economic disaster in Chinese life today has fallen most heavily on the bent backs of the peasants. Added to this, is the fact that a Government sits on the throne that has betrayed the Chinese revolution, has compromised and served the imperialists and brought reactionary imperialist advisers and interests into the country. For the sake of their own miserable private interests the new rulers of China have betrayed the masses who *are* the Chinese people. They have turned upon and massacred the Russians who alone of all peoples had extended to them a hand helping them to rise from the swamp of subjection. They have united with the imperialists in the Ports and other centres—united openly and shamelessly—in a man-hunt on those Chinese revolutionary young men and women who would not bow their heads to this betrayal. And, not content with that, they united with the British imperialists in raiding head-quarters of Indian nationalists in Shanghai where the Indian national flag was flying. The present reactionary government is unwilling and incapable of making any changes in Chinese economic or social life that would solve the dire poverty of the masses. To do so would mean to strike at its own personal interests in land, business and banks. Its new land law is clearly a law on behalf of the big landowners whom it represents, the landowners who hold the lives of peasants in their grip and who, in many places, have reduced the peasants to actual chattel slavery. The process of the concentration of land in the hands of big landowners has gone on with lightning rapidity in the past three years of the Nanking regime, during which period all the peasant unions were smashed and the unions of big landowners put in their places, armed with guns and State power for further exploitation of the peasants. This concentration of the land in the hands of landowners—who are usurers, business men, officials and militarists, or all rolled into one—has forced the peasant into tenancy, then into daily labour on land, then driven him off the land into the city looking for jobs in industries that have gone bankrupt; or it has thrown him into the ranks of banditry; or, if he is far-visioned and creative in outlook, into the Communist armies. To his ranks are added the hand-workers thrown out of work by business depression and by the impact of western capitalist modes of production on the old Chinese system.

The social revolution has begun in earnest in China. The Nanking Government, applauded by foreign imperialists, has started what it dishonestly calls "bandit suppression" or "peace preservation campaigns." This means a war against the peasant revolution. It is using aeroplanes and every kind of weapon it can spare from the civil war in this noble pursuit. And the foreign gun-boats along the Yangtze have repeatedly fired on cities held by the peasant armies without one word of protest coming from the Nanking Government or any of the warring cliques fighting today for the control of the country. The peasants, badly armed and badly fed, are, however, fighting for their lives throughout the Yangtze valley and in the southern provinces. And this much must and should be said: It is the Chinese Communist party and their leaders heading the peasant armies that have prevented the peasant uprisings from becoming the pure banditry of desperation. These leaders have brought to the peasant a clear social programme and clear revolutionary tactics. They and they alone are capable of rescuing the peasants from chaos. There have, in Chinese history, been repeated peasant uprisings, due to oppression and exploitations; and generally banditry has been the form of protest of the peasants. Today is the first time in Chinese history when they come under an organization with a clear social programme and a clear social revolutionary leadership with international affiliations. For them to lay down their arms after the present murderous civil war is ended, is impossible. They cannot. Conditions

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forbid. They have but one choice : to die by starvation or to die fighting for their emancipation. They have chosen the latter way. Their victory or defeat will have an intimate bearing upon the future emancipation or subjection of all Asia. If there is any likelihood of their victory, armed intervention by foreign imperialists is almost certain. And this means the beginning of the long-anticipated war on Soviet Russia with an attempt of the imperialists to destory the power of the Soviet that has served as a beacon light for the oppressed masses of Asia and of all the world. Such a war would, however, be a challenge to all Asia, for it is a war on their own emancipation.

The Distribution of the Nagara Type of Temples

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

ORIGINALLY the *Nagara* type was not so massive or imposing compared to what it became in the 10th or the 12th century A. D. Like the modest Draupadi's *ratha* or the very small *sikharas* on the earlier temples at Aiholi, a similar type of the *sikhara* is to be noted in the earliest temples of Northern India, *i. e.*, the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara, the twin temples at Baudh, the partly preserved *sikhara* of the Dasavatara temple at Deogadh. After the lapse of fifteen centuries it will be difficult to determine how the modest *sikhara* of the earliest temples of the *Nagara* type came to be accepted in the heart of the Karnataka yet, the earliest temples of the Chalukyan capital at Badami and Aiholi are exact replicas of the sixth century northern temples like the temple of Dasavatara at Deogadh, consisting of sanctum, a covered path of *pradakshina* and an open hall or *mandapa* in front.

Before the term *Nagara* type became known in India Fergusson indentified it correctly but gave it the name of Indo-Arran. In the country of its origin, *i. e.*, Magadha or South Bihar there are only two temples dating before the Musalman conquest of the country :

(1) The temple of Mahabodhi at Bodh-Gaya, and

(2) The temple of Siva at Konch near Tikari, both in the Gaya district. These two constitute the first group of *Nagara* temple.

The second group of Nagara temple is to be found at Khajuraho in the Chhatarpur State of Bundelkhand. It belongs to the late Pratihara (950-1018 A.D.) and the Chandella period (1025-1200 A. D.) ; only three temples belong to the late Pratihara period, *e. g.*, the temples of Lakshmanji, Visvanatha and Vamana. The remaining temples were built by the independent Chandellas. The earliest



The Great Temple at Mahabodhi

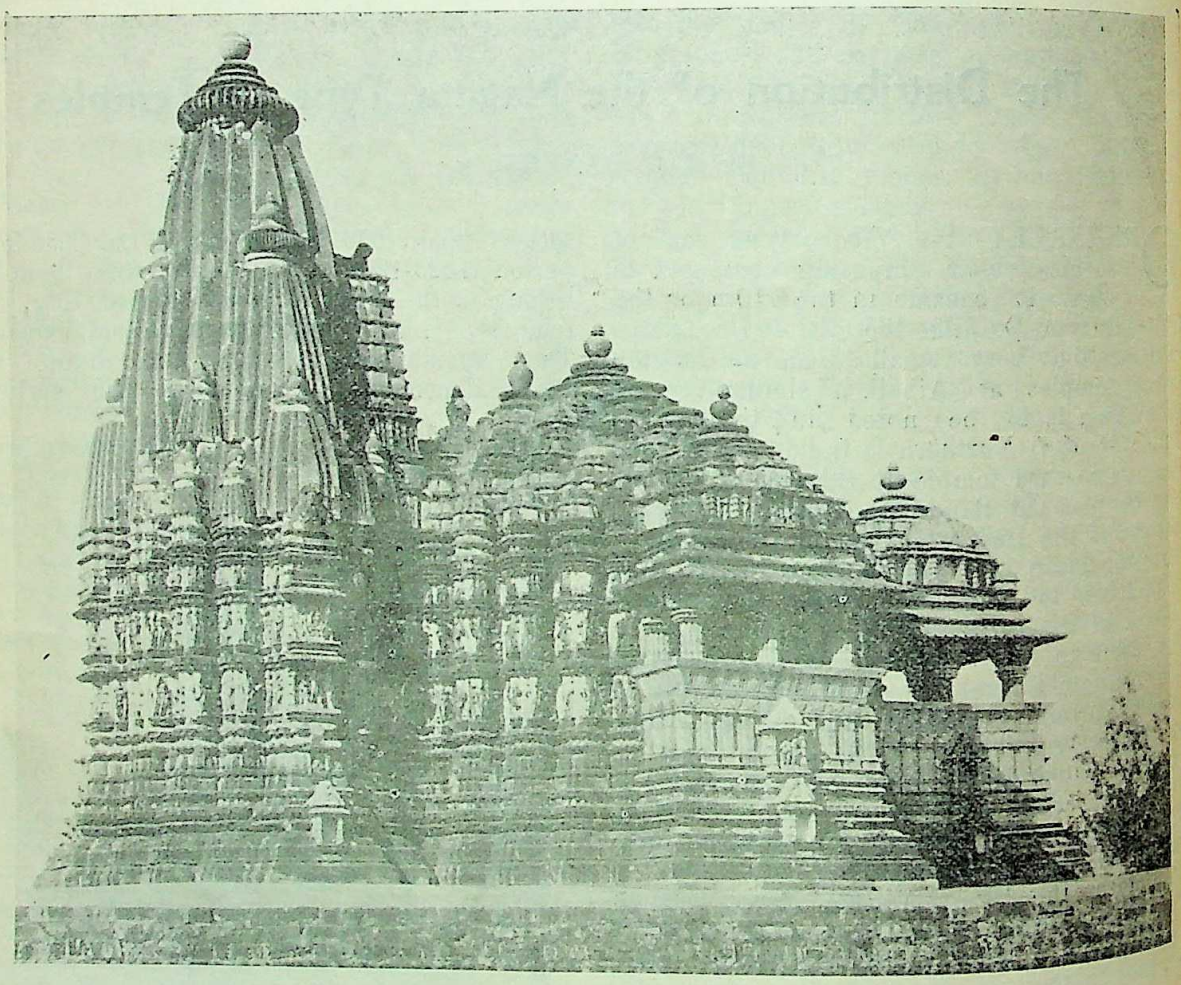
of them is that of the *Vamana* or the Dwarf Incarnation of Visnu from the fragment of an

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inscription of the Chandella king Harsha who was a contemporary of King Mahipala I of the Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj. Similarly a long inscription of Yasovarman dated V. S. 1011=955 A. D. was discovered near the Lakshmanji temple. This inscription informs us that an image of Visnu called Vaikunthanatha was obtained by Yasovarman from King Devapala of Kanauj which Devapala had obtained from *Shahi*, the king of *Kira* or Kangra Valley, who in his turn had obtained it from a king of Western Tibet (*Bhauttas*). Strange to say, this temple still enshrines an image of Visnu. A third temple of the later Pratihara period, is associated with the Chandella king Dhanga and an inscription of this king was found near this temple, which is dated V. S. 1059=1002 A. D. This is of the period of the last kings of the Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj, as for example, Rajyapala, the last king of that dynasty who ruled at Kanauj and was killed in 1019 A. D. Many of the later temples at Khajuraho follow the plan and elevation of the later Pratihara temple.

The three types of North-Indian temples, *e. g.*, the temples of Kalinga or Orissa and the two types of *Nagara* temples of the Gaya group and the Khajuraho group show a number of affinities and discrepancies. The majority of the great temples at Bhuvanesvara and Puri



Temple of Chitragupteswara Siva at Khajuraho

do not show a covered path of *Pradakshina* around the temple but they show four distinct members in these temples :—1. The *Vimana* or the sanctum (*Garbhagriha*) ; 2. the *Jagamohana* or the first hall (*Maha-mandapa*) ; 3. *Natamandira* or the second hall (*Mandapa*) ; and 4. *Bhogamandapa* or the third hall (*Ardhamandapa*).

It is known to us from inscriptions that the

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temples of Vamana, Lakshmanji and Visvanatha are older than all temples of Orissa, except, perhaps, that of the Lingaraja or the Krittivasa at Bhuvanesvara. Moreover, we learn from votive inscriptions and actual structural variations that in the temples of Lingaraja and Ananta Vasudeva at Bhuvanesvara and that of Jagannatha at Puri, the second hall (*Natamandira*) and the third hall (*Bhogamandapa*) were later additions. In the Khajuraho group, the second hall (*Mandapa*) and the porch (*Ardha-mandapa*) are of the same date as the sanctum and the *Mahamandapa*. It must be admitted, therefore, that the architects of the later Pratihara

Pradakshina but originally the temple of Lingaraja at Bhuvanesvara and that of Jagannatha at Puri consisted of a *vimana* (sanctum) and a *Jagamohan* (*Mahamandapa*). At the time of the repairs to the temple of Lingaraja it was proved that *Natamandira* was a distinct and a later addition. The absence of the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa* in the Raja-Rani, and the older temples of Parasuramesvara and Muktesvara prove that originally the Kalingan architect did not provide for the third and fourth *mandapas*.

In the temples of Magadha proper we do not find any trace of the covered path



The Garbhagriha and the Sikhara of Goalesvara at Un showing the Mandapa of the new Khandesh type

period evolved the temple type in which the temple consisted of four different members, built at the same time. Moreover, they provided for a covered path of *Pradakshina* on the model of the early Gupta and the Later Gupta temples they saw before them. In Orissa or Kalinga there was not only no covered path for *Pradakshina* and of the two additional *mandapas*. This is a point of unity between Kalingan and Magadhan groups of temples. The only point of divergence is in the outline of the *sikhara* of mediaeval Orissan temples. The sides of the Mahabodhi temple, though inclined, are perfectly straight while those of the Lingaraja and Ananta Vasudeva

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temples curve inwards very sharply near the top. There were small open porches in front of both the Mahabodhi and the Konch temples. At Khajuraho the lines over the angles of the sanctum are almost perfectly straight and so are the lines on the angles of the *Mahamandapa*, *Mandapa* and *Arddha-mandapa*.

The Magadha type of the *Nagara* temple is once more visible in Malava. The best preserved specimen of the time of Bhoja I, the celebrated Paramara king of Dhara, is that at Nemawar, twelve miles from Harda station on the G.I.P.R. standing almost out of the bed of the Narmada. There is no covered path of circumambulation here, and the only *mandapa* is an open pillared hall in front of the main door of the shrine. In the Kalingan group, the Magadhan group and



Temple of Mahakalesvara or Mahalokesvara at Un showing the small open porch in front

the Nemawar temple there is no balcony or window in the sides of the *vimana* or the sanctum to light up the interior, a feature which is to be found only in the backs and sides of the sancta and *Mahamandapas* of Khajuraho.

Compared to the Bodh-Gaya temple and the temples of the Khajuraho group, the *sikhara* of the Nemawar temple is slightly curved, a feature which disappears as soon as we cross the Narmada.

The *Nagara* type of temple architecture made its influence felt all over Northern Gujarat and the Maharashtra. The great group of temples surveyed by the present writer at Un in the southern part of the Indore State in the beginning of 1919 serve to prove the influence of the *Nagara* style in Khandesh and Maharashtra. Here again, in the majority of cases we find that the temple consists of a *garbhagriha* or sanctum and a *mandapa* but never more than one. There is no covered path of *Pradakshina* and the lines of the outline of *sikhara* are perfectly straight. The group of temple at Un is by far the largest in the country to the south of the Narmada. At Un the majority of the temples are in ruins, and among them the best preserved *sikharas* are those of the Goalesvara, Nilakanthesvara and the Mahakalesvara or the Mahalokesvara. In all of these the angles of the *sikhara* are perfectly straight lines and nowhere do we find the slight curvature of the Kandarya temple of Khajuraho or the Siddhesvara temple of Nemawar. In one respect the Un temples formed the beginning of a separate class. In all of them the *Garbhagriha* is rectangular and much smaller in dimension than the *mandapa*. The *mandapas* are of three classes :

A. A small porch on four or six pillars.

B. An open hall supported on a larger number of pillars.

C. A large enclosed *mandapa* with openings in the front and on the sides.

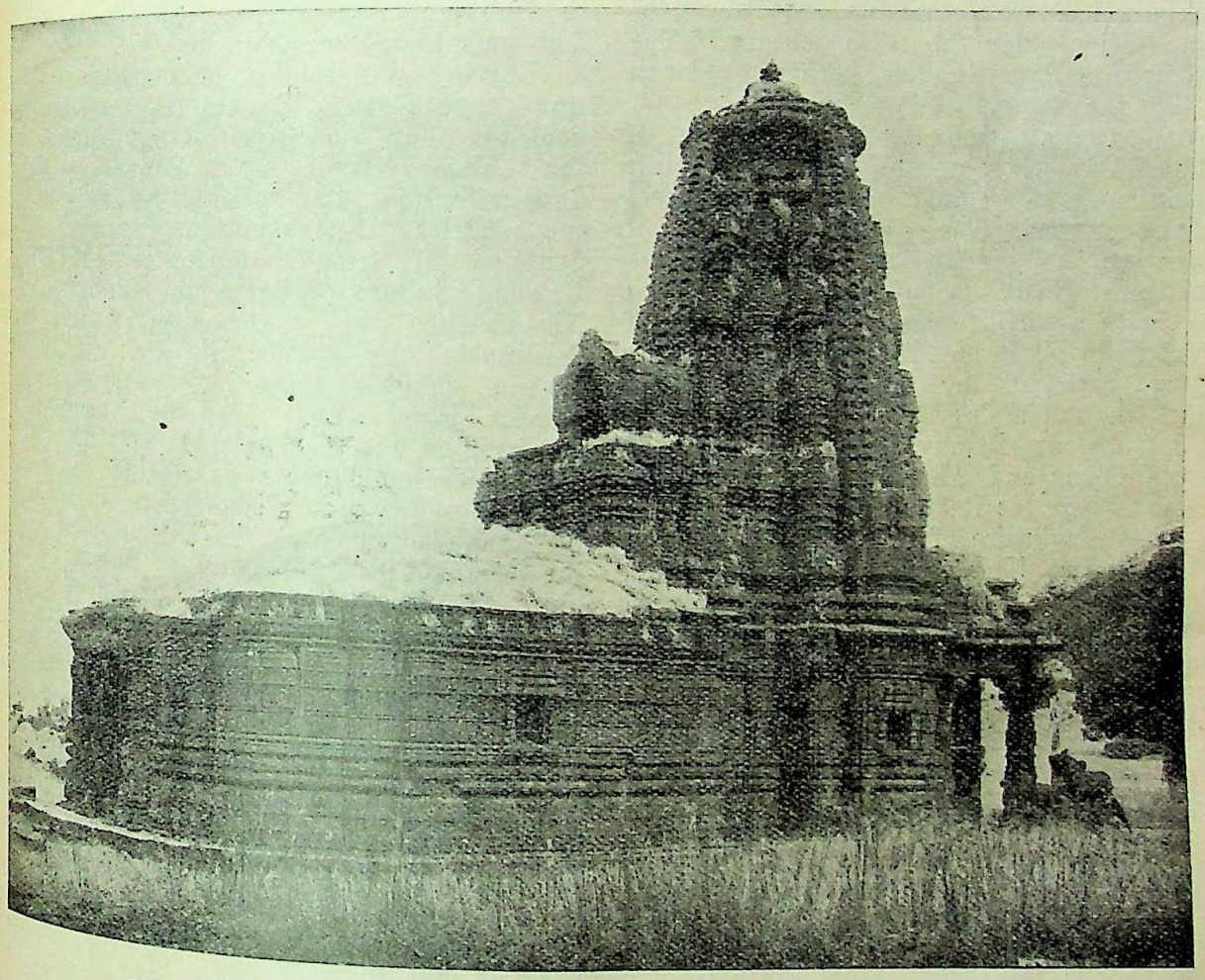
In the *sikharas* of a majority of the temples we find large and small miniature *shikharas* as in the case of the Khajuraho group.

Though the extant temples of Northern Gujarat are to the north of the Narmada, in type they are exactly similar to the Un temples. The banks of the Narmada form the border line where the Northern *Nagara* type gradually comes to mix with the south and therefore it would be no digression from our subject to speak of the existing temples of Northern Gujarat. Though at Un, Nemawar and Modhera the influence of the *Nagara* type is supreme, further south in the heart of Khandesh and in northern Maharashtra the outlandish types begin to predominate, till in the Belgaum and Dharwa district the influence of the *Nagara* type is faintly visible. In the temples of Northern Gujarat the large *mandapa*, the small *garbhagriha*, the profusely decorated pillars and arches of the *mandapa* indicate the debt of the Gujarat type to the *Nagara* type of Northern India.

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That there was no difference in the type between the temples of Northern and Southern Gujarat can be proved immediately by a comparison of the *mandapa* of the great temple at Modhera and that of the temple of Galtesvara at Sarnal near Thasra, on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, between Anand and Godhra. Standing in the bed of the river the temple of Galtesvara lost its *sikhara* very early and the *mandapa* itself had to be taken down stone by stone for reconstruction only a few years ago. In comparison with Southern Gujarat, the temples of Northern Gujarat have suffered less and the only reason that I can assign for it is the ravages of the independent Sultans of Gujarat and the Mughal Subahdars of that province till the rise of the Marathas. In Northern Gujarat the great temple at Modhera has lost its *shikhara* long ago though the plan of the existing structure is sufficient to prove its affinity to the Khandesh or the Un type. The *mandapa* is much too large than the *garbhagriha*. Even in Northern Gujarat only a few temples have survived after the 8th century and those that have are later in date. So is the small temple on the banks of the Khan Sarovar at . Anahilavada Pattana.* Like the temple at Modhera which was constructed in V. S. 1083-1026 A. D., the temple at Dilmal shows the use of sloping back-rests and corrugated *chaajja*, the earliest and the best examples of which can still be seen at Khajuraho among *Nagara* temples of Northern India.† The *sikhara* of the temple of Bhavanadhvaja at Sarotra is better preserved, and it shows a slight curvature in the outline of the corners of the *sikhara*.§ The great indebtedness of the temples of Northern



Temple of Amritesvar at Ratanvadi showing the *Mandapa* of Un type

* *Northern Gujarat, Pl. V.*
† *Ibid., Pl. VIII.*
§ *Ibid., Pl. X.*

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Gujarat to the earlier temples of Lakshmanji and Visvanathji at Khajuraho and at the same time the smaller dimensions of the *garbhgriha* in comparison to the *mandapa* can be seen in the old temple at Kasera.* In this temple the *sikhara* is covered with a number of miniature shrines almost in the style of modern U. P. The temple of Limboji Mata at Dilmal shows the diminution of the height of the *sikhara* and the entire structure appears to be mediaeval. † A smaller shrine behind the temple of Limboji Mata appears to be older.§ The image of the Trimurti shows that its execution cannot be earlier than the 12th century.** The old temple at Sankeswar is perhaps older in date like the temple of Parsvanatha.††

Further digression into the temples of Northern Gujarat would not serve our purpose and we must return to the great southern road. The great temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar, about six miles due west from Nasik is entirely in the *Nagara* style with a small temple at each corner of the original platform. Further south in the western part of the Ahmadnagar district stand the temples of Ratnesvara and Amritesvara at Ratanvadi on the old road between Poona and Ahmadnagar. The temple of Amritesvara at Ratanvadi shows the first sign of the mixture of the Northern *Nagara* and Southern *Vesara* or the Dravida styles. In addition to a closed *mandapa* of the Khandesh or the Un style there is a small porch at the back of the temple on two pillars and two pilasters.

At the extreme end of Gujarat, as it stood before the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals, *i. e.*, on the bank of the Kalyan creek, which was called the creek of Mahim by the Portuguese in the 16th century we find the last specimen of the *Nagara* style in temple architecture. About three miles from Kalyan junction stand the little village of Ambarnatha, so called from the existence of the great temple of Ambarnatha built during the rule of the Silaharas in Thana. The *sikhara*, so much of it as exists today, was distinctly *Nagara* but ornaments have been introduced into it which proves that the *Vesara* or the Dravida style was already advancing to join hands with the northern style. The ornaments of the *sikhara* were miniature temple *sikharas* and great fan shaped niches with which we become more familiar in the temples of the Western parts of the Deccan plateau beginning with those on both sides of the Gokak falls in the Belgaum district and ending with Arsikere, Hosur and Halevid in the Mysore State. In spite of the decoration and the small porches on pillars the influence of the *Nagara* style in the Ambarnath temple near Kalyan is unmistakeable. To reach Ambarnath today you can take a taxi or a tonga from Kalyan Junction or go by train to Ambarnath station on the Madras line and walk to the temple.

Leaving the plains of Gujarat we must now ascend the Western Ghats in order to continue our narrative of the extension of the *Nagara* style into Southern India. Junnar Taluqa and practically the whole of the district of Poona and Satara were denuded of temples during the rule of the Bahmani Sultans of Bidar and Gulbarga, the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and the Adilshahis of Bijapur. In the Karnataka certain temples appear to approach the Nagara type, such as the temples of Galaganatha and Kadsiddhesvara at Pattadkal.* But this resemblance is accidental being due to the absence of the hemisphere in the case of the Kadsiddhesvara. So is the case with the temple of Tarakesvara at Hangal.† The only temples which may be called of the *Nagara* type are those of Ganapati at Hangal and that of Dodda Vasavanna at Dambal near Gadag junction.§ In the case of the temple of Ganapati the *sikhara* is a comparatively modern structure as in the case of the temple of Sambhulinga at Bankapur in the Dharwad district.** What Fergusson took to be an extension of the *Nagara* type in the Dharwad district is perhaps better illustrated in the temple of Santesvara in which the *vesara* dome was reconstructed in later times when it sank in level and lost the characteristic elevation of the *vesara* neck.†† In conclusion we must return to the temple of Dadda Vasavanna or Dodda Vasappa at Dambal near Lakkundi in which the base of the *garbhgriha* is formed by intersecting parallel rectangles, the *sikhara* of a series of steps and the *vesara* dome missing. In fact, to the south of the Krishna the influence of the *Nagara* type is not be found.

* *Ibid., Pl. XI.*
† *Ibid., Pl. LXV.*
§ *Ibid., Pl. LXVIII.*
** *Ibid., Pl. LXIX.*
†† *Ibid., Pls. LXXV-LXXVI.*

* Cousen's *Chalukyan Architecture, Pl. LII.*
† *Ibid., Pl. LXXXVI.* § *Ibid., Pl. LXXXVII.*
** *Ibid., Pl. XCIV.* †† *Ibid., Pl. C.*

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The Power of Swadeshi

By HILDA WOOD

It has often been pointed out that India's fame spread westwards first through her arts and crafts and then through her religions and philosophies. Thus it was her material progress which first attracted attention. Only later on came her poverty, quickly upon the decline of her home industries.

When the Prussians were defeated by Napoleon at the battle of Jena in 1806 so that the power of that people was destroyed, the nation set its hopes upon education as the best means of raising once more a powerful and united nation, and the king circulated a notice that above all things he desired that education should receive attention in such a manner as to restore within the country that power and credit which they had lost. This policy proved itself sound. That education showed itself to be a power even beyond expectation. But this was due to the fact that it was directed towards the practical needs of the nation. It was not that the Prussians, having been defeated materially, took refuge in academic education and contented themselves with mere mental success. There is a close parallel between the use of education and the use of Swadeshi movement for the uplift of the nation. The Swadeshi movement can be not merely a temporary expedient kept going by sentiment and ulterior motives, but a mighty power, one of the very life streams in the body of the nation.

Although the boycott of foreign goods is the best means to bring the British to their senses, the work of Swadeshi is not only the boycott of foreign cloth, but has the much more permanent and constructive side of fostering home products. This work requires a slow but steady education of the people as to the economic benefit of giving support to their country's industries.

England buys from India only those things which she cannot possibly produce more cheaply herself. This is as it should be, but India goes on buying from abroad those things she *could* produce more cheaply herself, and mainly with what is at present unoccupied labour. England, moreover, buys goods made from a low paid peasantry, while India buys goods from a relatively highly paid people. So India is kept poor. There is a very unequal exchange of the products of labour, though the margin of loss to India may seem small in money. The yearly drain from British India of products for which there is no return is put at upwards of £30,000,000 a year. But one cannot measure the goods exchanged in terms of money. One can only measure them by looking at the amount of actual goods remaining in the possession of the parties to the transaction.

Some years ago President Coolidge pointed out that the claims of traders operating in foreign countries was the chief modern cause of war. Therefore, no nation must neglect to develop those industries for which it has the natural resources, the labour and the talent. Though international trade has its value, it would be a ridiculous thing to carry goods to and fro unnecessarily, besides destroying the variety of occupations which is necessary for the stability of a country, especially in times of transition, which are increasingly frequent, as is to be seen, for example, in the immensly reduced consumption of woollens, or in another way in the disappearance of horses and the horse trade. Besides, the life of a nation is somewhat like the life of a man. The child may need the gifts the mother can offer, but the growing boy and strong man must work for himself.

There is no need for me to go into the industrial past of this country. It is well known to all. Men came from afar to shake the pagoda tree. Those were the days of India's great manufacturing fame; she was the greatest manufacturing country of the world, and it is perfectly obvious that she can be so again if she supports her Swadeshi industries and puts them on an economic basis. Unfortunately, those who are thinking of this matter forget the difference between a financial basis and an economic basis. It may be good finance to pay the worker

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as little as possible but it is extremely bad economics. The only way to promote Indian industries is to create consumers. This means that the vast working population must also be a purchasing population. With all the natural resources and labour capacities of India, it is quite possible for everybody to have a nice house with all simple instruments of culture and refinement.

In India a consuming public is what is required. Our rich men and women must be educated to understand the value of the circulation of wealth in the country as compared with hoarding, buying jewellery, and unproductive banking. In the political field many realize the evil effects of the drainage of the wealth *outside* the country, but fail to see that there is an even greater danger, the lack of circulation of wealth *inside* the country.

Let me now apply this to the question of khaddar. It is wrong to allow the price of khaddar to become established casually in comparison with that of mill cloth. It is also wrong to give the worker a bare pittance. Therefore, the minimum price of khaddar should be fixed (perhaps by Congress), taking into account a reasonable wage for the producers. For it is a very sound strategic move to make it worth while for the worker of this trade, and all the more so because it would provide a means of subsistence for the unemployed. Khaddar is a beautiful product and should command a good price on its own merits. You would not think of offering the same price for a hand-painted picture as you would for a print. I know it is often *said* that if the price of khaddar is not brought to the level of the common man's pocket, there is no future for khaddar. But when he, the common man, is paid a living wage, he will be in a position to buy it. What an ironical thing it would be if they who, for the sake of their country, had taken to the beautiful art of making khadi, had to resort to the purchase of mill cloth for their own use! Again people say this industry was meant by Mahatma Gandhi to be a village industry and a spare time work, a secondary means of earning a little extra during the in-between seasons. If by village industry is meant that the peasant should spin, weave and *wear* the cloth he makes, I heartily endorse that idea. Then no money transactions are involved. But when you find decrepit old ladies or young girls spinning for two annas a day, even though it be a "secondary means of supplementing their income," it is taking advantage of their poverty and as such, is, to use a hard but true word, sweated labour.

I have figured it out roughly as follows. One pound of cotton costs ten annas in Madras. The spinner should get as a minimum the same amount for spinning that pound of cotton. The weaver as his minimum should get the same or a little more. This means that with all overhead charges the cost of making a *dhoti* weighing one pound would be a little over Rs. 2. If then the retail price for such a *dhoti* be fixed at Rs. 3 or Rs. 2-12 this will allow not only for the makers to get a decent wage, but a commission or profit for the travelling salesman or shopkeeper is also included, and all share in proportion.

People should not be permitted to do this work free or at a low price, even for the sake of the country from a political point of view, for they are only spoiling their own capacity for consumption and that also of others.

To make a real success of this Swadeshi industry Indians must live as Indians, and not half Indian and half European. "The fact that we are ruled by a foreign nation need not compel us to acquire a foreign mind," said Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, but that is what has occurred to some extent. Both Indian and European lovers of India have urged the people to become patriotic not only in word but also in deed. The country is full of starving artists in weaving, carving, painting and other industries that made India famous in the past. They have not lost their skill, but lack encouragement, while politicians turn their attention to factories for soap, shaving cream, etc., and copy the western world. The mind of India has become somewhat of a slave's mind; its people have acquired an inferiority complex; it is perhaps on account of foreign domination. Let this fact be recognized and the danger of it will soon pass and the people will stand up as men and say "Indian am I, in thought, word and deed." Then the world will rejoice, for she is still appreciative of the unique work that India can offer today again as she did two hundred years ago.

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The Hellenistic aggression against India (4th—2nd century B.C.)

By UPENDRA NATH GHOSHAL, M.A., PH.D.

THREE distinct periods of aggression of the Hellenistic powers of the West against India may be distinguished in all the centuries of her past history.

The wonderful campaign of Alexander of Macedon (334-330 B.C.), which led to the subversion of the effete empire of the Achaemenids, brought the young and vigorous Western power which took its place into contact with the wonderland of India to the East. The victor, as soon as he had completed the subjugation of Bactria and Sogdiana on the furthest confines of the fallen empire, crossed the Hindu Kush on his way to the invasion of India (327 B.C.). North-Western India, the Uttarapatha of the ancient Indian writers, was not then in a position to meet the attack of a foreign invader. In truth its condition was not dissimilar to that of the Indian Midland before its political unification under the House of Magadha. It was split up into a number of monarchies and tribal republics, and while the powerful monarchical States were contending with one another for ascendency, they sought to absorb the more vulnerable republics. We thus learn from the Greek accounts how just before Alexander's arrival in the country the bold and ambitious "Porus" (Paurava), King of the Doab between the "Hydaspes" (Vitasta, modern Jhelum) and the "Akesines" (Asikni, modern Chenab), with his ally "Abhisares" (King of Abhisara), was engaged in a war with "Taxiles" (King of the Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum with Taxila as his capital). The same description shows how the two allies had sought some time before to conquer the valiant "Kathaioi" (Kathas ?) living on the banks of the "Hydraotes" (Iravati, modern Ravi) and their neighbours, but had been forced to retreat without accomplishing anything. In these circumstances not only was an effective combination of the indigenous States against the foreign invader out of the question, but it seemed by no means impossible for some of them to join his side and betray the country's cause.

The incidents of Alexander's Indian campaign have often been told by modern historians, and only a brief recapitulation of the principal events is here necessary. Crossing the Hindu Kush, Alexander took the ancient route leading through the Kabul valley to Puskaravati and Taksasila. He received in advance the willing submission of nearly all the Indian rulers inhabiting the frontier region, including the king of the rich and powerful city of Taxila to the east of the Indus. When after his successful campaign against the wild Indian tribes inhabiting the hills to the north of the Kabul river he rejoined the main force, he was able safely to cross the Indus with his troops through the help of the king of Taxila who renewed his submission to the invader. Thus the whole of the open country up to the line of the Jhelum river submitted almost without a blow to the conqueror. The passage of the Jhelum was disputed by Porus, but with his usual consummate generalship Alexander overcame the opposition of the Indians and inflicted a decisive defeat upon them at "the battle of the Hydaspes." Porus who disdained to fly was taken prisoner, covered with nine wounds. With politic generosity the victor responded to the captive's proud request to be treated "like a king." He then advanced to the banks of the "Hyphasis" (Vipasa, modern Beas), fighting on the way the warlike tribe of the Kathaioi whose stronghold Sangala was taken after a fierce resistance. Recalled from the Hyphasis by the clamour of his troops, Alexander retraced his steps to the Hydaspes and began a memorable voyage with his newly built fleet of boats down to the sea. The story of his campaign thenceforth is a sickening record of horrors. The "Malloi" (Malavas) living along the lower course of the Ravi, "the most numerous and warlike of the Indians living in that region" prepared to give him a formidable reception, but Alexander burst upon them before their preparations were complete, and slew a vast number. Lower down the Indus a king called Mousikanos (King of the Musikas ?) ventured.

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to rise in revolt after offering his submission, but was defeated and captured and ordered to be executed along with his Brahmana advisers. It is said that 80,000 Indians perished in the course of these campaigns on the lower Indus! Arrived at the mouth of the Indus Alexander appointed his trusted admiral Nearchos to conduct the fleet through the unknown waters to the head of the Persian Gulf, while he himself led his army back to Persia through the inhospitable wastes of Gedrosia (modern Makran).

The Indian campaign of Alexander was the first bid for dominion in India made by a Hellenistic power, and his plans for administration of the conquered country were admirably suited to ensure its success. The issue of the campaign, however, turned out to be just the reverse of that anticipated by the great Macedonian. In truth the invasion of India by Alexander, like that of Germany by Napoleon in the early years of the 19th century, proved directly and indirectly to be a great incentive towards political unification. In the interests of his own administrative arrangements Alexander swept away the crowd of princelings and tiny republics in the Indus valley and placed them under the control of his own satraps or of subordinate Indian princes like Ambhi and Porus. And when his career was cut short by a premature death (June ,323 B.C.), the whole of the conquered country rose in revolt and united to expel the foreigner. At the time of the second partition of Alexander's Empire by his generals in 321 B.C., India was totally abandoned by the Macedonian Government, and with the departure of Eudamos, the commander of a Thracian contingent in the Indus valley, in 317 B.C. disappeared the last traces of Macedonian rule in the country.

The leader in India's "War of Liberation" was the young Chandragupta Maurya who had probably shortly before this time displaced the last of the Nandas on the throne of Magadha. Thus the challenge of Macedon was fitly answered by the completion of the political unification of Northern India. Tradition associates with this first Emperor of all Northern India an Indian Bismarck, Visnugupta, usually known from his family or clan title as Kautalya or Chanakya. No sooner was the new Indian Empire fairly established on its foundations than it had to meet the menace of a fresh Hellenistic attack from the West. Seleucus, who had succeeded in the general scramble for the spoils of Alexander's empire, in carving out the kingdom of Western Asia for himself, sought to recover the lost Indian dominion of the Macedonian throne. On this occasion the two rival powers, the Indian and the Hellenistic, were equally matched. Seleucus crossed the Indus (305 B. C.), but was forced after an unrecorded campaign to make a humiliating peace. By it he added to his Indian rival, in return for a comparatively insignificant gift of 500 elephants, a considerable part of Ariana comprising the three provinces of which the capitals corresponded to Kabul, Herat and Kandahar together with the eastern portion of modern Baluchistan. Thus the expedition of Alexander was amply avenged.

The brilliant victory of Chandragupta over Seleucus was an event of incalculable importance for the history of India. Not only was the Hellenistic menace which had hung like a cloud over the country for twenty years swept away, but the political boundaries of India were carried to her true scientific frontier on the north-west, viz. the line of the Hindu Kush. Like the issue of the Franco-German War in Germany the enormous prestige of the victory won by the first Maurya Emperor must have tended to establish the new imperial dynasty on secure foundations. In so far as its relations with the Hellenistic powers were concerned, a period of friendly intercourse followed that of the clash of arms. The matrimonial alliance which cemented the treaty between Chandragupta and Seleucus was followed by the arrival of embassies first of the well-known Megasthenes and afterwards of Deimachos, at the Indian court. Another Hellenistic potentate, Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, sent an ambassador called Dionysios probably to the court of Bindusara. The path of intercourse with the West being thus thrown open, it became possible for Asoka to extend the grand scheme of his missionary organization to the Hellenistic States, and he could claim in the eighth year of his consecration to have achieved "the chiefest conquest" in the border-lands "even as far as 600 *yojanas* where dwells the Yavana king called Amtiyoka and beyond this Amtiyoka to where (dwell) the four kings called Turumaya, Amtekina Maga and Alikasudara."

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In the course of a little over half a century the Empire of the Seleucids, fell a prey to the forces of internal disintegration. About 250 B.C. Diodotus, "the governor of a thousand cities of Bactria", threw off the Seleucid yoke, while at the same time a revolt of the rude Parthians near the Caspian sea laid the foundation of the great Parthian dynasty. In the time of Euthydemos, the third successor of Diodotus, Bactria was invaded by the Seleucid Antiochus III who eventually acknowledged its independence. Immediately afterwards (206 B. C.) Antiochus crossed the Hindu Kush, still as before the political frontier between India and Persia, and renewed his friendship with an Indian king called Sophagasenas (Subhagasena ?). This Hellenistic expedition was little more than "a reconaissance in force", and its influence could not have reached further than the Indian boarder-land.

The withdrawal of Antiochus left the Greek kingdom of Bactria secure from an attack on the West. The ambitious kings of this outpost of Hellenism in Middle Asia now turned their attention towards the rich Indian territories whose frontier defences had been disorganized by the downfall of the Maurya Empire. Euthydemos, to judge from the distribution of his coins, crossed the Hindu Kush and conquered the Paropanisadae (Kabul valley) as well as Arachosia (Kandahar and Seistan). The next Bactrian king, Demetrius, aptly called "King of the Indians," pushed his arms beyond the Indus and his example was followed by a later king, the famous Menander whose capital was Sakala (modern Sialkot). Indeed, if we are to trust a statement of the geographer Strabo, the Greeks under Demetrius and Menander carried their arms through the Indus delta to the modern Kathiawar and across the "Hyphasis" as far as the "Isamus" (Jumna ?). One of these military expeditions which must have been raids rather than conquests, created such a profound impression that references to it were made in the Mahabhasya of the grammarian Patanjali and the ancient astronomical work called the Gargisamhita. The Greeks in this case, possibly under Menander broke into the Gangetic valley and after occupying Mathura and investing Saketa (in Oudh) dashed on to Pataliputra which they besieged. The memory of a conflict between Prince Vasumitra (grandson of Pusyamitra Sunga) and the Greeks, which took place on the banks of the Sindhu river forming the present boundary between Bundelkhand and Rajputana, is preserved in the Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa.

The invasions of the Bactrian Greeks were the last, and as they turned out to be, the most successful attack launched by the Hellenistic States against India. Such surprising success of the foreigners naturally calls for an explanation. No doubt the political disorganization of the country following the downfall of the Maurya Empire gave the invaders an opportunity such as their predecessors had not enjoyed. But the headlong break-down of the Indian powers of resistance must be attributed to deeper causes. We may well believe that the bureaucratic centralization of the Maurya rule deprived the people of that sturdy spirit of local independence which had made the political unification of Northern India a task of exceptional difficulty in the past, while the imperial autocracy, to whatever height of moral grandeur it might attain under Asoka, could not but prove an uncongenial soil for the growth of public spirit and patriotism among the subjects. With more certainty we may conclude that the propagation of the pacifist teachings of Buddhism by Asoka, and, as it appears of Jainism, by his two descendants Samprati and Salisuka could not but impair the efficiency of the fighting and ruling classes. With equal confidence it may be stated that the lavish patronage bestowed by these Emperors upon the Buddhist and Jaina orders, of which we have highly coloured accounts in the later legends of the favoured sets, must have tended to withdraw crowds of Indian manhood from the duties of active life to the ease of monastic seclusion. The facile conquest of the Indian territories by the Bactrian Greeks and the later hordes of barbarians from the West, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Kushans, and the long centuries of foreign subjection thereafter form the most fitting comment on the nature and tendencies of the Maurya imperial system.

It remains to notice in conclusion, as a sign of the profound political weakness of the Indian States at this period, that the Hellenistic dominion in India was checked and eventually destroyed through external causes. From the immediate danger of conquest by the Bactrian Greeks, the Indian Midland was saved in part by the valour of Pushyamitra

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Sunga, but mainly owing to the outbreak of civil wars among the invaders themselves. While Demetrius was busy with his distant Indian conquest, a rival called Eukratides deprived him of the throne of Bactria and gradually extended his power over the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab. From this time the possession of North-Western India and the adjoining borderland was divided between the two rival houses. The extinction of Greek rule in these regions was brought about by the fresh waves of barbarian invasions that broke upon them onwards from the middle of the second century B. C. The last remnant of Greek dominion was swept away c. 20 A.C., when Harmaios, king of the Kabul valley, succumbed to the attack of the Kushan, Kadphises I.



An Episode of the Great March—After a drawing by Kanu Desai

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Industrial Efficiency and the Policy of National Economy

By RAJANIKANTA DAS, M. Sc., Ph. D.

WHILE general education forms the background, the first step in the scientific organization of labour forces for productive purposes is vocational education. Vocational education means a conscious and purposive training for certain specific types of work in the industrial organization of society. It is on the development of the latent human capacities in certain industrial lines wherein lies the industrial efficiency of a nation. Every boy and every girl, as a future member of society, is entitled, in addition to general education, to vocational education for a certain industrial career.

Vocational education must, however, be preceded by the choice of a career. To the present it has been done by empirical methods, *i. e.*, by caste and custom, both of which are very crude ways of determining a career, especially in modern times when division of labour has reached a very high state of development, and special training is required for each trade. The most up-to-date method of choosing a career is the psycho-physical test by which the potential capacities of children might be determined. Like inspectors of schools, the State must also employ psychological and medical experts for giving children advice as to their future career.

After the selection of vocation comes the question of education for a career. Apprenticeship as a method of vocational education is quite inadequate for modern industrial career. Modern industrial technique has developed to such an extent and it requires such intensive studies both in theoretical and applied sciences, besides practical training in industrial organization, that very few industrial establishments can have adequate facilities for such education. It can be imparted only by the institutes of technology and colleges of engineering supplimented by industrial schools.

One of the fundamental causes of India's industrial inefficiency is the lack of facilities for technical education. The necessity of a diverse system of education in a country predominantly agricultural was first realized by the Indian Famine Commission of 1880. The Commission for revising the existing system of education emphasized the importance of technical education in 1882. In 1888, the Government of India pointed out that technical education could be provided with advantage for those industries which had fairly advanced, *i. e.*, textile and engineering industries, and suggested that the local Governments should take action in this direction. But this recommendation failed to materialize, and even after the Educational Conference of 1901, no provision was made for the development of technical education on any appreciable scale.* The Industrial Commission of 1916-18 again emphasized the importance of developing technical education and laid down an elaborate scheme in its recommendations. But little progress has been made in that direction. It is only through technical education that the industrial organization of the country can be kept abreast of the times and the latest industrial technique can be utilized for the development of national industries.

The next step in vocational education is the training of managers and technical staff. According to the census of 1921, of the large-scale industries, four-fifths of the cotton mills and two-thirds of coal mines are managed by Indians, but about four-fifths of the railway works, three-fourths of tea gardens and two-thirds of engineering works are managed by Europeans and Anglo-Indians.† The lack of technical staff, including managers, is a great drawback to the growth of large-scale industries. It is by education and training in engineering and technology that an adequate number of technical staff can be provided.

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* *Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, Calcutta, p. 93.

† Compiled. Census of India, 1921, Report 2 : 277-301.

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Like technical education for higher industrial career, education in more or less unorganized industries, such as arts and crafts or cottage industries, is also lagging behind. The first attempt in this direction was made in the seventies, when the modern type of industrial school was established by Christian missionaries in Madras to provide instruction in such trades as carpentry, blacksmithing and weaving and tailoring. This system has been copied in other parts of India and is at present imparted by three distinct agencies, namely, Government, local bodies, *e. g.*, municipalities, and private enterprise, including mission schools.* But for the lack of general education, industrial education has scarcely made any headway. The organization of industrial education among the masses is a bounden duty of the Government and is the only sure way to industrial success.

Industrial education should be imparted to men and women alike. Like every man, every woman is entitled to an industrial career It is necessary not only for unmarried and widowed women, but also for a large number of married women, who are employed in all kinds of industries, such as factories, mines, and tea gardens. Out of 86 million adult women in 1921, 46 million were returned to be gainfully occupied by the Census. The lack of industrial education for women, who roughly form about one-half of the social population, is one of the essential causes of India's industrial inefficiency and economic backwardness. In every industrially advanced country, in addition to men, a large number of women with vocational training is employed in modern industries which are competitors of similar industries in India. To preserve India's competitive power alone requires industrial education for women. The vocational education of women should include domestic science or home economics. One of the first principles of national economy is the economy of the household or how to make the most use of the resources or the income of a family. Like industrial establishments Indian households are badly in need of reorganization with a view both to saving time, energy and expenses. It is only with the help of scientific education that Indian women can rebuild their households.

Not only young men and women should be given vocational education, but they must always be kept in touch with the progress of industrial technique even after they have left the industrial school and entered an industrial career. This can be done by offering special and short courses, night schools, demonstration and exposition and other means of general adult education.

From the point of view of industrial efficiency, the most important function of the Government is, however, to formulate the policy of national economy and to adopt the means for its realization. By far the major part of the organized industrial activities of a country are the results of herd instincts, group habits, and economic necessities and, as such, have developed unconsciously or without any organized effort or definite plan on the part of society. With the growth of social consciousness, there have been growing concerted efforts on the part of the State to develop industrial activities for national prosperity. The best historical example of State activity for increasing national wealth is the rise of mercantilism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and although it was followed by a reaction toward *laissez-faire* in the eighteenth century, the policy of national economy or new mercantilism again found its way into the practical policy of almost all the advanced nations.

State aid to industries was not unknown to ancient India, and the East India Company undertook industries even under State direction and protection. They helped the growth of some industries while they discouraged others. With the growth of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the transference of the Government from the Company to the Crown the industrial policy of the Government underwent a profound change and not only the State industrial activities were discontinued, but even any help to industries was regarded with disfavour, except to those which were connected with irrigation, forestry and certain other public utilities.

The Famine Commission of 1880 advocated State aid to industries, but nothing was done for developing industries and preventing increasing poverty. Successive famines towards the end of the century gave rise to a new consciousness among the people who came to realize the economic effect of foreign rule. The partition of Bengal in 1905 gave occasion for the expression of national feeling against British policy in India. The boycott of British goods was organized, which

* *Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, Report, p. 97. Clow, *The State and Industry*, p. 50.

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was soon followed by the *Swadeshi* (the use of country-made goods) movement. In the meantime, some of the provincial Governments made sporadic efforts for improving cottage industries, and the Government of Madras even opened a Department of Industries. But it was not until the outbreak of the War that Government realized the importance of making India self-sufficient as far as some of the basic industries were concerned. In 1916 there was appointed the Industrial Commission with a view to indicating new openings for profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry and to pointing out the manner in which Government could give direct encouragement to industrial development.

The Commission made its report in 1918. The underlying principle of its recommendations was that in the future Government must play an active part in the industrial development of the country.* The Commission found India rich in raw material and industrial possibilities and made several recommendations, of which industrial research, technical education, financial aid to industries and purchase of stores in India were the chief. Some of the recommendations were incorporated into the new constitution by the Government of India Act of 1919, but the actual work of industrial development by Government was transferred to Provincial Governments †

In the meantime, the Munition Board, established in 1917 for war purposes, encouraged the growth of several industries and the stimulus given by war conditions also helped the growth of industrial enterprise in the country. The departments of industries were organized in the provinces soon after the inauguration of the new Constitution and some other recommendations were also given effect to. The State Aid to Industries Act was passed in Madras in 1922 and the example was followed by other provinces. The Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 unanimously recommended the adoption of the policy of protection to those industries which had national advantages and which could not be developed otherwise and which, when developed, would be able to stand world competition.§ The policy was first given effect to in 1924, when the Steel Industry (Protection) Act was passed, thus introducing a new chapter into the economic history of India.

The industrial history of the past ten years, however, scarcely raises any hope that the industrial policy of Government will be sufficient to meet national demand and bring about any real amelioration in the economic condition of the people in the near future. The reasons for such a pessimistic view are clear enough. India has as yet reached neither political nor industrial autonomy. No bold scheme has been devised for developing the material prosperity of the people. A policy of national economy must be adopted for upbuilding the industrial efficiency of the nation and for accelerating its economic development.

The first step in national economy for India is the establishment of industrial autonomy. Being dependent, India has to attain it along with its political autonomy or Dominion status. Thus far India has been practically the tail end of the British industrial organization for the supply of raw material and for the purchase of finished products. This policy has not only ruined India economically, but has also caused a great economic loss to Great Britain herself, inasmuch as it has lowered India's purchasing power. Moreover, the present unrest in India has resulted partly from frightful economic conditions. The industrial development of the country must be freed from all outside interference and directed along the lines which are most advantageous to her self-interest. If necessary, India might, of her own accord, enter into commercial relations with Great Britain and other countries on the basis of reciprocity, but only on certain definite lines.

In recent years there has been developed an idea of Imperial industrial combination under the name of Imperial Preference and Empire Free Trade. The scheme does not mean free trade at all, but "is merely Protectionism infused with a crude materialistic Imperialism," as the *Manchester Guardian* points out.* It is only a new method of subduing the interest of the Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies to the interest of Great Britain and it is doubtful whether the Dominions, which have built their manufacturing

* *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission* (1916-18), Summary, p. 2.
† Clow, A. G., *The State and Industry*, pp. 24-25.
§ Clow, *The State and Industry*, p. 115.

* *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 31 January 1930, p. 82.

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industries with the help of tariffs, will allow British manufactures to compete with their own.* For India nothing would be worse than entering into a new economic bondage from which she has been emerging since the new Constitution, and it is hoped that the next Constitution will free India entirely from outside economic entanglement.

In the second place, national economy would lead to the regulation of foreign monopolies which have been developed in India during the past half a century or more and which have retarded the growth of indigenous industrial enterprise. The most important example of these industries is the coastal shipping, for the control of which there is already a Bill in the Legislative Assembly. All the national industries, of which the coastal shipping is one, should be reserved to the indigenous people, and foreign industrialists should be allowed to carry on business only upon certain conditions, such as the registration of the companies in the country, the employment of the higher staff and board of directors partly from the Indians, and the distribution of a certain number of shares among the people of the country. It must be at once laid down that there should be no confiscation without compensation. India needs rapid industrialization and nothing can help her more in this respect than foreign capital. Whenever foreign industries in India have to be regulated, or taken over, adequate compensation should be made for the loss of capital investment and good will.

In the third place, attempts should be made to develop within the country all the basic industries, which are required to supply the essential needs and which are necessary for an industrially independent existence as a nation. It is not proposed that India should try to become a completely self-sufficient country—a thing which is impossible in these days of international culture and commerce. But India having a variety of climates and geographical regions and a vast supply of resources must utilize them to the fullest extent, especially as over one-third of her man-power remains unemployed throughout the year.

Self-sufficiency in basic needs on the part of India implies, however, a substantial reduction from the Indian market of British cotton goods, the export of which is one of the most important sources of national income to Great Britain and which thus raises a complicated political issue. The recommendation is made here purely from the economic point of view on the presumption that while it will be of immense benefit to India, the latter's prosperity and higher purchasing power will ultimately reflect upon Britain's trade, although temporarily there might be some reorganization of her trade relation with India.

Trade is a benefit to both parties concerned and to society in general as long as it is voluntary. But trade based on compulsion or special privilege is exploitation, as in the case of slavery and serfdom. The British cotton goods trade in India has been built on her political advantage. Both the decline of the once flourishing handloom industry and the retarded growth of the cotton mill industry, on which was levied until recently an excise duty, were the direct results of the British economic policy in India. This policy is one of the essential causes of India's poverty. Besides food, what the Indian masses need is clothing, which they themselves made before, and even in the early days of British rule, and for the manufacture of which India has all the advantages in the world except her national Government and an intelligent policy of national economy.

What are the different lines along which India can and should develop her industries is a problem which can be determined only by scientific analysis. For this purpose Government should appoint a body of economic experts like that of the Agricultural Council. The body might be called the National Industrial Board to be attached in an advising capacity to the Minister of Industry of the Central Government with a branch in each province. The proposals for a similar board was also made by the Industrial Commission of 1916-18.* The industries in India are so brackward and the economic condition of the people so depressing, that one of the immediate aims of the new constitutional reforms should be to increase the number of the economic departments in the Central Government including

* It is hopeless to expect Australia to agree to Empire Free Trade, declared Mr. Scullin (Premier) commenting on the debates in the British House of Commons on 29 January 1930.—*The Times of India*, 3 Feb. 1930, p. 11.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 190. Since this writing, the Government of India has accepted a resolution in the Assembly to that effect.

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Industry, Agriculture, Commerce and Labour. Each department should be in charge of a Minister. Provincial Government should have Ministers of Agriculture and Industry, also a Minister of Labour in such provinces as Bombay, Bengal and Assam.

In the fourth place, Government must adopt the policy of protection and the system of State aid, such as bounties, subsidies and loans for the development of national industries. The theories of Free Trade *versus* Protection are well known, but whatever may be the ideal among theorists, few countries have complete Free Trade except such helpless countries as India, which has been the dumping ground not only of Great Britain, on which she is dependent, but also of almost all other countries which have resorted to high protective tariff for their own industries. Since the War most of the Central European countries are building their national industries behind the tariff wall. India cannot afford to retain Free Trade in the face of the world's competition, and under her present social, political and economic conditions. In fact, she has already adopted the policy of protective tariff, as pointed out before. What is needed is the development of the "scientific" tariff system under a Tariff Board, which has also already come into existence. It should be brought to its logical conclusion. State aid, such as subsidies, bounties and loans, must also be advanced for the development of certain public utility services, *e. g.*, coastal shipping, and new industrial enterprise, *e. g.*, marine fishing. The importance of granting bounties in the case of the cotton mill industry was realized even by her Indian Tariff Board on Cotton Mill Industry in 1926.*

The scope of State aid must be extended to arts and crafts or cottage industries, especially in the form of loans. The cottage industries still supply the largest part of national needs for manufactured goods, and they are as much subject to foreign competition as the large-scale industries. Moreover, being scattered, unorganized and in most cases antiquated, they are in great need of State aid for modernization, improvement and financing. The first step in this direction has been undertaken by the State aid to Small Industries Act of Madras and Bihar and Orissa Such measures should be adopted by other provinces, the number of industries eligible for loans should be enlarged and the amount of grant should be made more generous. Moreover, there should also be a central organization under the auspices of the proposed National Industrial Board to take care of the inter-provincial and national aspects of these industries.

The last and by far the most important industry requiring State aid is agriculture. High rent of land, heavy indebtedness and exorbitant rate of interest leave the cultivator scarcely anything for investment in agricultural improvement. The financing of agricultural enterprise is therefore one of the greatest national problems. This can be solved only by making the cultivator solvent and by lending him sufficient capital at a very low rate of interest. The first step in that direction will be to free the cultivator from the clutches of the local money-lender. The Co-operative Society's Act of 1912 had for its object the replacement of the money-lender as a source of credit and the institution of Village Credit Society on the *Raiffeisen* model.* Government has also passed several measures, such as the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 for controlling the rate of interest. But these measures have not proved adequate. Government must have a definite plan so that the cultivator may be freed from his heavy indebtedness in the course of ten or fifteen years. In the second place, the cultivator must have adequate capital for the operation and improvement of his farm. The necessity of improving rural credit was realized by the Government early in the nineties and the Co-operative Credit Societies were established in 1904. By 1927-28, the number of these societies rose to well over 70,000.† But the scope of work is still very much limited and the amount of capital advanced inadequate. It needs improvement and extension.

The most important step in this direction will, however, be the substitution of the present land revenue system by a graduated income tax so that the cultivator below a certain income may be freed from the payment of rent which often amounts to one-half of his profit. The land system has not only proved a veritable hardship to the

* See *Report of the Indian Tariff Board* (on the Textile Industries), 1921, pp. 185, 199.

* *India in 1927-28*, p. 98.
† *India in 1927-28*, p. 375.

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poor cultivator, but also a great obstacle to agricultural progress, inasmuch as it has reduced considerably the agricultural capital of the country. This substitution may involve the Government in some financial loss in the beginning, but it will be more than compensated for by the general agricultural prosperity, which will in the course of time follow. A prosperous rural community will pay more income tax than the rent of the present poverty-stricken peasantry.

That protection or State aid, especially the former, is not an unmixed good must be readily admitted. Indiscriminate protection may lead to inefficiency, favouritism and increase of prices, but these defects can be easily remedied. Industrial inefficiency arising from protection can be controlled by restricting its scope only to those industries which have natural advantages and for which there is a national necessity. Such principle has already been made the basis of India's protective policy. Moreover, any industry which seeks protection or applies for the renewal or increase of tariff must be made to adopt the principle of rationalization as a preliminary condition. The question of favouritism, *i. e.*, protecting or aiding a few selected industries among a host of others, can be easily solved by granting protection or State aid to an industry only on the ground of its national importance. Moreover, under the scheme advocated here, almost all the important classes of industries of the country will receive protection or State aid in some form or other. It must also be remembered that the development of one industry has a salutary effect upon others. Large-scale industries, for instance, have helped the reorganization and modernization of agriculture, as in the case of the United States. The greatest defect of protection is, however, that it is apt to give rise to monopoly or to encourage the increase of prices. The hardship of Indian masses from increased prices, especially of cotton goods, cannot be minimized. It must, however, be mentioned that the consumer is expected to derive benefit from general prosperity, which protected industries are sure to confer upon the country. Moreover, protection need not increase prices beyond what is absolutely necessary to encourage national industries. If it does, the State in granting protection to an industry has the right to supervise its operation as regards rationalization and price fixation. As in the case of public utilities, the supervision of price fixation may be assigned to a specially created section of the Tariff or Public Utility Board.

Finally, the question of nationalizing some of the natural resources and public utility services must also be considered from the point of view of national economy. The economy of State *versus* private ownership is an old but still controversial question. The problem has, however, two aspects, namely, economy in production and justice in distribution. The question of distributive justice is beyond the scope of the present enquiry. The point which should be kept in mind in connection with nationalizing these resources and services is whether such step will lead to the economy and efficiency of the nation. The question is a technical one and can be decided only by expert bodies, such as the proposed National Industrial Board and similar other organizations.

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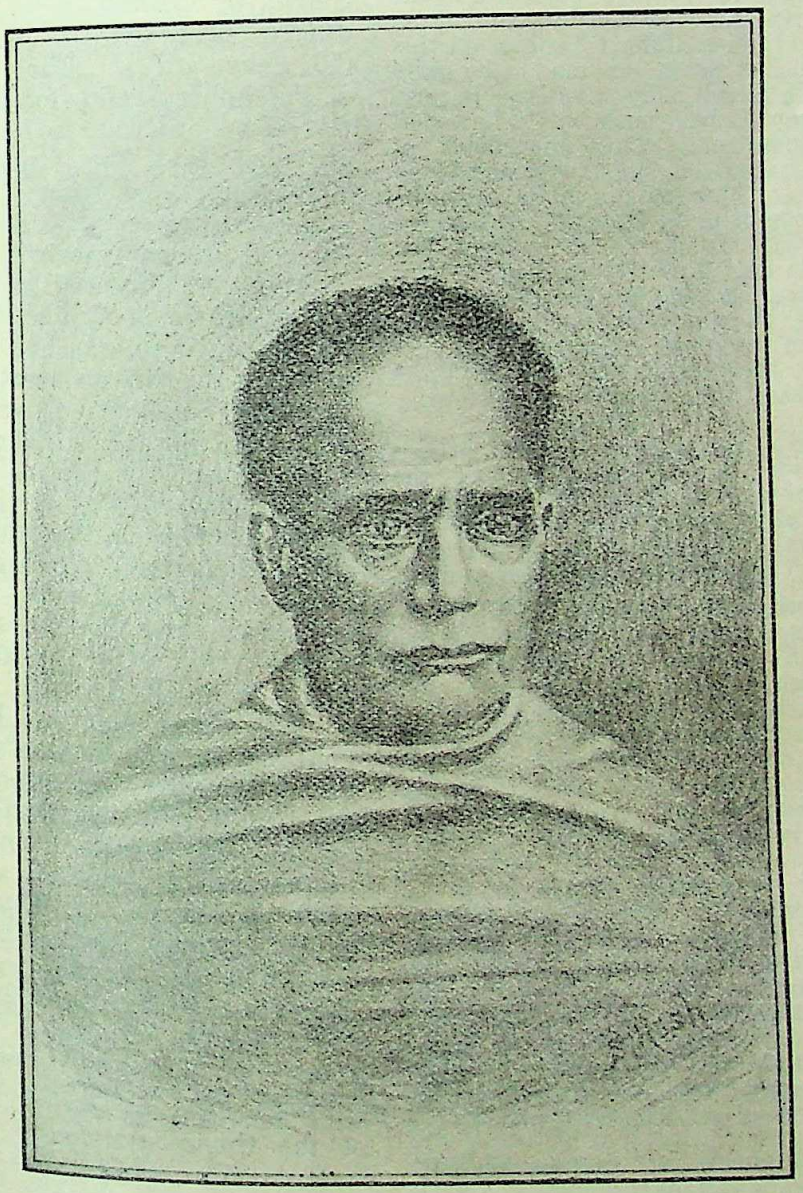
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Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an Unofficial Adviser of the Government

(*Based on State Records*)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THE career of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an educationist has been traced by me on the pages of *The Modern Review* down to the year 1859, when he left Government service. With that year a new phase opens in it. Although he was no longer a salaried public servant, he continued, for the rest of his life, to be an unofficial adviser of Government. Successive Lieutenant-Governors consulted him and he readily gave them all the assistance in his power.



Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Sanskrit College

Shortly after the Pandit's retirement, the D. P. I. on 30th Mar. 1859 placed before the Bengal Government a proposal for the reform of the Sanskrit College with the minutes on the subject by Woodrow, Roer, and Cowell —the last-named being the new Principal of the College. The D. P. I. held that the Sanskrit College, though undoubtedly an institution of importance and utility, was in some respects a little behind the times, and that it should be improved and invigorated. In order to bring it more into harmony with the University system, the Director recommended to the Government that the institution should be divided into a school and a college department, the former to educate up to the University Entrance standard, and the latter for the undergraduate students who, while completing their Sanskrit course, should be permitted to attend lectures in other subjects in the Presidency College on reduced fees.

The Lieutenant-Governor consulted Vidyasagar, who had so recently been the head of that college. The Pandit replied on 17th April 1859 as follows :

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"...Mr. Cowell recommends that the students of the college should go through a higher than the Entrance Course in English. This object was always in view, and to attain it, the English Department was remodelled. It is true that since the establishment of the University, the English students of the college have not been higher than the Entrance Course; but previous to that event those studies were of a far higher standard. It is not difficult or impracticable to teach the B. A. Course in the Sanskrit College. With an increase to the teaching staff, the end would be easily attained. Perhaps one additional teacher on a salary of Rs. 150 per month, payable from the surplus schooling fees, would suffice for the present.

"Mr. Cowell appears to take objection to the study of the Smriti and Vedanta in the college. I am sorry that I must differ from him on this point. These branches seem to me to be quite unexceptionable. In Smriti, the treatises in use teach only Civil Law, such as Law of Inheritance, Adoption, etc. The importance of such study is admitted on all hands and it is therefore unnecessary for me to dilate upon it. The Vedanta is one of the systems of Philosophy prevalent in India. It is of a metaphysical character, and I do not think there can be any reasonable objection to its use in the college. Both the branches, as at present taught, are free from objection on religious grounds. In my humble opinion, the discontinuance of these subjects would make the college course a very defective one.

'I fully agree with Mr. Cowell, in his recommendation for the continuance of the college on its present footing. His arguments are weighty and fully sustain his position. The Sanskrit college is undoubtedly one of the most useful and important institutions under Government.

"Dr. Roer recommends the abolition of the college and the appropriation of its funds to the introduction of the study of Sanskrit into Government English colleges and schools. . . . No one is a greater advocate than myself for the introduction of Sanskrit into English colleges and schools. But no one would be more strongly opposed to the abolition of the Sanskrit College and the substitution of this arrangement in its stead. Mr. Cowell justly observes that if Sanskrit is to be studied at all it should be studied thoroughly, and I very much doubt if it can ever be properly studied in English colleges and schools, especially when it is a fact that the attempt to teach even Bengali in a proper style has proved a failure in those institutions. The result of the adoption of Dr. Roer's plan would be the extinction from this part of India of a language and literature the preservation of which in their full integrity was one of the primary objects of the founders of the Sanskrit College."

The Bengal Government, agreeing with the D. P. I., recommended his proposal to the Governor-General (25 April, 1859), who sanctioned it, with one reservation. In view of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar stressing the importance of the study of Smriti (Hindu Law), the Lieut.-Governor was desired to reconsider his proposal for excluding it from the curriculum.*

Further reorganization, however, was in store for the Sanskrit College, and this was done during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir George Campbell who pursued an excessively economical policy. On 30th May 1871 the Bengal Government issued orders to the D. P. I. for making reductions in the establishment of the college as soon as opportunities offered. The first case arose soon afterwards on the retirement of Pandit Bharata Chandra Shiromani, the Professor of Smriti, or Hindu Law. The D. P. I. accordingly proposed the abolition of the chair (10 Feby. 1872). The English Department of the upper section of the Sanskrit College was also ordered to be abolished. It was provided that the students of that college, on passing the Entrance Examination, should join the Presidency College and study all subjects, except Sanskrit, there.

But the proposal to abolish the chair of Smriti provoked strong dissatisfaction among the educated public, and representations were made to the Government against the measure by the Sanatan Dharma Rakshini Sava and the British Indian Association. The Lieut.-Governor again took counsel with Vidyasagar, being anxious to do what he could to meet the reasonable wishes of the native gentlemen who were interested in the study of Sanskrit. The Lieut.-Governor invited Vidyasagar to come and talk the matter over with him after consulting other native gentlemen.†

Vidyasagar met the Lieut.-Governor, but, contrary to His Honour's expectations, maintained that the importance of the subject of the Hindu Law demanded a separate chair for it. The Lieut.-Governor, however, finally passed orders for the amalgamation of the chair of Smriti, or Hindu Law, with those of Philosophy and Rhetoric. The Bengal Government's order, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 22 May 1872, stated:

"...The Lieut.-Governor having, as you are aware, at an early stage of the discussion expressed his willingness to consider this matter with reference to the wishes of many members of the Hindu community, has had interviews

* For correspondence on the subject, see *Home Department Education Cons.* 20 May 1859 Nos. 16-18 (I. R. D.)

† H. L. Johnson, Private Secretary, to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, dated Belvedere, the 22nd April 1872.— *Education Cons.* July 1872 Nos. A. 27-29.

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with Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and the Principal of the College [Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari] and has taken opportunity of otherwise discussing the matter. He finds the suggestions of the gentlemen whom he has named, and of other competent persons, to be so moderate and reasonable that he has much pleasure in being able substantially to comply with their wishes pending further trial of the arrangements now to be made. . . ."*

The equivocal terms used in the above letter led the Hindu public to conclude that Vidyasagar had assented to the Lieut.-Governor's arrangement about the chair of Hindu Law, which was denounced as 'a piece of downright jobbery,' and the Pandit was naturally subjected to a great deal of abuse by his countrymen. This led him to write the following letter to the Private Secretary to Sir George Campbell :

"...As I was asked by you under instructions of His Honour to consult the leading members of the Hindu community, who take interest in Sanskrit studies before meeting His Honour, and as it might lead to an impression that the above suggestions emanated from me, I think it my duty to remind His Honour that so far as the proposed arrangement for instruction in Hindu Law is concerned, it did not come from me. Indeed I told His Honour distinctly that the importance of the subject demanded a separate chair, and I still entertain the same opinion. Hindu law, as His Honour is aware, is a vast subject—it forms the life-study of a man. It is true that there may be versatile persons, who may combine a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit literature with a profound acquaintance with Hindu law, but such versatility is rare. To merge the chair of Hindu Law with other chairs is to give it a secondary rank and to reduce its practical usefulness, for a professor who will teach it at his leisure moments, as it were, cannot be expected to devote that attention to it, which the vastness of the subject demands. . . . As it might be inferred from the tenor of the Government letter referred to that I have advised His Honour the proposed arrangement for filling the chair on Hindu Law, and as I am consequently liable to be misunderstood by the Hindu community, whose feeling is very strong on the subject of the chair of the Hindu Law, I would respectfully request that in justice to me His Honour may think fit to remove the erroneous impression which his too general allusion to my suggestions regarding the reorganization of the Sanskrit College is calculated to produce on the public mind." (23 May 1872).

The Pandit was completely exonerated as the following reply shows :

"My dear Pandit,—His Honour has no doubt that you are correct in saying that you did not individually recommend the absorption of the Professorship of Hindu Law. His Honour desires me to assure you that he proposes to make the Hindu Law the primary and not a mere secondary object of one of the chairs...His Honour thinks that he has been well advised in the orders which he has passed." (25 May 1872).

In order to remove the public misapprehension, Vidyasagar thought it wise to publish a letter along with the above correspondence in the *Hindu Patriot* of 10th June.

Vidyasagar's Views on Schools for the Masses.

On 17 May 1859 the Supreme Government asked Mr. J. P. Grant, the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, for his views on the subject of providing cheap schools for the masses, and improving and extending Vernacular education generally. Before formulating his own views, however, the Lieut.-Governor consulted not only the officials of the Education Department but also several other gentlemen, both European and Indian, who had either practical experience of village schools or took an interest in the well-being of the peasantry. Among the Indians consulted were Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Peary Chand Mitra, Shama Charan Sarkar, Debendra Nath Tagore, and Rajah Radhakant Deb Bahadur. Vidyasagar's report is quoted below :

"....In my humble opinion, it seems almost impracticable, in the present circumstances of the country, to introduce any system of education with such limited expenditure as is contemplated by Government, *viz.*, Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 a month for each school. Men, who are qualified to teach mere reading, writing and a little of Arithmetic with any degree of success, however great their attachment to their native villages may be, cannot be induced to accept service on such low remuneration. ....

"I have no precise information about the system pursued in the Hulkabundi schools in the North-Western Provinces. But presuming that that system has been adopted in the Bihar schools, I would beg to observe that in many respects it is similar to that prevailing in the indigenous schools of Bengal. The course of instruction in the Bihar schools is, I understand, limited to letter writing, and zamindar and shopkeepers' accounts, and the only difference between them and the Bengal schools is that a few printed books of an improved character are nominally used in the former. If the object of Government be to promote such a system of education in Bengal, a small monthly pay to the Gurumohashoys, the introduction of a few printed books in their schools, and placing those schools under Government inspection would easily secure that object. But I must remark that such education, insignificant as it would be, will not extend to the masses, if by that word is meant the labouring classes ; for even now, both in Bihar and in Bengal, few, if any, from these classes are to be found among the pupils of those schools.

* C. Bernard, Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the D. P. I., dated 17 May 1872.—*Education Cons.* June 1872, Nos. A. 16-28.

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"This state of things is to be ascribed to the condition of the labouring classes. It is generally so low that they cannot afford to incur any charge on account of the education of their children. Neither can they continue their boys in school, after the latter have attained that age when they become fit for any sort of work, which would secure some kind of remuneration however trifling it may be. They think, and perhaps rightly, that if their children learnt a little of reading and writing, it will not better their condition, and therefore they feel no inducement whatever in sending them to school. It is too much to expect that they would educate their children merely for the sake of knowledge, when even the higher classes do not yet properly appreciate the benefits of education Under such circumstances it is needless to attempt the education of the labouring classes. But should it be in the contemplation of Government to try the experiment it must be prepared for giving education free of all charges. It may be mentioned here, that experiments have been made by private individuals, the results of which have not however been satisfactory.

"An impression appears to have gained ground, both here and in England, that enough has been done for the education of the higher classes and that attention should now be directed towards the education of the masses. This impression has evidently been caused by the too favourable character of the reports and minutes on education. An enquiry into the matter will, however, show a very different state of things.

"As the best, if not the only practicable means of promoting education in Bengal, the Government should, in my humble opinion, confine itself to the education of the higher classes on a comprehensive scale. By educating one boy in a proper style the Government does more towards the real education of the people, than by teaching a hundred children mere reading, writing and a little of Arithmetic. To educate a whole people is certainly very desirable, but this is a task which, it is doubtful, whether any Government can undertake or fulfil. It may be remarked that, notwithstanding the high state of civilization in England, the masses there are no better than their brethren in this country on the point of education."*

Wards' Institution

On 11th November 1854, Act XXVI was passed by the Legislative Council of India "for making better provision for the education of male minors, subject to the superintendence of the Court of Wards." Reports, however, still continued to be received to the effect that certain Government wards were still influenced by dependents, who taught them no good but rather aimed at keeping them in a state of ignorance. It became necessary, therefore, to ensure the proper training of these boys by bringing them together in a special hostel where they would live under the direct control and supervision of a trusted officer of Government. The Wards' Institution was accordingly opened in Calcutta in March 1856, with Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra as its Director, on a monthly salary of Rs. 300.* Only pupils between 8 and 14 years of age were admitted.

Government wished to appoint four or five respectable local gentlemen as visitors for inspecting this institution by rotation. They were also empowered to make suggestions to Government for improving it. The four visitors first selected by Government were Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajah Pratap Chandra Sinha, Kumar Harendra Krishna Deb, and Babu Ramanath Thakur, each to inspect it for three months in the year.

In the light of the experience gained during such visits, Vidyasagar submitted to Government a memorandum (dated 4 Apr. 1864), proposing certain arrangements for ensuring greater progress and proficiency among the wards. On 11th January 1865, at the request of the Board of Revenue, he submitted a report on the working of the Wards' Institution for the preceding year, from which we extract the following important passages :

"...I commenced inspection from November 1863 ....I would beg leave respectfully to suggest a new arrangement for their education.

1. That the institution be turned into a sort of Boarding School, instead of being merely the residence of the Wards as at present.

2. That the requisite staff of efficient teachers be entertained for their instruction.

3. That a separate course of instruction, especially directed, suited to the necessities of the Wards, be framed for them.

"...I also take the liberty to bring to prominent notice Rule XI of the rules for the management of the Wards' Institution. That rule prescribes that 'corporal punishment shall be resorted to only in aggravated cases.' It appears from the Order Book that almost in every month one or more boys have received ratan cuts varying from four to twelve. The instances in which they have thus been punished do not, however, appear, to me to come under the class 'aggravated cases,' with the exception perhaps of one which is not sufficiently described. But, irrespective of the *nature* of the offences committed, I would beg leave to observe that corporal punishment should be discarded altogether as a part of the training of the Wards. This punishment is strictly prohibited in all educational institutions on account of its baneful influence. Hundreds of pupils are managed in

* From Ishwar Chandra Sharma, to Rivers Thompson, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 29 Sep. 1859.—*Education Dept. Procdgs.* Octr., 1860, No. 53.

* The institution was originally located at Rajah Nursing's Garden, Chitpur, but, in October 1863, it was removed to Babu Srikissen Sing's Garden, Upper Circular Road, Maniktala.

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them without the use of the cane; its necessity in the Wards' Institution is scarcely perceptible. In my humble opinion, such harsh treatment does by no means become the inmates of that Institution. I have some experience in the training of boys and my firm conviction is that corporal punishment from its degrading effects, spoils more than mends the recipients. I would therefore beg leave strongly to recommend that this rule may be rescinded at once."

The subsequent conduct of its pupils did not bring much credit to the Wards' Institution. It was alleged in the Indian Press that the Director—Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra—set a bad example to his young charges, and aspersions against his moral character were publicly made. In December 1862 sixty zamindars of Rajshahi and the adjacent districts presented a petition to the Government, pointing out the defects of the institution. They prayed that the minors should not be sent to the Wards' Institution before completing the University Entrance Course in the schools of their respective zilas, where they would be under home influence and saved from the moral dangers of life in Calcutta. In these circumstances the Government at first thought of removing the Wards' Institution from Calcutta to a mofussil town, but, before doing so, appointed a Committee consisting of H. Woodrow—Offg. D. P. I., T. B. Lane—Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P., and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, to report on the constitution and management of the Wards' Institution (24 April 1865). The following is the separate report which the Pandit submitted to the authorities on 1st September 1865:

"The object of the Wards' Institution is to give the wards a fair amount of education, train them up as useful members of society and turn them out good landlords. But the education they receive is scarcely worth the name, and they generally leave the institution with a mere smattering of English, and with little or no rural training. Nor can any better results be expected in the existing order of things. To remedy the evils, certain suggestions were made by me in my report of the 11th January last. I have deliberately reconsidered them, since the formation of the present Committee, and see no reason to change the opinions expressed in that paper...

"Great care should be taken in the selection of the teaching staff, in case it be determined to convert the institution into a Boarding School. They must be well-educated men, experienced in training up children and youth, and free from fashionable vice. The management and control of the institution should be vested in the Head Master. Under such arrangements, I feel assured that the prejudices entertained against the institution, not without reason, would be removed and the confidence of the public restored. But if, otherwise, the institution be maintained on its present footing, I shall not be sorry to see it closed at once.

"The after-career of some of the young men brought up in the institution, reflects discredit on it. If a comparison were instituted between the retired wards and other young landlords who were not brought up in the institution, I believe it will be found that the balance will turn in favour of the latter..."

As regards the question of corporal punishment, Mr. Woodrow did not touch the point in his report, while Lane supported the view held by the Director Rajendra Lala Mitra that in the case of the wards it was an absolute necessity, and without it no discipline could be enforced. This view was accepted by the Government.

The Pandit, however, did not remain a visitor much longer after this, and 28th March 1865 seems to have been the date of his last visit to this institution. The cause of Vidyasagar's resignation is not known to us, although it is very likely that some difference of opinion with Rajendra Lala Mitra led him to take this step.*

Vidyasagar's advice on High School Courses

Vidyasagar's help was again sought by Government. In 1863 a Committee was formed, including him, "to consider and report on the extent to which it is expedient to introduce the study of Sanskrit in the Collegiate and Zila Schools with reference to prospective changes in the course laid down by the University for the several examinations in Arts." The other members of the Committee were Messrs. Cowell and Woodrow, the latter acting as President.†

On 11th July 1873 Mr. Atkinson, the D. P. I., requested the Pandit to be a member of the Committee for the selection of school books—both English and vernacular, as he felt it necessary "to secure the help of the best native scholars."

The Pandit, however, declined on the grounds explained in the following letter:

"... As an author I am directly interested in the decision of the Committee, and I do not therefore think it right to take a part in their deliberations. Besides, I am inclined to think that my presence in the Committee may interfere with a free and unreserved discussion of the merits and demerits of the books..."

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* Vidyasagar's reports on the Wards' Institution can be found among the records of the Board of Revenue, L. P., Wards Branch, as also among the Revenue Department records of the Bengal Government. These reports have, however, already appeared in print, *vide* S. C. Mitra's *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar*, pp. 164-69 (2nd ed.)

†W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I., to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, dated 29th August, 1863.

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Iron Smelting in Mysore

By B. SUBRAHMANYAM

NATURE has bestowed upon Mysore with no niggardly hand, the hidden gift of mineral wealth not excelled by any other part of India. It is the abode of both precious mineral and useful ones. From gold to granite of "the most exquisite types," there are available here good deposits—enough to satisfy the requirements of a commercial enterprise of numerous minerals such as chrome, manganese, iron, kaolin, magnasite and asbestos, to mention but a few.



Sir M. Visvesvarya

Almost the whole of India's contribution of gold to the world's output is produced in Mysore at Kolar by the gold mining companies which are managed by an English syndicate. Chrome is extracted chiefly from mines in the Tunkur and Hassan districts and manganese in the Shimoga district, but they are also to be found in other parts of the State. New industries are now being developed in kaolin, magnasite and asbestos. All these are in the hands of private individuals or corporations enjoying certain facilities and favours from the Mysore Government, which act as effective incentives to their efforts.

Iron smelting is known to exist from early times in Mysore but naturally the modern methods in the industry have been quite unknown to the people here. Involving as it did enormous sums of money, the Government of Mysore itself have started the iron smelting industry which holds out a great promise of prosperity to the future of Mysore.

II

Iron ore of very good quality has been discovered in various parts of Mysore, but the best specimens are found in Kadur district on the Bababudan Hills, 6,000 feet above the sea level. In its neighbourhood are the manganese mines. Extensive forests, rich with fuel and timber, lie in the vicinity of these deposits. One has not to go far to fetch limestone, and water could be had in plenty here.

All these factors coupled with the convenience of easy railway communication, seem to have encouraged the Government of Mysore to contemplate the smelting of iron with charcoal at Bhadravati (or Benkipur as it was formerly known) on the left bank of the river Bhadra. It is a small railway station on the Berur-Shimoga section of the Mysore Railways and is about 150 miles from Bangalore.

At the instance of the then Dewan of Mysore, Sir M. Visvesvarya, who initiated a period of industrial renaissance in Mysore, the Government of Mysore investigated the matter and in 1916 a definite scheme was formulated under the expert advice of Mr. C. P. Perin, the well known metallurgical engineer of Messrs. Perin and Marshalls, Consulting engineers of New York. The scheme was sanctioned and the necessary surveys and other preliminaries went on for some time. The actual construction of the blast furnace, the wood distillation plant and the forest tramways and other minor structures, were, however, started in 191[illegible] and completed in 1923. The blast furnace was blown in, in January 1923 and the retorts for the manufacture of charcoal were put in operation a month earlier and the still house, two months later. After some

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time were added the tar plant and the creosoting plant. Recently a small steel plant worked by electricity has been constructed as an experimental measure. The electrical requirements of the works are met by an electrical installation worked by steam power. The question of the supply of cheap electrical power, which is perhaps the chief governing factor in the manufacture of steel on a commercial scale in these days, is receiving the serious attention of the authorities in Mysore. Plants and projects have, it is stated, been already prepared under the personal guidance and supervision of Sir Visvesvaraya, to harness the famous Jog Falls at Gerusoppa, about 60 miles from the iron works, which lie on the borders of Mysore and Bombay Presidency. Work at the falls cannot, therefore, be started without the consent of the Bombay Government and the matter is under discussion between the two Governments for a long time now, and as soon as a decision is arrived at, the Mysore Government would commence the work of construction at the falls. There is also the alternate suggestion that pending decision about Jog Falls, power should be brought from the Cauvery power scheme at Sivasamudram to the Bhadrawati Iron Works. This work is now in progress. With the Sivasamudrum power and the power to be produced at Jog Falls, Mysore would be spread over with a net-work of electrical wires and every village and hamlet in the State would be scintillating with electric lights.

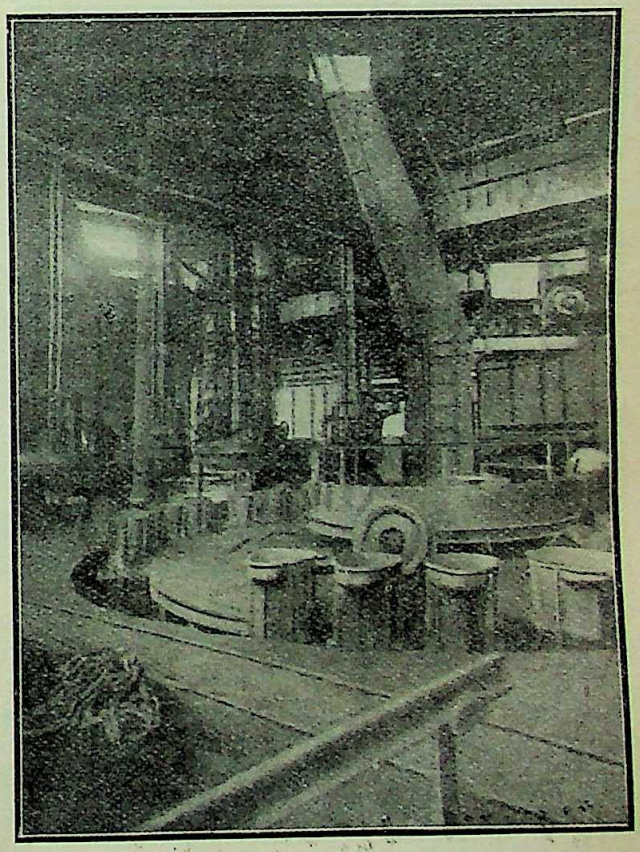
The central factory covering all these various plants, extends over an area of 50 acres and has been built at a cost of about two crores of rupees.

To bring the mines and the forests within the easy reach of the works, 2-ft. gauge tramways have been laid to a total length of about 56 miles.

During the period of construction and for a time after the operations began, the Bhadravati Iron Works were under the management of Messrs. Tata Iron and Steel Manufacturing Co., and it is now being worked by a Board of Management appointed by the Mysore Darbar. Until the month of October last, when he relinquished the office, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was the Chairman of this board for six and a half years and successfully pilotted the institution through the most troublous period of its life. Now this office is occupied by the First Member of the Executive Council of his Highness' Government, Dewan Bahadur M. N. Krishna Rao.

III

The blast furnace in which the smelting takes place is 60½ feet in height and 6½ feet in diameter and was designed for a daily output of 60 tons of pig iron. Recently the furnace was relined and its capacity has been increased to 80 tons a day. The air or blast that is required, is supplied by a Mesta Uniflow Blowing Engine worked by steam and capable of delivering 10,000 cubic feet of air at 4 to 6 lbs. pressure normally. The cold air is heated before entering the furnace by three copper stoves.



The Turn-table

Chief among the raw materials for the smelting of iron is the iron ore itself. The ore is brought from Kemmangundi, a hill on the Bababudan range, about 25 miles from the plant. The ore lies about 2,000 feet above the surrounding ground level and is brought down by an aerial ropeway three miles long, to the terminus of the tramway

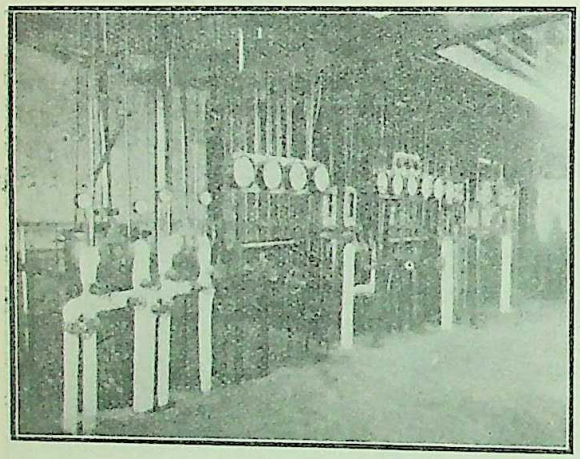
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line which delivers the ore direct to the works. Limestone which is used as flux is obtained from places near by. At the works the ore and the limestone are crushed to convenient sizes before they are sent into the furnace.

Charcoal which is another important raw material is manufactured at the wood distillation plant, from the wood brought from the forests specially set apart for this purpose. These forests extend over an area of 350 square miles and are worked on a 25-30 years rotation.

Now, charcoal, iron ore and limestone are alternately skipped over into the furnace and a continuous current of warm air blown



The Alcohol Refinery

in through the tuyères of the furnace. The ore is gradually reduced and the pig iron collects itself at the bottom of the furnace. The metal is tapped out and led into sand moulds in the cast house, a raised platform about 10 ft. high constructed in front of the mouth of the furnace. It is 50 feet wide and 100 feet long.

The pipe foundry attached to the works is situated immediately below the cast house and has been designed to consume a fair portion of the pig iron produced here. The machinery for the manufacture of cast iron pipes is a turn-table, the diameter of the circle formed by the moulding boxes suspended to the table being 28 feet 4 inches. The pig-iron is again melted into liquid metal here and various kinds of pipes of 2 inches to 16 inches diameter are manufactured according to the British standard specifications. Besides pipes, other castings specially ordered for, are also made here. The whole of the cast house was recently rebuilt, enlarged, and fitted up with the latest modern appliances connected therewith. This new cast house was opened a couple of months ago by the present Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza M. Ismail. A good machine shop with all the neces-sary electrical fittings is attached to this plant.

The pig iron that is not utilized at the factory for purposes of casting, is stocked in the iron yard and is exported principally to Japan and America.

IV

The wood distillation plant from where the charcoal for iron smelting is obtained, is the most important installation after the blast furnace and is, so to say, the main-stay of the works. The numerous by-products obtained from the gases emitted out from the retorts where the wood is converted into charcoal, are a source of handsome and steady income to the factory.

Hard wood cut into billets of about 2 ft. long, either in the forest or in the wood yard, are packed into iron buggies which are capable of holding 4 tons of fuel each. Four such buggies are shunted into each of the twelve horizontal iron retorts and fired from below, after the retorts had been made air-tight by closing the double metallic doors provided for them. When the wood is reduced to charcoal, various gases are given out by it. The uncondensable gases in them, being combustible, are used for heating the retorts ; whereas the vapours are condensed into a mixed liquid known as pyroligneous acid or liquor. The buggies containing hot charcoal are gradually cooled in the primary and secondary coolers and then transferred over to the stock bin near the furnace where it would be used for smelting. This process of carbonization generally takes three or four days.

The pyroligneous liquor containing tar, alcohol, acetic acid, etc., is transferred to storage tanks where it is allowed to settle. Greater portion of the tar settles down here and is drawn off to settled tar tanks. The clear liquor is then passed through the copper triple effect evaporators. Any tar left over unsettled, would be removed during this process. The vapour coming out of this is again condensed and this condensed liquor containing methyl alcohol and

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acetic acid, is conveyed to lower tubes where it is mixed with slaked lime. Here most of the acetic acid combines with slaked lime forming a precipitate of acetate of lime. After settling and filtering, the remaining liquor passes to a continuous still where wood alcohol and oils are removed and stored in tanks. The liquor left over after passing through this, is the acetate of lime in solution which after being concentrated in iron triple effect evaporators, is boiled down to a brown mud in the drum dryers. The mud is then dried in hulliard dryers to solid gray acetate of lime containing not less than 80 per cent acetate.

Now the tar in the settled tar tank is either dehydrated to form the refined tar put on the market as wood tar or subjected to fractional distillation to obtain light oils, heavy oils, wood preservative oil or creosote, special fractional oil and the residual product known as pitch.

In the alcohol refinery again, through a process of continual fractional distillation of the crude wood alcohol, refined products such as C. P. methanol (or chemically pure methyl alcohol), methyl acetone and denaturing grade methanol conforming to British specifications are obtained.

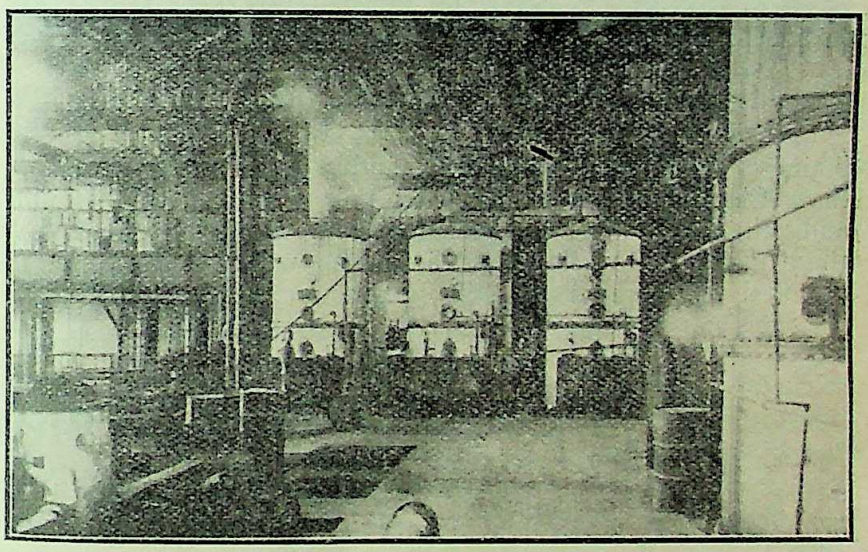
V

The wood preservative plant or the creosoting plant as it is called, has been installed here by the Forest Department. Inferior kinds of wood which deteriorate very soon and are eaten by white ants, when treated with creosote, a by-product of the tar installation, is able to stand all the rough uses to which a costly timber like teak is put to. The timber is cut into the various sizes required and packed in a metallic boiler-like horizontal container about 50 feet long and the container is closed air-tight. All the air inside is exhausted and creosote is let in. The oil gets absorbed into the wood through the cleared and open pores of the wood.

The timber thus treated with creosote becomes very strong and lasting and is used for sleepers in the railways and for posts for electrical transmission lines and for telegraph wires. Thus many species of timber hitherto condemned as useless have now begun to have great commercial value. The Creosoted wood is gradually getting popular as evidenced in the steady increase of demand. The Mysore Railways and the Electrical Department are largely using this kind of timber for their purposes.

VI

Charcoal pig iron is much superior to coke pig iron and is used in making finer grades of steel. "The low phosphorus content and extremely small percentage of sulphur in Mysore 'pig' should be noted, in comparison with coke pig irons. The freedom iron oxides gives to charcoal iron its high strength combined with great elasticity."



The Distillation Plant

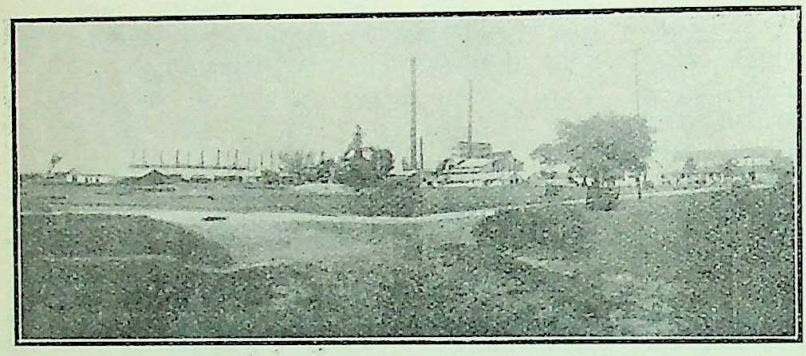
The Bhadravati Iron Works is the only charcoal pig iron plant in India and in the East. The pig iron and other by-products of wood distillation manufactured here are all finding a steady foreign market

The Iron Works had to pass through a long critical period and today under the able guidance and supervision of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, it has become a self-supporting institution. There are here in all grades of service about 5,000 people. The superior staff of the works are all Indian, some of whom have received special training abroad.

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"We have a staff of engineers and workmen who are keen and capable and will be able to make a success of any department of this industry," said Sir Visvesvaraya in the last statement he made before relinquishing the office of the Chairman of the Board of Management of the Works. The influence of their "friend, philosopher and guide," the Chairman, and the patriotic fervour and the spirit of self-sacrifice with which these people are working at the iron works, are well illustrated by the generous way in which they all voluntarily agreed to forgo a share of their monthly emoluments ranging from 6½ to 10 per cent during the six months from November 1925 to April 1926, the most critical period in the life of the works.



General View of the Works

A small colony of houses has been built by the management for the habitation of almost all its employees on a raised ground at a short distance from the factory. The old village of Benkipur or Bhadravati is a small one on the other side of the railway line and is rather ill-kept. The colony is supplied with good filtered water and electric lighting. The settlement is kept quite healthy by efficient and modern sanitary arrangements. There is a hospital in charge of an assistant surgeon attached to the works. There are, besides, a co-operative stores, a middle school and a social club which latter is a source of great pleasure to the hard-worked inhabitants of this lonely settlement.

The Eternal Problem

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

ON the physical plane the problem of life and death is very simple : there was no life before birth, life endures only so long as one has being, and there will be no life after death. It may be put more tersely : man was not, man is, man will not be. There seems to be no mystery at all.

***

The fear of death is both incomprehensible and unreasonable. After death man will be in no worse position than he was before birth. If there was no existence before birth there may be none after death ; if existence apart from the present life was possible before birth it may be also possible after death. Either way, the relation of life to death remains unaffected.

***

The fear of death is, in the main, a physical fear. It is an apprehension of a violent wrench wresting the vital principle from a living organism. A man winces and his skin shrinks at the anticipatory dread of a lash whistling through the air and about to fall on his bare back. Here, however, the fear is combined with knowledge ; the man knows that the lash hurts cruelly and he realizes in imagination the pain about to be inflicted upon him.

***

The terror of death is the dread of the unknown. Very few persons really and wholly believe that there is a heaven or a hell, believe, that is, in the sense that the faith is retained to the end and is a shield against the fear of death. The picture of a heaven and a hell is conjured up to set up the obvious and oppressive blank after death. Heaven and hell are made up of lath and chunks cut out of the earth. All the horrors of hell are made up of materials that

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be found upon the earth and heaven is merely a concentrated essence of the joys of the world. Very few people can reconcile themselves to approaching death in the certain prospect of a future heaven or hell.

***

Moreover, the conception of heaven and hell leaves unanswered the question of the source of life. Man may go to heaven or hell after death, but whence does he come into life? According to certain religious beliefs man's immortality begins from birth. There is no theory and no speculation about any ante-natal existence.

***

It is not difficult to understand or define the precise nature of the fear inspired by death. It is just like that of a man who is being shoved off the edge of a precipice, with this difference that the man knows there is death at the bottom, but no one can tell what awaits him when he is hustled out of life. Man is familiar with life; he takes the rough with the smooth, and muddles along as well as he can. When, however, he is made to step off the face of the earth and plunge into space he is afraid. Afraid he must be with the nameless terror of the unknown. The fear of death is that of the plunger into infinite space, or a bottomless pit.

***

Very few people, however, are haunted by the fear of death in life. If death were an ever present dread life would become intolerable and people would be driven crazy. In actual fact, the fear is more speculative than real. There is a merciful dispensation by which, although in the midst of life we are in death, we are always wrapped up in forgetfulness of death.

***

When long ago Truth, in the shape of a bird, asked the exiled king Yudhisthira in the forest, what is strange? the wise king replied that nothing could be stranger than that although countless persons were dying every day the living fully believe that for them there will be no death. The ancients were wise and what was strange in the age of the Mahabharata is equally strange today.

***

Death awaits life in a hundred shapes apart from old age. There is no law, no time, no order regulating death. Life alone is uncertain, death is certain at all times, though it chooses its own time. Yet life, short or long, is care-free, and the terror of death does not embitter its sweetness. There may be an occasional trepidation and fluttering of the heart as when the shadow of a passing falcon falls upon a trembling dove. Life itself holds no menace of death just as the sunlight gives no indication of the darkness of night.

***

The physical aspect of death presents no difficulties. The body is built up of perishable matter and is subject to natural decay. The longest life is, in truth, a very brief span. Man has devised means for measuring time, but, in point of fact, time is immeasurable just as space is illimitable.

***

Life, as we see it, is in reality a cluster of deaths: the life of yesterday is as surely dead as the life of ten thousand years ago. Life is merely the thread of memory on which are threaded the dead days like flowers that are fresh today and fade tomorrow, and this process continues until the thread snaps or is filled.

***

Yet we know that this conception of life is deceptive, that the anatomical and physiological structure of the body does not exhaust the whole of our being and there is something which is not enclosed in the grey substance of the brain. If it had been so, there would have been no speculation about the soul, or the possibility of life after death.

***

The ordinary functions of life are dependent upon the working of the delicate mechanism of the body. When that mechanism ceases to work physical life comes to an end, but it does not necessarily imply the cessation of all power possessed by man. It cannot be denied that even after death the spirits of some men continue to be a living force and to influence living men.

***

It is not possible for what is perishable to produce anything imperishable just as the lesser of two things cannot contain the greater. There is an immortal spark in mortal man; in most instances it remains latent, but in a few it bursts out into a flame and glows as a beacon light to guide the feet of others.

***

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The tangible and the palpable must inevitably perish. The hard flesh, the hard possessions coveted by the grosser ambition of man cannot endure because all material is subject to the law of dissolution. Empires with all their magnificence, their turrets and towers and imperial palaces standing proudly against the skyline, all crumble into dust and with the passing of time not a vestige of empire is left, and the earth finds its own level just as water seeks its own.

***

For time flows in a single direction only. There is no ebb and flow, no tidal phenomenon in the current of time. We need not wait for the returning tide of time that will wash ancient Greece and Rome ashore. The angler can play out the line from his wheel and reel it in again, but the line of time is ever running out and not an inch can ever be pulled back.

***

It is the intangible and the impalpable that last, and therefore Thought endures while the Thing passes. The Aryan kingdoms in India are dead but Aryan thought lives; the Greek and Roman empires have vanished, but Greek and Roman thought is still dominating Europe.

***

Both in outside nature and that other world which is behind nature, the realm of spirit, the strongest forces are invisible and subtle. What is more powerful than the wind, what is more tremendous and terrible than the lightning? Yet both are impalpable, elusive. So is what we call the soul, subtler, finer, more pervasive than any of the elements or the mighty but unseen powers of nature.

***

Gross matter may disintegrate and resolve into its original constituent electrons, water may evaporate into its component gases, but air and the electric fluid, which are subtle, always retain the vital principle. There can be no precise analogy between the physical and a higher plane, but as a basis for comparison it is suggestive.

***

In the undeniable fact that the thought of man may survive for thousands of years we have the first glimpse of immortality. The brain of man is capable of fashioning objects that may exist long after the body has perished. Above the intellect, however, is the spirit that seeks the way to eternal life and therefore the teacher is greater than the creator of things of beauty. The soul shines more brilliantly than the intellect. The Buddha is greater than Valmiki and the Christ is greater than Shakespeare.

***

The conception of immortality is always relative and the common use of the word is more rhetorical than precise. Immortality comprehends all time and that is beyond the compass of all imagination and speculation. There is nothing like a beginning or end of time and immortality is an abstraction that cannot be realized.

***

When we speak of a man as immortal we merely imply that he has accomplished something which will live or has lived for a considerable length of time. When we call the poet Kalidas immortal we have in mind only his works and not his soul. The word is almost invariably used in a figurative sense.

***

Immortality is not the resurrection of the dead, nor the breathing of the breath of life into the dry bones lying in the Valley of Death. For the immortal there is neither life nor death, nor life hereafter, but an immanent consciousness of being co-existent and co-eternal with time itself.

***

It we are accustomed to speak loosely of immortality we know still less of the identity of the individual for whom immortality is claimed. Every one of us is an egoist, for humility is only an effort to combat egoism, and yet we know nothing of our own ego, nor do we know anything of the real self of the people we meet.

***

Is the likeness in the mirror a reflection of our true self? We know it is not, and still we admire our faces and features in the glass and there are many Narcissuses who fall in love with their own beauty, though there is no handy pool over which they may overbalance themselves and in which they may be drowned.

***

The eye cannot penetrate the husk of flesh, the mind cannot reach beyond our thoughts, but neither the body nor the mind

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holds that by which the self may be identified. We are content with the semblance that is mistaken for self.

***

The belief in the transmigration of the soul takes for granted the existence of the soul apart from the body. That is the real self. It passes from one body into another in the same manner that we lay aside an old garment for a new one.

***

The recollection of previous births is a belief that exists in the East and startling instances occur occasionally even in the West. In certain countries in Asia very young children are encouraged and helped to remember their former births. The Grand Lama of Tibet is always discovered as a young child reborn from his previous incarnation.

***

This may be a superstition, but the Buddha, one of the acutest reasoners that the world has ever known, a teacher who emphatically rejected all miracles and who in all things took his firm stand upon reason, spoke of hundreds of previous births as calmly and casually as we speak of incidents of yesterday. So prevalent was the belief in previous births among the wise Aryans of ancient India that there is a particular Sanskrit word signifying the peculiar gift of remembrance of past lives. The word is *jatismara*, one who remembers former births.

***

This is a longer thread than the one on which we string the happenings of a single lifetime. The ego spreads out itself over different births at different times. The line of memory runs out and reels in and lands the stories of other lives lost in the waters of oblivion.

***

The ancient Egyptians surrounded the dead with the trappings of life and their kings and great ones were buried with all the paraphernalia with which they had been familiar while living. Perhaps the Egyptians believed that the mummies would rise and eat and drink like living men. The careful preservation of the bodies of the dead must have been due to some such belief.

***

Of a somewhat similar nature is the belief that the dead will rise on the Day of Judgment on hearing the trumpet. The flesh may be devoured by worms and the bones may crumble into the dust, but the spirit abides in the grave awaiting the call to final judgment.

***

These beliefs identify the self or the soul with the body and they conflict with the other belief that the dead body cannot hold the living soul. The impermanent flesh cannot be the permanent abode of the immortal soul. Apart, however, from the physical semblance of the body we can form no conception of the in-dwelling self.

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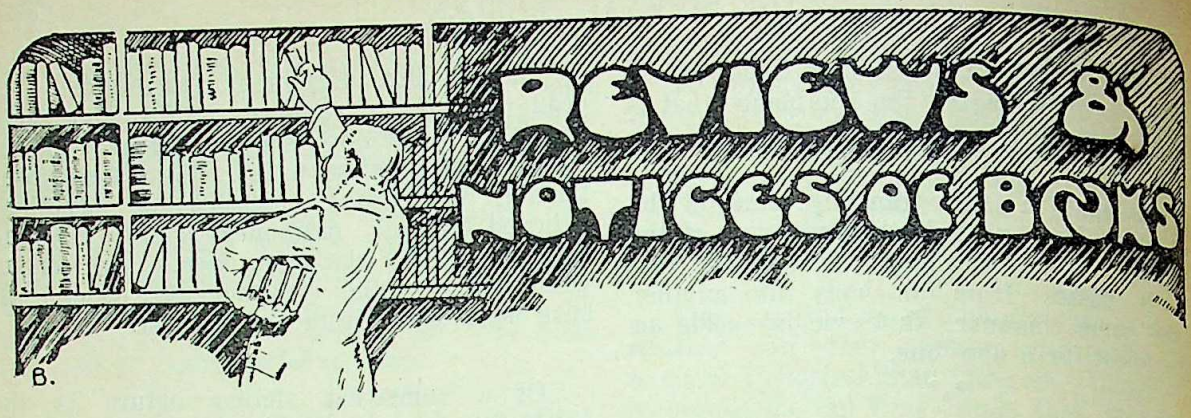
Yet the belief is shared by different peoples of the return to the earth and to a new life of prophets and superior beings who existed before. Particular men have been called divine incarnations and they are said to come again and again. The manifestation of divinity in the flesh is the revelation of certain attributes.

***

The identification of the self remains as baffling as ever for the ordinary faculties of man are inadequate for the recognition of what can neither be seen nor felt, nor comprehended by the ordinary intelligence of the mind. If the Buddha or the Christ were to reappear on earth how would they be recognized ?

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ENGLISH

HYMNS OF THE ALVARS: *By J. S. M. Hooper. Heritage of India Series. (Association Press, Calcutta, 1929.) Pp. 106, with 7 illustrations. Re. 1-4 (paper).*

This book, in spite of its small size, represents the high watermark of the excellent series that we owe to the vision and initiative of Dr. J. N. Farquhar. The Alvars are a class of Vaishnav *bhakti* saints and poets whose very name is unknown in Northern India. "The work of the Alvars falls into its place between the *Gita* and Ramanuja. The Alvars provided the soil out of which Ramanuja's teaching naturally sprang, and in which, later, it could bear fruit. He (*i.e.*, Ramanuja) is not really the 'morning star' of the *bhakti* movement; that is a name far more fitly given to the Alvars" (7th-9th centuries A. D.). They made a popular religious appeal through the use of the vernaculars and insisted on an exclusive devotion to one God—Krishna. Many of these popular teachers belonged to non-Brahman castes, one was a woman, but their songs have been a living fountain refreshing and stimulating the hearts of millions in Southern India. The distinction between them and Ramanuja has been very clearly and convincingly drawn by Mr. Hooper in his Introduction, the whole of which is a masterly and concise study of the *bhakti* movement and its philosophy. At the same time, our author makes out two very strong points when he says—

"As effective as either of them (namely *Jnana Marga* and *Karma Marga*) is the new Way of Devotion to Krishna, *Bhakti Marga*..... In the love of Krishna, time and space, sin and rebirth, have alike been forgotten.... But to those who have inquired how this comforting message can be reconciled with the Upanishad doctrine of an impersonal, actionless Absolute, the *Gita* has had no satisfactory answer to give." (Pp. 5-6)

And, again, "The type of devotion that we are here considering gives no positive help to the living of the moral life.... Karma makes for unselfish, though self-centred morality: but the *bhakta's* religion may quite well leave morality on one side. The ethical problem is not central in the thought of the Alvars: the fervent glow of emotion makes all else seem trivial." (Pp. 29-30)

Apart from its shrewd philosophical analysis, the chief charm of Mr. Hooper's work lies in its admirable style. He is a master of happy phrases, some of which cannot be bettered. As when he says,

"On another line, but aiming at the same end of giddy exhilaration, is the practice of repeating the thousand names of Vishnu, and so *by a kind of self-hypnotism losing oneself in rapture.*" (P. 26)

The poems range over the various well-known moods of the Vaishnav *bhakta*, who imagines himself now a slave, now a mistress, now a mother of the object of his adoration.

A few quotations will show how admirably Mr. Hooper has reproduced the spirit of the *bhakta* in his translations from Tamil:

No kinship with this world have I
Which takes for true the life that is not true.
'For thee alone my passion burns,' I cry,
'Rangam, my Lord!' (*Kulasekara*)

Slayer of elephant great and fierce of eye
Vitruva-kodu's Lord,
Where shall I go and live?
Save for Thy feet, like a great bird am I
Which goes around and sees no shore and comes at last
Back o'er the tossing sea and perches on ship's mast!
(*Ibid.*)

The flying swans and herons I did beg,
Cringing: 'Forget not, ye who first arrive,
If ye behold my heart with Kannan [Krishna] there

Oh, speak of me, and ask it 'Sir, not yet
Hast thou returned to her? And is it right?'
(*Nammalvar*)

Our only complaint is that the extracts are too few and a bigger feast should have been placed before the reader whose appetite has been kindled by the masterly general introduction.

J. SARKAR

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DREAM HOURS AND DYNAMIC HEALTH : *By Harishchandra P. Kaku. Publishers—Shah & Co., Krishna Bhuvan, Khetwadi, Main Road, Bombay, No. 4. 1929. Price Rs. 3, pp. 108.*

The book is written on the model of popular American health books and deals with a variety of subjects, such as sleep, diet, metabolism, exercise, virility, marital relations, breathing, etc. There is an introduction by Dr. S. P. Madon, D. P. (America), who describes himself as the first Indian graduate of the Bernard Macfadden Institute of America. The book contains a good deal of useful information suitable for the lay public. The author has imbibed some of the fads of American writers. He is an enthusiastic supporter of separate beds for husband and wife. The bogy of auto-intoxication which was started some years ago by certain surgeons has influenced the writer to a very great extent and he is an ardent advocate of intestinal douches. The price of the book is too high to suit the purse of the average reader.

A MODERN HINDU VIEW OF LIFE : *By Chuni Mukherji, with a Foreword by the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of India. Price Re. 1, pp. 92.*

This little book is an effort at refutation of Professor Radhakrishnan's "Hindu View of Life." There is a foreword by the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of India. The criticism embodied in this book was originally written for the columns of the *Epiphany*. The author writes with the zeal of a convert and one will find in this book all the stock arguments used by the missionaries to discredit Hinduism. The author has quoted texts from the Hindu scriptures to prove his points.

THEOSOPHY, PAST AND FUTURE, CONVENTION LECTURES OF 1929 : *Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1930, pp. 116.*

This book is a collection of the four Convention Lectures delivered in Adyar at the 54th Anniversary of the Theosophical Society in December, 1929. The lectures are delivered by Annie Besant, D.L., The Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, J. I. Wedgwood, M.A., D.Sc., and C. Jinarajadasa, M.A., respectively. This little volume will be of considerable interest to Theosophists, but to the uninitiated many of the statements such as the idea of Inner Government of the World controlled by Masters might appear amusing. By far the most interesting lecture is that given by Mr. C. Jinarajadasa on "A Year's Travels In Latin America."

THE SEX FACTOR IN MARRIAGE. *A book for those who are or are about to be married : By Helena Wright, M. B., B. S., with an introduction by A. Herbert Gray, M. A., D. D., London, Noel Douglas, 1930.*

It is a sign of the times that women doctors in increasingly large numbers are discussing sex in a quite frank manner. This book is intended to guide the married couple regarding their mutual physical and psychological adjustments so that they may attain the maximum of happiness in married life. The author has carefully avoided the use of all technical terms and has continuously kept in view the requirements of the layman. The book is one of the best written on the subject. It can be safely recommended to those who are or are about to be married.

G. BOSE

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SPIRIT IN EVOLUTION. FROM AMOEBA TO SAINT : *By Herbert F. Standing, D. Sc. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.*

In this book the author has attempted to trace the psychological evolution of the animal kingdom and to show that it runs a parallel course to structural evolution. He has throughout taken for granted that there has been evolution, a standpoint with which few of his readers will quarrel. But he is ultra-Lamarckian in his attitude. He puts forward the view that not only has there been no advance in structural formation in the animal kingdom without a corresponding psychological improvement but he further postulates that each and every advance in complexity of structure is the direct outcome of and results from an ever increasing mental capability. He believes that "the whole evolutionary process is fundamentally a manifestation of Divine purpose and activity" and that in the processes of organic evolution we have a clear "manifestation of the Divine Creative Activity at work through the Evolutionary Process." There is thus throughout the book, as one might have expected from its sub-title "From Amoeba to Saint" a strongly religious bias. The regulative factor in organic development is, according to the author, not mechanistic but psychic in character and in consequence all progress has been brought about by a creative urge in the organism that has led to the gradual, perfecting of the various organs ; in this respect there is a close degree of similarity between this creative urge of the author and Bergson's *elan vital*. In order to account for the evolution of the very earliest and most primitive forms of life through such a creative urge it is necessary to attribute a definite consciousness, however dim, to the protozoa or to the growing root tip in plants and many will consider that in so doing he goes too far, though doubtless he will in this respect have the support of Sir J. C. Bose. In the final chapters in which he traces the evolution of such conceptions as Beauty, Goodness Truth, etc., his treatment of the subject is interesting, but few again will accept his belief in "the well-authenticated Phenomena of Spiritualism."

R. B. S. S.

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POTTER'S CLAY : *By Hilton Brown (Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1929).*

A collection of stories dealing with episodes from South Indian life both native and European. The stories are rather thin, being distinguished more by their manner than their matter. They are told with a keen zest and an unfailing, genial humour that make them very sparkling reading indeed.

The Indian stories—which are the more numerous—deal with those odd, picturesque elements in Indian life evoked by contact with an alien civilization, which are the quickest to catch the eye of a sympathetic and understanding foreigner. 'Potter's Clay', the opening story that gives its name to the volume, tells us of the

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sudden ebullition of the oriental temperament, catching fire at apparently the most trivial of causes and leading to the most tragic and fateful explosions; "Reserved Seats" dealing with the ludicrous aspects of election campaigns, shows with what a keen zest the East has entered into the humour of the game and even bettered the instructions of her Western teachers with touches of indigenous grotesquerie; of all the stories "Royal and Ancient" goes deepest into native psychology, showing how the traditional ways have been broken in upon by the catching innovations of the West, with results so curiously ill-adjusted and perverse. All these stories provide very piquant and entertaining reading, though the South Indian veneer, pertaining more to local scenery than to human figures, is rather skin-deep, and but little of it is likely to stick if one digs one's nails deep enough. The author, it must be admitted, has his eyes fixed rather on picturesque variations of calling and department than on the abiding depths of character, and that is an obvious limitation.

One of the notes that constantly recur is an alert and eager response to the occult and mysterious elements so pervasively present in the life of the East. The subject, indeed, has an inexhaustible fascination for the mind of the author: he returns to it again and again, paying an earnest and sincere homage to it, wherever found. "Sacrifice Rocks", "The Good Eye," "Bogg," "The Ghost Ship" are all instances of a sympathetic acquiescence in that faith in miracles, the fountains of which have not yet run dry in Indian life.

There are a good many stories dealing with European life out in the moffussil, with its petty official jealousies, its facile love-makings, its commendable, but rather narrowly conceived efforts at municipal reforms and improvements in the facilities of club life, its glimmering and sometimes awe-struck comprehension of the romance and mystery of the East. The best of the series is "Sentence Commuted," where a deserted husband, intent on killing his guilty wife and her paramour, forgoes his vindictive purpose with a grim chuckle as he observes the hellish life they are living together. Altogether, it is a very bright, sparkling, enjoyable volume, and the author is to be congratulated on the happy use he has made of his gleanings in alien fields.

S. K. B.

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THE THEATRE AND THE SPECTATOR: *By G. R. Gokhale. Maharashtra Press, Allahabad. 33 Pages. Price 6 annas.*

The theme of this poem arises out of some Vedic passage. A boy asks his father what is meant by 'theatre.' In reply the father shows his sons some scenes of nature and life of which God is creator and spectator. The moral is that cinemas and theatres are demoralizing.

We are not at all enamoured of the style. Transposition of words has been carried to singular extravagance, for instance:

"By tough and strong a cord," "easy's not to grasp the theme," "wants to father it to show," "came and back went smart the fish" (*i. e.*, the smart fish came and went back,—a metrical inversion that transgresses poetical licence), "great a joy" is no English at all even in poetry, while "knowlege of it would care none" is an ungrammatical sentence without "for." "Whole to envelope," "mens' favour" are not the proper forms. We read:

> Worldly plays are great and small
> Who can see them all in all?

The author uses "all in all" adverbially in the sense "fully." This is questionable poetry; as this phrase means "of paramount importance." "One and all" would have served the author's object. The author's style reminds us of our school-day composition: he writes:

> Ocean or Sea
> What so it be
> Changes its face in gale
> Which could trouble the whale!

A Sportsman who was anxious for dry tiger-skin once wrote to his friend similar poetry:

> In jungle or wood
> While tracking on foot
> Methought if rain it would
> It might drench my brute.

CRITIC

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN VILLAGES: *By N. G. Ranga, B. Litt. (Oxon) Vol. II. Foreword by Hon. V. Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., B.L., Member, Council of State. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay 1929. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 9+ii+207.*

Though India is a vast country, inhabited by many people, speaking a Babel of tongues, and affecting a bewildering variety of customs, manners and dresses, there is, so far as economic organization and cultural outlook go, a fundamental unity, if not uniformity, throughout the length and breadth of the country. Nowhere perhaps is the unity or uniformity more clearly illustrated than in the matter of India's rural economy. The predominance of agriculture, carried on everywhere by primitive methods in uneconomic holdings, the wide prevalence of chronic diseases, the little or no part played by women in productive work, the domination of the moneylender, the dependence on the whims of nature for cultivation—all these are features which are to be found, in varying degrees, all over the country. Of course there are local variations, but when due allowance has been made for them the problem is, everywhere, nearly the same. Yet an attempt at solving India's most pressing problem should be preceded by and based on an intensive study of the actual conditions, not wholesale, but region by region. The book under review, which is a record of such a regional survey, deals with the economic conditions of three villages, Uppalapad, Takkellapad, Kakumanu in S. India. All manner of details concerning the economic and social organization of these three villages have been given. The collection of these details must have entailed a laborious and patient investigation. Though the scope of this investigation was confined to three villages, the outcome of it is calculated to be of value, both practical and theoretical, to rural workers and students of economics all over the country.

H. SANYAL.

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THE BRAHMA SAMAJ (A short history) *By Manilal C. Parekh, B.A.*

The book consists of 283 pages and has a preface and an index. Full of the Brahma Samaj, his old love, the writer cannot but be a sympathetic observer of events in Brahma history, though he is not altogether free from denominational bias. It is a poor historical sense which suggests a personal pique to be among the causes leading to the foundation of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. We find the historian narrating in all seriousness that "He (Sivanath) stayed in the Bharatasram and helped the cause in whatever way he could. It was here that some serious differences arose between him and Keshab over the question of some personal discipline he was undergoing for the purpose of qualifying himself for missionary work. He took a prominent part in the opposition that grew against Keshab during the period immediately preceding the Cooch Behar marriage, an opposition which culminated in the schism." This is undiluted gossip made into history.

If he is not discriminating enough to distinguish between fact and fiction far less is he on his guard against what may be characterized as subjective impression. Referring to Upadhaya Gaur Govindo Ray's recantation of his long cherished views on the Christ centre of the New Dispensation and the question of the "vacant *vedi*", the author makes on his own authority this bold statement. "After some of these talks this old man of seventy-five ..... one evening while walking on the terrace of the mission house in Calcutta, told him (the writer) that what he had been saying on the "Christo-centre" of the New Dispensation was true. He also acknowledged his own error as well as that of the Darbar in passing the resolution in regard to the keeping of the *vedi* vacant and added that although it was too late for them to mend matters, the church might do so when they were gone." What the writer has heard with his own ear, no doubt, carries great weight with him. As for others who have known Gaur Govinda long and are acquainted with Upadhaya's pronounced views on these questions, it would be easier to accept his authority if it came corroborated with the authority of a few more as dear to Gaur Govinda as the writer himself. At the time he speaks of, there were some at least of the Apostles living, among them Bhai Kanti Chandra. If Gaur Govinda was in a relenting mood he must have unbosomed himself to some of these. Producing that authority in support of his own would add to the evidential value of his statement.

With all these defects the book gives a pretty good running account of the Brahma Samaj and will prove useful to those who have no access to larger historical works on the subject either in Bengali or in English. Better arrangement and greater attention to style would have made the book more readable.

We do not know if ever, as the writer so devoutly wishes, the "umbilical cord connecting it (Nava Bidhan) with the Brahma Samaj," will be cut, but of this much we feel assured that in the near future there is no likelihood of Nava Bidhan being developed into a Christo-centric faith making for the oriental Church of Christ. We are told: when Max Muller asked Pratap in 1900 to affiliate the New Dispensation Church to the Anglican Church, he (Pramatha Lal Sen) was one of a small group of people who sympathized with the idea very much. The same Pramatha Lal Sen is now pronouncedly Keshab-centric and this Keshab-centre, if ever accepted 'will work better in Hindustan than the Christ centre which stands in need of being naturalized and acclimatized with the process of the suns.

P. SOM

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GANDHIJI'S SATYAGRAHA OR NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE: *By Richard B. Gregg, author of 'Economics of Khaddar.' Pp. 498. S. Ganesan, Madras. 1930.*

This book, with slight changes here and there, and a little more compactness of reasoning, deserves republication in the Western countries, for it is a prominent landmark in the literature of passive resistance as the greatest moral force in the world. The author writes very interestingly, so as to arrest attention at every turn of his argument, and supports his conclusions by copious references to the works of European, American and Indian writers—the values and possibilities of non-resistance, its philosophical, spiritual, and political implications and all the other aspects from which the subject can be looked at, have been thoroughly discussed in these pages. As G. K. Chesterton has said in his essay on Tolstoy, "This theory has the strength of an utterly consistent thing. It represents that doctrine of mildness and non-resistance which is the last and most audacious of all the forms of resistance to every existing authority. It is the great strike of the Quakers which is more formidable than many sanguinary revolutions. If human beings could only succeed in achieving a real passive resistance they would be strong with the appalling strength of inanimate things, they would be calm with the maddening calm of oak or iron, which conquer without vengeance and are conquered without humiliation. The theory of Christian duty enunciated by them is that we should never conquer by force, but always, if we can, by persuasion."

The book is printed in bold type on thin paper, and deserves to be widely read. It is a book of outstanding merit, and a contribution to political philosophy of no mean order.

POLITICUS

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A SHORT HISTORY OF AURANGZIB: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, (abridged from the larger work in five volumes), pp. 507+iv, with a map. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta). Rs. 5.*

It was an excellent idea to place Prof. Sarkar's standard *History of Aurangzib* before the reading public in a manageable compass and at a popular price. The original work is in five volumes and costs Rs. 16-8-0. This "Short History" contains between one-half and one-third of the reading matter of the larger work, but the reflective chapters, character sketches, and discussions on political philosophy are given almost in full. It is only the details of fighting and references to authorities that have been shortened or omitted. The book has in consequence gained distinctly in charm as

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literature. In going through it we noticed that in certain places corrections and additions have been made, evidently in the light of the author's fresh studies since the bigger work was published. Chapter 20, giving a survey of the resources, trade and government of the Mughal empire in this reign, is altogether new and a very valuable addition. Other new features—not to be found in the larger work—are the long chronology (10 pages), index (11 pages) and a very large map of Central S. and W. India—and these will materally increase the usefulness of book to the reader.

X

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BENGALI

VRAMAN-SMRITI (TRAVEL-MEMORIES): *By Rajani Ranjan Sen, Minto Press, Chittagong. 1930. Price Rs. 1-12-0.*

The writer is a hardy traveller, and the call of the road has a mysterious attraction for him. The profession of law has been the grave of so many cultured intellects that a member of the bar like our author, who has not allowed success in his profession to engross all his attention, has become somewhat of a *rara avis*, at least in Bengal. Time was when a Guruprasad Sen, a Ambica Charan Mazumdar or a Akshay Kumar Maitra could turn out work, outside their chosen field of activity where they won their bread, which proved that they had received a really liberal education. Our author is an antiquarian with an ardent love of the past glories of India, enshrined in storied urns and animated busts, as witness his well-known book, *The Holy City* (Benares). His vision is not however limited to his own mother country, and in his *Cosmic Dust* he takes in the entire universe within the sweep of his mental horizon. He has now come out, in ripe old age, with a volume of travels in North Western India (Punjab, Kashmir, Khyber Pass). The author is a first cousin of the poet Nabin Chandra Sen and possesses a spark of his inspired imagination, evidence of which is to be found in all the author's books. A dry-as-dust diary or guide book has its uses for the busy traveller, and while not wanting in detailed information on subjects which any traveller must know, the personal quality of the writer shines through every page, for it is not everyone who rushes through a country who can be said to have 'seen' it in any real sense of the word. For this, sympathetic insight, and a broad culture which alone can give a true perspective and sense of proportion are necessary. For the development of these qualities of the mind not only travel but solitude is also necessary, "where moult the wings which will bear it farther than suns and stars ..... Solitude takes off the pressure of present importunities that more catholic and humane relations may appear. The saint and poet seek privacy to ends the most public and universal." This is Emerson's view, and we need not quarrel with his conclusion "keep the town for occasions, but the habits should be formed to retirement." We know that the author turns out his best thoughts from his favourite perch on his native hills, and though it is true of a man, to quote Emerson again, "let him go where he will, he can only find so much beauty or worth as he carries." still his rebuke—"it is for want of self-culture that the superstition of travelling retains its fascination for all educated Americans"—applies in a special degree only to his countrymen and not to the home-keeping Indian, to whom, again in the words of Emerson, "a foreign country, is a point of comparison, wherefrom to judge his own."

The author has travelled very largely in India, Ceylon and Burma, and we hope in the evening of his life he will give us more of his reminiscences of those countries for the benefit of his untravelled countrymen whose ideas will be widened, minds liberalized and appreciation of nature and of the arts and traditional culture of their motherland enhanced by a perusal of these glimpses into her ancient past. The book is well printed, and neatly bound, and the numerous photographic illustrations will increase its popularity.

DEVARCHANAI JIVABALI: (*Animal sacrifice in Divine Worship*): *By Bagalaprasanna Chakravarti, Personal Assistant to the Commissioner, Chittagong. Minto Press, Chittagong, 1337 B. S.*

The thesis which the learned author has sought to develop in this little book is that animal sacrifice in divine worship is a very low form of worship, not fit for the educated classes of society: that for some unknown reason the Aryans acquired the custom from non-Aryans, but it has been deprecated in many scriptures and Puranas, from the Vedas downwards. Many well-known Saktas of modern times have similarly expressed themselves against animal sacrifice. The ideal of God in the form of our worship has been greatly lowered by such sacrifice. These views, coming as they do from devout Sakta, deserve our serious consideration. Meat-eaters of the West have, we know tried to exploit the custom as a proof of our barbarity and unfitness for self-government. Yet it is they, and not the Hindus, the vast majority of whom are vegetarians and followers of the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, who delight in killing and bloodshed. To 'purify' the meat by sacrifice before a god before eating it, acts, in some cases, as a check on our meat-eating propensities. And by some of our educated countrymen meat-eating is advocated not so much on grounds of health as for the help which animal sacrifice is supposed to render to the cause of the preservation of the 'tiger-qualities' of the race. These are considerations of policy which are however beside the mark in discussing the ethical aspects of the question. If habituation to bloodshed be necessary for the preservation of the race, animal sacrifice before the god whom we consider to be the embodiment of all perfection is not the way to it. If, on the other hand, it is considered necessary to put a check on it, the interposition of the deity between the sacrificial animal and our desire to eat it, is hardly a commendable form of restraining that desire. We have all heard of the toothless man who became given up the worship of the goddess Kali because he could no longer enjoy the meat of the goats sacrificed at her temple. The cult of animal sacrifice was prevalent among all the ancient peoples including the Jews, and symbolizes a deeper spiritual truth—the sacrifice of the animal passions—before the altar of the divinity. The Christian doctrine of transubstantiation is a relic

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the same symbolism. Those who want to know more would do well to study the late Professor Ramendrasundar Trivedi's masterly essay on the subject. While the Western nations have given up that cult in the grosser literal form in which it is preserved among us, educated public opinion in India is also slowly raising its voice of protest, and the State of Travancore, presided over by an enlightened queen, has taken the lead and prohibited such sacrifice in all the temples within the State. To indulge in animal sacrifice is undoubtedly to bring God down to our level instead of raising ourselves to the level of what we worship. The greatest of Moslem countries, Turkey, is now coming into line with the other civilized nations in this respect, as Kemal Pasha's movement for the prohibition of animal sacrifice at the *Id* festival shows. On this subject the following extract from a prominent Turkish newspaper quoted in *Moslem Mentality* : by L. Levonian. London. 1928, p. 130) will be found interesting : "A fixed and unchangeable religion is destined to die. Today all religions have changed their forms of a thousand years ago, and have taken new forms according to the time and need. The tradition of killing sacrifices also is a tradition which has passed to us from other religions. Primitive men have felt the need of offering gifts and sacrifices to gods in order to appease their anger.....We find this custom among the Egyptians, Phoenicians and other ancient and primitive peoples. Later religions prohibited the offering of men as barbarity, and have kept only to animal sacrifices. This custom of killing sacrifices at our festival also has come to us from the earliest stages of primitive men, and has been perpetuated till the present time. But today we are not in such a low condition as to express our fear or gratitude by offering an animal..... All the traditions change in time, and so it is time that this tradition also should change. Ten centuries ago men prohibited the sacrifice of men as barbarity ; in the same manner men have developed today enough to consider such a custom as offering animals as a useless thing also. Our mentalities have changed. We cannot remain bound to the old traditions blindly."

The author has rendered a public service to his co-religionists by drawing their attention to the subject, and his arguments, supported as they are by a wealth of scriptural quotations, should make a strong impression on the orthodox section of the community who are the greatest upholders of the custom.

POLITICUS

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MARATHI

UDGIR CAMPAIGN (*Poona Daftar Records*), *63 pp. with a map and 3 plates of facsimile of handwriting. Bombay Govt. Press). 13 annas.*

This is the best printed Marathi book that we have seen. The type is large, distinct and new, not a letter is broken or imperfectly impressed, while the paper is very durable and unlikely to turn yellow with time. The Bombay Government is to be heartily congratulated on its having at long last begun to publish its *historical* records relating to the Maratha period, and publish them in such a handsome form. The editing is ideal and gives just the help required.

The Udgir campaign of 1760 occupies only a page and a half in Grant Duff, but all the leading figures in the Maratha State, took part in it, many of them

"Foredoomed to slaughter on Panipat plain" a few months later. Here are given the field despatches of this campaign on the Maratha side, lighting up all the obscure parts of it with a profusion of exact detail. We wish that the Bombay Government would lose no time in printing the records relating to the great Panipat campaign and the activities and machinations of Tara Bai during her long eclipse of power,—several hundreds of contemporary documents relating to which two, imperfectly known events, have been discovered among the Poona and Satara daftars, now in Government hands.

J. SARKAR

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BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN TRADE UNION LAW. By Y. A. Anantha Aiyar.

YOGA-MIMANSA. By Srimat Kuvalayananda

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA. By P. C. Nyabagis.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GITA. By S. Bhuvarahamurthi Achar.

THE YOGASUTRAS OF PATANJALI. By M. N Dvivedi.

AGASTYA IN TAMIL LAND. By K. N. Sivaraja Pillai.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. By M. S. Kesaree.

SOURCE BOOK OF THE MARATHA HISTORY. By H. G. Rawlinson

RUSSIE PAR Henri Barbusse

MIRROR OF INDIAN ART. By G. Venkatachalam

RAMA CARITA ; NATYADARPANA ; PRE-DINNAG BUDDHIST TEXTS ON LOGIC FROM CHINESE SOURCES ; BHAVAPRAKASANAM. Gaekwad's. Oriental Series ;

RESTRICTIONS UPON MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS By Ward L. Bishop.

STUDIES IN ANCIENT GLASS. By Mary Luella Trowbridge.

HELLENISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By Edwyn Bevan

LES ANCIENNES CIVILISATIONS DE L'INDE PAR G. Courtillier

LORD NORTHCLIFFE. By Hamilton Fyfe

BERGSON ET TE VEDANTA.

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Orissa States and British Policy

By Prof. P. C. LAHIRI, M. A.

III.

THE Regulation IV of 1804, by which the Criminal Regulations of Bengal were extended to Cuttack, did not make any mention of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa as included within the jurisdiction of Government, nor did even the Regulations XII, XIII and XIV of 1805 (regarding revenue administration, criminal and civil justice respectively) include the Mahals; because they distinctly laid down all "the jungle and hill zamindaries occupied by a rude and uncivilized people" as exempted "for the present" from their application and that these zamindaries were "only liable to a certain quit-rent or tribute to Government." However, in 1804 the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack received the charge of supervision of the Mahals, and in the year 1814 a fresh office was created and Mr. Oswald was appointed as the first Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. "The office was constituted expressly to supply in a certain degree the want of more regular establishments," and it was "not the object of the Government to weaken the influence of the Rajas of the Tributary Mahals over their peasantry."* He was also instructed "to establish such a control over the conduct of the zamindars as may prevent the commission of crimes and outrages." The opinion of Lord Hastings, the then Governor-General, is however significant, as he remarked that it was only because the nature of the country was inhospitable and the manners and customs of the chiefs and the inhabitants were uncivilized that the exercise of independent authority and powers by the chiefs was permitted. Col. Sir William Ridgeway explained the spirit of Lord Hastings's opinion thus: "They merely amount to this—that while the policy of annexation prevailed the Government of the day did not dare or did not care to annex. It was these reasons, and not the desire to perpetuate Native dynasties, which prevented the annexation of all Native States."*

The next Superintendent Mr. Impey suggested that after minute information about the Mahals had been very well gathered, the Regulations could be introduced with certain modifications. Thus in 1816 the Regulation XI providing for the trial of claims to the right of inheritance or succession in tributary mahals was passed. In 1821 the then Superintendent Mr. Blunt submitted rules to Government to prevent the perpetration of crimes of magnitude indiscriminately by the Rajas and also to provide for the trial of persons accused of such offences, because it was alleged that the Raja of Keonjhur had obstructed the passage of the British troops through his territory and the Raja of Nayaghar had offered asylum to a rebel. "A Regulation for the Administration of Criminal Justice in certain Hill Estates of Cuttack exempt from the operation of general laws" was accordingly drafted in 1821. But it was not carried into effect.

In 1839 the then Superintendent Mr. Ricketts proposed to Government certain rules with the object of introducing "some defined system of management" and submitted a draft of civil and criminal rules. But again the Government disapproved of it as "involving more interference than was desirable, and as leading to weaken injuriously the influence of the Rajas over their subjects." The next Superintendent Mr. Moffat Mills revised the rules of Mr. Ricketts and modified such portions as involved greater interference excepting laws relating to *Sati* and human sacrifices (which were formally stopped, the former in 1842 by an engagement between the Government and the Chiefs, and the latter in 1845 by Act XXI), and again submitted them for the Government

* Appendix to Minute on Tributary Mahals by Mr. Moffat Mills, published in the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, 1851, No. III.

* Note on the Status of Orissa Mahals, by Col. W. Ridgeway.

† Appendix to Minute on Tributary Mahals by Mr. Moffat Mills; Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, 1851, No. III.

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approval. According to the directions of the Government these rules were again recast, made more precise, definite and short, and were then again submitted in 1840. Here, however, the Government withstood the temptation of formally sanctioning these rules, excepting in the cases of *Sati* and human sacrifices and also of depriving the Rajas of their power of life and death over their subjects and making war with one another; but at the same time the Government advised the Superintendent to be guided by the spirit of these rules. Mr. Mills took this opportunity to record a proceeding in December, 1840, and communicate these rules to the Rajas for their information, though they were not obviously meant by Government to be so formally communicated.

In 1840, the Government annexed the Tributary State of Banki because its Raja was convicted of murder. Such a summary and drastic decision, which has been alleged to be due to the troubled times of Lord Auckland, does however reveal the spirit of the Government towards the chiefs. In 1847, another small State called Angul was confiscated, because its Raja had attempted to wage war against the British. Next came a series of enactments from the year 1850 which circumscribed the power of the Orissa States still more. Thus in 1850, Act XX was passed for the settlement of disputed boundaries between the Mahals and the areas under the British Government. Other enactments of various description were passed in 1860, 1866 and 1872, the net result of which was that to the public eye it seemed that the administration of the Cuttack Mahals was carried on by officers from the Bengal Government virtually in accordance with the rules and regulations of that province.

On the other hand, the restrictions about sentences which were introduced by Mills in 1840 (along with the rules about *Sati* and human sacrifices) and which were left to take effect under the permission of Government worked under great hardships. For the Rajas could hardly reconcile themselves to any restrictions on their criminal jurisdiction. There was therefore constant conflict between the chiefs who wanted to continue in their enjoyment of unrestricted criminal powers as heretofore, and the Superintendent who frequently interfered in their work of administration. The matter was represented to Government by the Rajas, which led to an enquiry by Sir Henry Ricketts towards the end of 1853. The result of the report justified the complaints of the Rajas, and a resolution was passed on the 8th December, 1853 on the above report, pointing out again that it was "the duty of the Superintendent to uphold the authority of the Rajas and to protect the people against gross systematic misrule"; and that the guiding principle of non-interference should be carefully adhered to and not departed from in any instance without special sanction. The Rajas thereafter tried to evade as far as possible the interference of the Superintendent by continuing to exercise their powers.

As a necessary result of all these enactments, rules and regulations, the status of the Cuttack Mahals later on came to be judicially questioned. And all doubts were set at rest by a full-bench decision in the Calcutta High Court in 1882 in the case of Queen Empress *vs.* Keshab Mahajan* which declared that the territory of Mayurbhanj did not form part of British India. In connection with this case the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Garth also remarked that the trials of criminal cases by the Superintendents were instances of "friendly aid". This declaration of Mayurbhanj as outside British territory incidentally raised the question about the status of the other Mahals of Cuttack. This was finally settled by the decision of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in 1888 that all the Cuttack States should be treated as not forming part of British India.

It may be remembered that the actual political status of the chiefs of the Cuttack group was already formally recognized by Her Majesty in 1862 when Adoption Sanads were granted to them, in the following terms: 'Her Majesty being desirous that the Government of the several princes and Chiefs of India who now governed their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses be continued . . .'† Finally, however, in 1893, the Indian Legislature passed an Act (No. XI) which repealed all references about the Orissa Mahals in the various Regulations applying to British India, and this, in effect, made a statutory declaration that the Orissa Mahals were not part of British India.

Troubles did not, however, end with this. Already in 1880 an encroachment had been

* *Indian Law Reports*, Calcutta, 1882, Vol. VIII, p. 985.

† Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 318.

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made upon the rights of the Rajas about the question of catching elephants in their own territories, and a declaration was made that the "right to catch elephants . . . is reserved by the Government, and in future none will be permitted to catch elephants without a licence from the Superintendent." The matter, however, continued to be agitated by the Rajas till 1908 when the restrictions were modified and the Rajas were expected to consult the Political Agent in regard to "arrangements for catching elephants."

As though to counteract the effect of this statutory declaration of the status of the Cuttack group of States, the Government in 1889 arranged for a systematic and thorough investigation as to the various ways of restricting the powers of the chiefs. A judicial officer, Mr. A. E. Staley, was appointed for the purpose, and he, after holding a careful enquiry into the matter, submitted his report to the Government. The results of his recommendations have been the basic principles upon which the Sanads of 1894 stand. In submitting his report, however, Mr. Staley distinctly remarked about the illegality of the encroachments and limitations of the internal rights of the chiefs which the Government was then aiming at, thus : "It has been due to the meagreness of the terms of the first Sanads (meaning of course the treaties) that the authority of the Rajas has been continually encroached on. Is it likely that the Rajas will accept a body of strict rules instead of vague terms of their old Sanads or that they will look on the bare acknowledgment of semi-sovereignty as sufficient compensation ? The Sanad to be now conferred will limit the powers left to the Rajas by the first Sanad granted to them. The Rajas are certainly aware of the decision in the case of Mayurbhanj (*i.e.*, the High Court decision). They must also be well aware that their authority has been encroached upon by the executive authorities. From the date of cession in 1803 to the rules of 1839, the Chiefs had full judicial powers, criminal as well as civil, within their States, and it was never denied that they held powers of life and death. On the introduction of the rules of 1839* their jurisdiction was reduced, till, according to the Report of Cuttack of Mr. Ricketts of 1858, they were left without any authority whatever. The position of the Rajas is more dignified now but it is plain that the degree of interference varies with the views of successive Superintendents, and that a Raja is still liable to "have the orders which he may pass," in a particular case, "dictated to him."

The recommendations of Mr. Staley were accepted in their essential features by the Government, and Sanads were practically thrust upon the States in 1894. These Sanads are, so to say, a great landmark in the whole history of the Cuttack group of Mahals and constitute a serious encroachment on their sovereign rights. They not only deprived the chiefs of their criminal powers respecting cases concerning Europeans, heinous offences like murder, torture, robbery, homicide, but strictly restricted their ordinary criminal powers in passing sentences up to two years' imprisonment; it even seriously hampered the rights of the chiefs respecting collection of land revenue, imposition of taxes, excise, salt and opium, mining, forests, etc. Nay, the chiefs were even bound under these provisions to conform to such advice as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals might give them.

Between the year 1894 and 1908, when fresh Sanads were granted to the chiefs of the Cuttack group, the policy of the Government did not undergo any material change. In 1905, as a result of territorial redistributions, the Sambalpur group of States were all brought under the administration of the Government of Bengal. There had been already such redistribution of States and new administrative arrangements in 1832, when the South-Western Frontier Agency was created for the Mahals farther from Bengal with Ranchi as its headquarters, while in 1837 two States called Baud and Athmallik now belonging to the Cuttack group of States were transferred from the jurisdiction of the South-Western Frontier Agency (to which the States of Bonai and Gangpur also formerly belonged) to that of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa.

The result of all this reshuffling of territories from one administration to another and then to a third, was that finally different groups of States with different political status at the beginning, and even so during the period of our review, were brought under one and the same administration.

As a result, we find the status of

* The rules of 1839 were, however, never sanctioned by Government or introduced as such though the rules of 1840 as finally recast by Mr. Mills according to the directions of the Government were communicated to the Rajas for information.

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group (*i. e.*, the Sambalpur Garhjat Mahals) originally enjoying very little political rights, gradually rising to very nearly complete internal sovereignty, while the rights and privileges of the other group (*i. e.*, the Cuttack group) were step by step circumscribed.

Besides Gangpur and Bonai, two other States originally belonging to the Chota Nagpur group, namely Seraikhela and Kharsawan, were also treated as mere zamindaris and their status was at one time such that the Lieutenant-Governor used to regard them as "private property to which any adopted son, if adopted in conformity with law and family, or other local custom, having the force of law would have an unquestionable right to succeed." * Hence Adoption Sanads which were originally restricted to sovereign chiefs were withheld from them by the Government. But as a result of redistribution of territories Seraikhela and Kharsawan were added to the Orissa Mahals some time after 1905 when the Sambalpur group had already been amalgamated with them. As a consequence the position of Seraikhela and Kharsawan gradually improved, and what is still more, even Adoption Sanads were granted to them in 1915 in order to place them on the same level as the others.

The criminal powers at present enjoyed by the Sambalpur group are practically unlimited excepting on questions of capital punishments which only require Government sanction. Their Sanads of 1867, again, contain less definite provisions for interference by the political authorities in the administration of their States, than in the case of the other Orissa Mahals.

Some slight features that distinguish the Sanads of the Cuttack group of Mahals of 1908 (because as regards terms and privileges the clauses are nearly the same as those of 1894) are that the criminal powers of the Rajas were made personal and the Government reserved their discretionary authority as regards extension of those powers. It was felt perhaps that the extension of powers as a personal privilege would be an incentive to administrative improvement.

The granting of the Sanads of 1908 to the Cuttack Mahals was made the occasion of a speech by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, in a Durbar held in Cuttack on the 17th November. The spirit of the whole speech exposed the policy of the Government towards the Orissa States in its true colours. The principal propositions that emerged out of Sir Andrew Fraser's speech were :

1. That the British power maintains the rulers on the *gadi*, and prevents them from being set aside by their subjects ;
2. That this involves an obligation on the British authorities to secure to the State subjects good government ;
3. That this obligation necessitates consultation by the Rajas of the views of British political officers, and acting in accordance therewith ;
4. That at the same time the Rajas should be primarily responsible for administering their States ;
5. That the Political Agent should "go about among the people and see what they were thinking, and understand something of the relations on which they stood with their chief" ;
6. That the policy of the Government is to "allow" the chiefs as much power as is consistent with the well-being of the States : and
7. That "it is not the intention of the policy of the Government to withhold plenary powers of administration of both civil and criminal justice from any Feudatory Chief when the resources of the State and the character of the chief are such as to indicate that he is capable of maintaining an administration calculated to meet the progressive demand of the surrounding British territory."

From the above it seems the entire rule of conduct of the British political authorities towards the States of Orissa, has in effect been based on the incorrect assumption in the first proposition: "The British power maintains the rulers on the *gadi*, and prevents them from being set aside by their subjects." Nay, the subjection and dependence of the States are sought to be emphasized on every possible occasion.

To turn this 'political practice' into a regular system, a Manual of the Feudatory States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur has been prepared by the Government in 1917, and is practically an elaboration of the Sanads

* Report (letter no. 522) of Sir J. P. Grant (29th November), to the Government of India on the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, 26th July, about the status of the Indian Princes.

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under which the powers of the rulers are strictly regulated.

The opinion of Sir William Ridgeway on the question of the Government's right to interfere in internal affairs of these States may be usefully quoted here: "It will be seen that both the Hon'ble Members (Sir Henry Maine and Sir Arthur Hobhouse) based their opinions on the fact that we had several times legislated for the Mahals between 1805 and 1850. If it had not been for this legislation, there can be little doubt that both the Hon'ble Members would have accepted our view that the Mahals are not British territory. I invite particular attention to the remarks on the inconsistency of our predecessors in entering into agreements with the Chief and then legislating for them. We may well hesitate before we accept as irrevocable the policy probably inadvertently imposed upon us by a few officious and short-sighted doings of a bygone legislature. It should be remembered that in those days scanty attention was paid to the political side of a question; our records amply prove this. Things were done more haphazard than they are now, and it is most probable that this department, occupied as it was with wars and conquests, would have been consulted before legislation of this kind was undertaken."*

* Note on the Status of Orissa Mahals, 1883: by Col. Sir William Ridgeway.

Comment and Criticism

[*This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the orginal contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.*—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Influence of Physical features upon Indian History

Mr. N. K. Bhattasali has come forward with a thundering article on the above subject in the August number of *The Modern Review*. It has been held by all historians that the physical features of India are responsible for some of the events of Indian history and explain many characteristic features of the same. Mr. Bhattasali's ostensible object is to disprove this view, but as that is not a feasible task, he has suited his own convenience by stating the *purva paksha* as follows:

"It has been sought to be made out that we happen to live in such a luckless country that natural forces are at work emasculating us and we are destined from age to age to bow down before each succeeding conqueror."

To my knowledge, such a theory has never been put forward by any Indian historian, and can only be found in propagandist literature of the avowed enemies of India. Mr. Bhattasali has done me the honour of quoting a passage from my matriculation text-book on Indian history, but I make bold to say that it contains nothing to substantiate the charge. After referring to the climate and natural wealth of India I remarked: "But it made the people less hardy and active than the mountaineers of the colder regions of the north, who were tempted by the wealth of India and often made an easy conquest of it." Now would Mr. Bhattasali challenge the accuracy of any of the three following statements contained in the above?

(1) Indians were less hardy than the mountaineers of the colder regions of the north.
(2) These were tempted by the wealth of India.
(3) They hardly ever found much difficulty in defeating the Indians.

Mr. Bhattasali has discussed at length the general question whether the people of India were less hardy than the average nations of the earth? This is, however, beside the point. The only question at issue is whether an average Indian is less hardy than a mountaineer of the colder regions of the north. Any one with some knowledge of the people of Turkestan, or of the hilly country immediately to the north-west of India will not hesitate to give an affirmative reply.

Mr. Bhattasali has sought to prove the contrary by an elaborate examination of the hard fight which the Indians of all ages put up against their conquerors. But even assuming that the fight was always a hard one, it does not necessarily prove that the people were hardy. Courage and patriotism may often impel a people to oppose a brave resistance to more hardy invaders. Bravery and courage are not the same thing as hardiness.

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as Mr. Bhattasali supposes—the former being a mental and the latter a physical quality.

As to the second statement above, no remark has been made by Mr. Bhattasali and I take it that he accepts it as a correct statement of facts.

As to the third statement, Mr. Bhattasali has again confused the issues by bringing in the story of conquests by Alexander and Darius. Here again the arguments must be confined to the mountaineers of the north, and I hope Mr. Bhattasali will admit that the Sakas, the Kushanas, the Hunas and the Turks conquered the country without much difficulty. The Hunas were resisted by Skandagupta for a time but as we have got only a casual reference to it in an official record, there is no reason to regard it as of very great importance when we remember the catastrophe which soon befell the Gupta Empire.

The numerous victorious campaigns of Sabuktegin and Sultan Mahmud tell their own tale, and in spite of the temporary success of Prithviraja a decisive and crushing defeat followed within a year. I hope the readers would now judge whether I was right in saying that these mountaineers 'often made an easy conquest' of India.

Mr. Bhattasali has throughout assumed that I have ascribed the defeat of the Indians merely to their want of physical vigour. Far from this being the case, I believe that I was the first to emphasize that it is not so much the want of vigour as the want of generalship that explains the repeated defeats of the Indians in the hands of the Muhammadan conquerors. The following passage occurs in the same matriculation text-book which has been the subject of attack by Mr. Bhattasali :

"It is generally supposed that the Indians, enervated by the climate of the plains, were no match for the hardy mountaineers from the north-west. This is perhaps true to a certain extent, but a careful examination of the facts of history shows that the Indian army owed its defeats not so much to the lack of courage and vigour in individual soldiers, as to a hopeless deficiency in generalship and military tactics."

It will be seen that Mr. Bhattasali has merely repeated my own observations. I may mention in passing that Mr. Bhattasali's remarks about the fight between Indians and Greeks are merely an echo of what I emphasized, probably for the first time, in my book "Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization" about Alexander and Puru (p. 129), and about Seleucus and Chandragupta (pp. 133-4).

Next I come to my statement that 'the vast area of the country and its lofty hills and wide rivers, made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation.'

Mr. Bhattasali's remarks on this statement are very amusing. He refers to 'heptarchy' in Britain, which had no lofty hills and wide rivers," and adds a note of admiration after this! But does my statement mean that 'lofty hills and wide rivers' are the only causes of disunion, so that their absence must mean a united country? Then Mr. Bhattasali refers to the various countries which make up 'Europe minus Russia' and says, "If there is nothing objectionable or unusual in the spectacle of these countries falling asunder and maintaining independent existences and even fighting with one another, I wonder, why India should be considered different."

Now here Mr. Bhattasali at least admits the fact I have stated above. As to its being objectionable or not, a historian has nothing to do with it. Only the politicians who are avowed enemies of India agree with Mr. Bhattasali in pointing out that India has as much chance of being one united independent state as Europe minus Russia with which they compare it.

Some of the dogmatic remarks of Mr. Bhattasali would have been offensive if they were not ridiculously absurd. Take for instance, his *ipse dixit*, "Dr. Majumdar's statement that the coast of India has good harbours, is inaccurate." I should request Mr. Bhattasali to study that little book called the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea." By an irony of fate the same number of *The Modern Review* which contains his article also publishes an interesting note on this subject on pp. 234-35. Mr. Bhattasali might well profit by it.

This note is already long enough and I do not propose to make it longer still by further comments on the many half-truths or inaccuracies with which Mr. Bhattasali's article abounds.

R. C. Majumdar

Editor's Note

The question of the influence of geographical environment on man's physical, psychic, and social evolution, like the allied question of the influence of race, has been the subject of so much loose thought, tainted, in addition, by national prejudice, that we offer no apology for not adding our own incompetent share to the sufficiently large and mischievous volume of inexpert opinion already current. At the same time, we do not think we should be advancing any claim for oracular superiority for ourselves, if we were to confess our feeling that, to our mind, neither Dr. Majumdar nor Mr. Bhattasali seems to have taken the discussion to that plane of scientific exactitude, in which alone any contribution of real and permanent value can be expected to be made to the subject. Dr. Majumdar's description, particularly, of the Sakas, the Kushanas, the Hunas, and the Turks as hardy mountaineers of the North hardly suggests a specialist's knowlede of the habitat of these peoples and the geographical features of the Central Asiatic background of Indian history. But we might be mistaken about the exact shade of Dr. Majumdar's meaning and we should not like to do him any injustice.

But there is no harm, at any rate, in stating that the whole problem is one for experts—Biologists, Geographers and Anthropologists, to solve, and the less a purely literary historian meddled with it, the better it would be for his own reputation and the interests of science. We know, of course, that he does not maltreat truth out of set purpose. He does it sometimes in sheer ignorance of the difficulties and the complexities of the subject which tempts him to generalizations of excessive simplicity, and more often, as a matter of mere routine which requires that a text-book of history should contain in its introduction some platitudes about the geographical features of the country and their influence on the character and institutions of its inhabitants.

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Fortunately for historical science, competent historians of today are weaning themselves more and more from this pernicious legacy of the past. They are growing daily more sceptical of the vague ideas, disputable "laws," and ponderous pontifical pronouncements which formerly writers like Bodin or Taine advanced. They are coming to realize that these delicate questions cannot be solved by intuition. In a way all this has been for the good. But in another disastrous. The Bodins, the Montesquieus and the Taines, however mistaken and premature their conclusions might be, had at least acute minds and were, in their own light, conscientious. They took good care that their views should not be secondhand rehashing of third-rate ideas. That in itself was something to prize. The abdication of the general thinker in favour of the specialist in this field has simply let loose the pandemonium of amateur thought upon us.

To take but one instance—a very widely held opinion which has found a glorious mummification in the ordinary school text-book—that of the effect of climate on the physical vigour of men, is it not generally believed that heat has an enervating effect on the human constitution? Yet we find M. Lucien Febvre writing in his fine book on the influence of geographical factors on history: "For a long time general considerations were used, sometimes abused, on the tonicity of different climates. Heat debilitates, enervates and makes the human organization languid. Cold renders it duller, slower, but also more robust and concentrated. Commonplaces have been developed a thousand times since Bodin, who stated them boldly, and have been refuted also a thousand times by the most elementary facts." The ambition of scholars like M. Febvre is to go further both in extent and depth, and to free their subject from the grip of popular beliefs disguised in pseudo-scientific garbs.

Not from all men, of course, is this intellectual asceticism to be expected. But we do not want Indian scholars who write histories for our schools and colleges to be quite ordinary men. They owe it as a duty to themselves and to their readers, and in a country ruled by foreigners, where persistent attempts are being made every day to make us believe and acquiesce in our national inferiority, they owe it doubly as a duty to their country, to write with a sense of responsibility, and, if they cannot help science by discovering the truth themselves, not at least to help our rulers by spreading half-truths which nobody takes seriously as science and are very harmful in their practical implication. That is all we would ask not only Dr. Majumdar, but all Indian scholars and historians in all humility to remember.—Editor, *M. R.*

Economics of Rural Bengal

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

The Bengal Banking Committee have produced a useful report, giving us facts and figures in place of theories and conjectures with which economists in Bengal had so long to be satisfied. For them the Census Report for 1921, the Settlement Reports of the various districts and the Report of the Agricultural Commission are the main sources of information, but all of these are not of equal value, nor are they drawn up with the same care. In any case, some of them are now quite out of date. Information gleaned from them without much discrimination fails to give a true picture of Bengal as she is today. The Bengal Banking Committee have supplemented the available literature with intensive village surveys and the evidence of officials and non-officials with considerable rural experience. Unfortunately, there seems to be a desire on the part of the Committee to represent the economic condition of Bengal as better than it is in reality. In chapter II on the "Economic Features of Bengal," for instance, the cost of production of cleaned rice is put down at the unduly low figure of Rs. 47 per acre, entirely omitting the cost of manufacturing cleaned rice from paddy. Not only this, the profit per acre of paddy land as estimated by the Committee cannot be reconciled with their own estimates of the value of the produce, *viz.*, Rs. 82-2 and of the cost, *viz.*, Rs. 47, for obviously the profit then becomes Rs. 35-2 and not Rs. 37 as arrived at in the Report. As rice is the principal crop in Bengal representing Rs. 170 crores out of a total annual value of Rs. 244 crores for all the crops, it is no wonder that this manipulation of figures for rice has led to too rosy a picture of the economic condition of Bengal.

Nor is this all. The year 1928-29, which has been chosen for giving the areas under different crops, is not an average year. If the Committee had selected the year 1927-28 instead, they would have found that the area in the case of almost every crop less. A true estimate can be obtained only by averaging the figures for a number of years. Thus the per capita surplus of Rs. 6 arrived at by the Committee is purely illusory. It did not occur to them that the failure of Bengali debtors to repay their debts punctually might not be due to their want of conscience in the matter, as suggested in the Report, but to their scanty and precarious income.

In the next chapter on "Existing credit Agencies," there seems to be a disposition to shield Europeans in their vested monopolies. The Committee quote figures to show that the Bengal Circle of the Imperial Bank made Cash Credit advances to Europeans only to an aggregate of Rs. 7.23 crores and to Indians amounting to Rs. 3·68 crores only, whereas it had deposits on the same date from Europeans totalling Rs 3·96 crores only, and from Indians as much as Rs. 7.53 crores. If it is argued that Europeans receive twice the Cash Credit advances granted to Indians because they have better credit than Indians, why is it then that the former deposit only half the amount deposited by the latter? The Committee have failed in their obvious duty in not pursuing the figures to their logical conclusion.

It is equally surprising that there is no word

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from them about the policy of exclusiveness followed by the European Exchange Banks of Calcutta. For the Committee could not but be aware of their intrigue for excluding the Punjab National Bank from the Clearing House. Their systematic exclusion of Indian employees from positions of trust and responsibility does not elicit any comment from the Committee. This caste system in European Banks and Agency Houses is far more disastrous to Bengal in its social and economic consequences than the same system obtaining among Hindus, which has been condemned in the previous chapter, although it is admittedly less vigorous in Bengal than elsewhere, and is also less serious now than even twenty years ago. The rest of the chapter gives much original and detailed information on new subjects, *e. g.*, Private Banks, and even on old subjects such as Post Offices.

Probably one of the most valuable chapters in the Report is the next chapter on Agricultural Indebtedness. The previous work on the subject has been critically examined and an attempt has been made to estimate the indebtedness for the whole of the Presidency from the figures obtained from Co-operative societies and registration offices. One is surprised to find, however, that not much use has been made of the figures obtained by intensive economic surveys of 100 villages, undertaken at the instance of the Committee. But the estimate of Rs. 100 crores finally arrived at in the Report seems to be substantially correct. The reasons assigned for indebtedness are also sound, although they often run counter to official notions, such as those about extravagance in litigation and social ceremonies. The following brief chapter on "Short-term and Intermediate Agricultural Credit" is padded with some irrelevant matter such as general distribution of rainfall (paragraph 109) and shows signs of undue haste. In this chapter also no use has apparently been made of family budgets obtained by intensive village surveys. It should not be overlooked that the Jail Regulations and the Jessore Settlement Report can at best provide only indirect evidence. Strangely enough, the interest on loans has not been included in the list of expenses. The estimate of short and intermediate loans of Rs. 96 crores is somewhat inconsistent with the estimate of total debt of Rs. 100 crores arrived at in the previous chapter. In any case this figure is much too high. for the agriculturist has some capital of his own, and is not financed entirely by borrowed money as the Committee seem to imagine. In fact, in chapter 7, the amount of short-term and intermediate loans is estimated at Rs. 38 crores only, which seems to be nearer the truth.

Curiously enough, the definitions of short-term and intermediate credit are deferred till the next chapter on "Long-term Agricultural Credit" This is a carefully written chapter and throws much new light on an old problem. The hopeless condition of agriculture in Bengal is pointedly brought out in the frequency table for the sizes of plots in a village in the Bogra district. Nearly one-fifth of the plots have an area of less than $\frac{1}{20}$ of an acre and nearly one-sixth have an area between $\frac{1}{20}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of an acre. All talks about agricultural improvement must be futile until such fragmentation can be stopped. The recommendations about co-operative land mortgage banks and debentures are detailed and well-considered. In fact they are the only measures of relief possible under the present circumstances.

In the subsequent chapter on the "Marketing of Agricultural Produce" licensed warehouses on the American plan and a properly organized futures market for jute are recommended, but until traders choose to discard their present informal ways, and adopt modern commercial methods, it is idle to expect any appreciable improvement in trade organization. In the following chapter on "Organization of Internal Trade," the main features are described, the only recommendation being about the development of the hire-purchase system for middle-class men in Calcutta to enable them to acquire houses and other properties.

A special type of industrial banks for long-term advances to middle-sized and large industries is proposed in the next chapter on "Industrial Credit." Except a vague mention of State assistance, without, however, any reference to State control, there is nothing here to explain how the banks will be able to attract a sufficient volume of long-term funds, or spread the risks of investments in a province where industries are not sufficiently diversified, or exercise sufficient but not excessive control over the industries to be financed by them. The problem of industrial credit is a very difficult problem and it will be unwise to set up a rigid system. Even countries with organized industries, like England and Germany, are constantly revising their methods of industrial finance.

The following chapter on "Remittance Facilities and Credit Instruments" suggests a wider use of trade acceptances by prescribing a standard form in vernacular and a lower scale of stamp duty on bills. These proposals are not new and the difficulties cannot disappear merely with the reiteration of the proposals.

There is only one chapter in the third part of the Report, but it is a long chapter and entirely devoted to "Co-operation." Most of the members of the Committee were connected with the co-operative movement here in some way or other, but the conclusions are somewhat disappointing. The position of the co-operative societies in Bengal as compared to that in the rest of India is not described. But the table below shows that although the societies are more numerous here, they command fewer members and less funds :—

Comparative Statistics of Co-operative Societies for 1927-28.

Particulars	Bengal	Br. India	India including Indian States
Number of Societies per 100,000 inhabitants	38·7	33.5	34.4
Number of members of primary societies per 1,000 inhabitants	12·9	13·3	13·5
Working capital in annas per head of population	38	46	44

The figures above tend to show that quality has been sacrificed to quantity. The condition of Agricultural Credit Societies, which form by far the most predominant section of the movement,

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is clearly revealed in the table of audit classification of Rural Societies quoted in the Report. The table itself has not been drawn up with care. In the last column Societies not yet ripe for audit have been omitted for the first two years but included for the last three years. "C" Class Societies are spoken of as "normal societies" but they are officially defined as Societies "in which the general condition is promising but members are in arrears, and the general working is not satisfactory and in which more supervision is necessary." The Committee do not apparently realize that the "C", "D", and "E" Societies are multiplying at a much faster rate than "A" and "B" Societies. The growing percentage of overdues has not also received sufficient consideration at their hands.

The description of the Purchase, and Purchase and Sale Societies is inaccurate and misleading. The table of figures quoted to show the working of Jute Sale Societies indicates a trading profit of Rs. 67,232 but the Committee have refrained from mentioning the figures giving the results of net working. It is true that they have not been able to conceal the fact of heavy losses completely, but they have failed in their obvious duty of showing the true position. Full details about the working of Jute Sale Societies are not separately available in the published reports of the Co-operative Department. But the following summary table shows that the entire paid-up capital and reserve fund of all the Purchase, and Purchase and Sale Societies in Bengal, (including Jute Sale Societies) have been lost during the last three years :

Year	Paid-up capital Rs.	Reserve Fund Rs.	Net loss for the year. Rs.
1926-27	3,22,920	28,897	54,918
1927-28	4,09,071	50,713	4,20,093
1928-29	5,68,641	58,802	1,84,579

The position revealed is really serious and calls for immediate action.

The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Society, which is held out as "the most conspicuous example of a production and sale society" thrives, because of the monopoly of the produce and does not furnish a proper model for the working of such societies. The reasons why Artisans' Societies have degenerated into purely Credit Societies have not been analysed. Concessions proposed by the Agricultural Commission have been recommended for co-operative societies in Bengal, but the fact that there has been some alteration in the situation since the publication of the Report of the Commission has been ignored. For instance, with the growing deficit in the Post Office, it is not difficult to recommend a rebate of 75 per cent in the money order commission on the remittance of funds between Primary Societies, for that must lead to still higher rates for postal services, for the public, high as they are already. It is surprising to note that the Provincial Co-operative Bank has not yet been able to command sufficient credit in the Calcutta Money Market to be trusted with clean advances from the Imperial Bank.

The recommendations about registration of money-lenders will fail to achieve their purpose ; there are, as there must be, far too many loopholes for evasion. It is curious that the Committee having lawyers as their members have entirely misapprehended the nature of equitable mortgages and recommended their registration.

The next chapter on "Indigenous Banks and Bankers" is prefaced with a learned historical account dating from the Vedic age. The description of indigenous banking at the present time is careful and accurate. The recommendations made for reform, although not heroic, cannot be improved upon. Unfortunately, here also it is proposed to extend equitable mortgages outside Calcutta, "provided the interest of second and subsequent mortgages are safeguarded by the registration of equitable mortgages !"

This is followed by a very short chapter on "Other Indigenous Credit Agencies." The next chapter on "Loan Offices" is probably the best written chapter in the whole of the Report. It is full of detailed information and bears ample evidence of reasoned analysis. The recommendations are sound. But at the present time loan offices are passing through such a severe financial crisis that unless some relief is immediately forthcoming, many of them will not be in existence to profit by the proposed measures of reform. The next two chapters deal with sundry matters and call for no special remark. The Committee are in error in supposing that the cheque habit is confined to Anglo-Saxon countries. This might be true for the years before the War, but at the present time cheques are being increasingly used in Germany, so much so that German banking has been obliged to adopt more and more the methods and technique of English deposit banking.

To sum up, the report fulfills its purpose of giving a systematic description of the economics of rural Bengal, in spite of the bias pointed out above. The most serious defect, however, is that it shows signs of undue haste, leading to some errors in conclusions and a few discrepancies in statements made in different chapters. The Committee have relied more on available literature than on the facts obtained from intensive village surveys and other information, which might have been secured from official sources, *e. g.*, income tax and co-operative departments. There should be some difference between the report of an officer specially deputed for the purpose and that of a Committee of eight persons representing diverse interests in Bengal.*

* Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30. Vol. I, Report. Calcutta, 1930.

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The Martial Races of India

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Part II

I

THE first part of this article, published in *The Modern Review* for July 1930, was more in the nature of a reconnaissance than an attack on the main position of the theory of the martial races of India. It attempted nothing more than to give an exposition of the theory, as far as possible in the words of the brass-hats themselves, and in all its pristine and uncomplimentary glory, uncomplimentary to ourselves that is, and to point out in this connection certain features of the Indian Army arising out of its class composition which seemed to furnish a key to the backshop of military thought in these matters. With the knowledge thus gained of the hinterland of the military mind, or, if a psycho-analyst will forgive a layman's unorthodox but expressive phrase-making, of its sub-conscious political *libido*, we can now turn to the question of the composition of the Indian Army and its possible relation to a theory or fact of the martial races of India, which is the main question before us.

Now, the elements of the problem are not really so simple as the Simon Commission would have us believe. Here is the Indian Army before you, composed more than 60 per cent of Punjabis and Borderers, 20 per cent of hillmen, and less than 20 per cent of the most select tribes and castes from the rest of India. Millions and millions of her teeming population, thousands of square miles of her wide area, do not furnish a single soldier to it. To what can this amazing fact be due if not to the still more amazing fact that out of the three hundred millions of her inhabitants, the number which even by any stretch of imagination can be deemed fit material for soldiers is so ridiculously low, and even this number cannot be drawn in equal proportions from the whole of India?

"In contrast, says the Simon Report, with the self-governing Dominions and in contrast with almost the whole of the rest of the world, India presents to an observer an astonishing admixture not only of competing religions and rival races, but races of widely different military capacity. The contrast between areas and races in India that take to soldiering and those that do not has no counterpart in Europe. Whereas the most virile of the so-called martial races provide fine fighting material, other communities and areas in India do not furnish a single man for the Regular Army."*

The very simplicity of the demonstration takes one quite by storm!

But of course it is wholly deceptive. "Affected simplicity is a sort of delicate imposture," said the over-sophisticated La Rochefoucauld. We do not know if any of the seven Statutory Commissioners subscribes to that subtle dictum. It deserves at any rate to be inscribed as a motto on the title-page of their report. There is, on every one of its pages, that authentic stamp of a juggler's eloquence, whose suggestion of an almost cloying blandness at times repels us so in the smiling portraits of Sir John Simon. But it is possible to overshoot the mark of pursuasiveness.

And that is exactly what has happened here. The fatal defect of the argument of the Simon Commission with regard to the military capacity of India lies in its assumption of the very thing which has got to be proved, the assumption, that is to say, that the Indian Army, as it is recruited and organized by the British authorities today, represent the true military potentialities of India. This is a point upon which, we know, the Simon Commission holds rather pronounced views. It has nothing but contempt for the idea that policy had anything to do with the composition of the Indian Army, and it would point to the figures of war time recruiting in support of that contention.

What relation the war efforts of different parts of Inida bore to their subsequent representation on the Indian Army we shall have occasion to discuss in its proper place. The only thing which we want to emphasize here is that the question whether the Indian Army of

* Simon Report, Vol. I., p. 96.

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today serves as an adequate index to the military capacities of the different parts and peoples of India, is not an issue which can be settled by mere argument and counter-argument. It is a question, we should say, not of opinion and law, but of fact.

The composition of the Indian Army has never remained static. It has changed widely from period to period, so that peoples and areas which once were predominant in it, no longer furnish soldiers to its ranks, while other areas and peoples which formerly gave it few or no recruits at all, have come now to supply the bulk of its fighting personnel. The significant thing to note about these changes is that they have never been slow and unconscious, as we might naturally expect transformations following the law of supply and demand and the growth and decline of military capacity to be, but always abrupt and deliberate, and almost invariably the result of a specific Government order. A glance at the following table will show that the decisive changes in the composition of the Indian Army since 1856—which taken as a whole tend towards an increasing "Punjabization" and barbarization of the Indian Army—have centred about three epochs: 1856-1858; 1883-1893; 1919-1930.

TABLE I

Showing the approximate proportion of soldiers furnished to the Indian Army by different parts of India at different epochs and illustrating the changes of composition of the Indian Army from 1858 to 1930. The figures given are mainly based on the proportions in the Indian infantry.

	1856	1858	1883	1893	1905	1919	1930
I Punjab, N-W. F., Kashmir	less than 10 p.c. (1)	47 p.c.	48 p.c.	53 p.c.	47 p.c. (3)	46 p.c.	58.5 p.c.
II Nepal, Garhwal, Kumaon	negligible (1)	6 p.c.	17 p.c.	24 p.c.	15 p.c. (3)	14.8 p.c.	22 p.c.
III Northern India excluding I & II.	not less than 90 p.c. (1)	47 p.c.	35 p.c.	23 p.c.	22 p.c.	25.5 p.c.	11 p.c.
IV South India	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2	16 p.c.	12 p.c.	5.5 p.c.
V Burma	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	1.7 p.c.	3 p.c.

Each of these three epochs corresponds to a period of crisis or reorganization of the Indian Army in which the whole question of its composition and organization came in for a thorough and searching enquiry, as a result of which definite principles were laid down and Government orders embodying them issued.

What these principles were, we cannot forestall our conclusions by explaining at this point. But whatever their nature, it is not really necessary to confine oneself to conjectures and hypotheses about it. The facts connected with each stage of the change are there—embedded in the innumerable official and non-official publications, which preserve, like geological beds treasuring their fossils, layer upon layer according to their dates, the rich deposits left behind by the ebbs and flows, the successive changes of wind, and the edifying somersaults of military opinion.

It is a vast but fascinating subject, and an indispensable preliminary to a study of the man-power question in India. No one who wants to understand the true relation of the composition of the British-organized Indian Army to the real military potentialities

(1) Exact figures are not available for the pre-Mutiny Army. But the proportion given may be accepted as substantially correct.

(2) The columns under 1856, 1858, 1883 and 1893 do not include the figures for the Bombay and Madras Armies, which, if included, would slightly reduce the proportion under the other heads.

(3) The apparent decline in the proportion of Punjabis and Gurkhas is due to the inclusion of the figures for Bombay and Madras armies now (1903) amalgamated with the Bengal Army. Actually there was an increase in the number of Punjabis and Gurkhas after the Kitchener reorganization of 1903, though of course the proportions were kept well within the margin of safety.

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of India and gauge the far-reaching repercussions of British military policy on the military capacities of Indians can afford to neglect it. It serves also as a corrective to too rigidly enunciated theory of the martial races of India. For it exhibits classes and tribes, highly eulogized for their military qualities and eagerly sought after as recruits, suddenly going out of fashion in the Indian Army, coming again into favour, and passing out finally from it under the influence of some invisible pressure. To ordinary minds and ordinary reasoning these fluctuations of fortune seem difficult of explanation upon purely military considerations. But perhaps, the *bizarrerie* of the Indian environment is limitless and unaccountable, and who can tell that the martial quality of Indians is not, like radium or uranium, an unstable element, for ever frittering away its precious substance to be converted into a baser metal ?

II

In connection with our discussion of the class company system which has to this day remained the fundamental pattern upon which all purely Indian units of the Indian Army are organized, we had occasion to note the decisive influence exercised by the Mutiny over the thoughts and plans of British military authorities in India. No less decisive was its influence in an allied sphere, on the question of the future composition of the Indian Army.

The pre-Mutiny army of Bengal was essentially a Brahmin and Khattriya army of the Ganges basin. All the three Presidency Armies of those days, as we have stated in the first part of this article, were in a sense quite representative of the military potentialities of the areas to which they belonged, though none of them could, strictly speaking, be correctly described as national armies of the provinces concerned, as there was no attempt to draw upon any but the traditional martial elements of the population. But they all got their recruits mainly from their natural areas of recruitment, *viz.*, the Madras Army from the Tamil and Telugu countries, the Bombay Army from Western India, and the Bengal Army from Bihar and the U. P. and to a very limited extent from Bengal. There was no official restriction on the enrolment of men of any particular tribe, or caste or region, provided they were otherwise eligible. Leaving aside for the moment the practice of the Bombay and the Madras Armies, the only exception to this general rule in the Bengal Army was that which applied to the Punjabis and Sikhs, who in spite of their magnificent military traditions, were not given a fair representation in the army of Northern India. Their recruitment, on the contrary, was placed under severe restrictions by an order of the Government which laid down that "the number of Punjabees in a regiment is never to exceed 200, nor are more than 100 of them to be Sikhs."* It was only the revolt of the Hindustani regiments of the Bengal Army that gave an opportunity to the Punjabis to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the British authorities. Till then they remained suspect and under a ban, and the Bengal Army on the eve of the Mutiny was mainly recruited from

Oudh, North and South Bihar, especially the latter, principally Shahabad and Bhojpur, the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and Rohilcund. † The soldiers recruited from these areas were mostly high-caste men, Brahmins of all denominations, Chhattrees, Rajputs and Ahirs.§ The average proportion in which these classes were enrolled in a regiment was: (1) Brahmins 7/24, (2) Rajputs 1/4, inferior Hindus 1/6, Musalmans, 1/6 Punjabees 1/8.**

To this army, the areas which now-a-days furnish the greatest number of soldiers—the Punjab, Nepal, N.-W. Frontier Province, the hill-tracts of Kumaon and Garhwal, Rajputana,—furnished very few recruits or none at all. There was practical exclusion in it of all the famous fighting castes of India,—Sikhs, Gurkhas, Punjabi Musalmans, Dogras, Jats, Pathans, Garhwalis, Rajputana Rajputs, Kumaonis, Gujars, all the tribes and septs, in fact, which are looked upon today as a tower of strength for the Indian Army. A single year and a single rebellion was however to change all this. The Mutiny which broke out in 1857 blew up the old Bengal Army and brought into existence a Punjabized and barbarized army, resembling the Indian Army of today in broad lines and general proportions of its composition.

Though the actual transformation of the Bengal Army did not take place till after the Mutiny, even before that catastrophe, its character was causing grave anxiety to the

* Section XXI, Cl. 7 of the General Regulations of the Bengal Army, published in 1855.
† Parliamentary Papers 1859, Vol. VIII., p. 537.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 536.
** *Ibid.*, p. 773.

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authorities. The danger which they anticipated, it should be emphasized here, did not arise out of the inefficiency and the indiscipline of the Bengal Army as some writers with the wisdom that comes after the event have asserted.* The inefficiency and indiscipline some of which really existed was due not so much to the practice of recruiting high-caste men in the Army, as to defects of organization, want of energy and capacity in the British officers, who were either too old or too much wedded to routine, and in some cases to genuine and just causes of grievance. With energetic and able commanders who could combine firmness with tact, caste was not a cause of indiscipline in the Army.† The real defects of the Sepoy Army were political. It lay in the exclusive dependence of the British Government of India on the good-will and loyalty of the Sepoy, who had gradually become imbued with the idea that he was indispensable, and in the absence of any "element of national strength on which it (the Government of India) can fall back in a country where the entire English community is but a handful of scattered strangers."§

Lord Dalhousie, whose words these are, had a clear notion of the elements of danger in the situation. As far back as 1854, he wrote to Sir Charles Wood :

"I should hope that the old jealousy of additional troops being raised by the Company would now find no place in any mind..... I cannot believe the Queen's Government would diminish the comparatively small European force in India without reference to the Government of this country.... Our Raj is safe from risks, but only while we are strong.... We must be strong not only against the enemy only, but against our population, and even against possible contingencies connected with our own native army. Again I adjure you not to allow us to be weakened in European infantry."**

The reforms that he proposed were (1) an increase of the European force in India ; (2) the raising of volunteer corps from the English residents of the country ; (3) the reduction of the Native army ; and (4) more extensive enrolment of hillmen and Gurkhas. These proposals were embodied in nine famous minutes, of which the sixth, dated the 5th Feb. 1856, was devoted to the "Native Army of Bengal Infantry." In it he proposed to strike 200 men off each Indian regiment, opportunity being taken for making additions to the Sirmur, Kumaon, Nasauri and Arakan local battalions, so as to bring them up to a strength of 800 men apiece. The three Gurkha regiments were at the same time to be increased and armed with the best rifles.*

But in the prevailing atmosphere of unsuspecting confidence in the fidelity of the Sepoy Lord Dalhousie's minutes were duly pigeon-holed by the Home authorities, and his term of office drew to a close. Next year Lord Canning came out to India as Governor-General. Before he would take any steps towards counteracting the danger, the storm cloud of the Mutiny burst over India and automatically brought about a change in the composition of the army.

The gap created by the revolt of the Hindustani regiments were at once filled up by Sikhs and other Punjabis, and hillmen eager for revenge and for the loot of the cities of Hindustan. They had all been conquered and subjugated by the British with the help of the Hindustani soldiers, and in their ignorance, they regarded the Hindustanis rather than the handful of British as their real enemies. This enmity was magnificently exploited by the British authorities in suppressing the Mutiny. When the news of the enlistment of Gurkhas reached Lord Dalhousie in England he expressed great satisfaction and wrote to a friend : "Against the Oude Sepoys they may confidently be expected to fight like devils."† And after the Mutiny, General Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff of the Indian Army, wrote about the Sikhs :

"It was not because they loved us, but because they hated Hindustan and hated the Bengal Army that the Sikhs had flocked to our standard instead of seeking the opportunity to strike again for their freedom.

They wanted to revenge themselves and to gain riches by the plunder of Hindustani cities. They were not attracted by mere daily pay, it was rather the prospect of wholesale plunder and stamping on the heads of their enemies. In short we turned to profit the *esprit de corps* of the old Khalsa army of Ranjit Singh in the manner which for a time would most effectually bind the Sikhs

* Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood *The Revolt in Hindustan 1857-59*, p. 7 ; Sir John Fortescue—*The History of the British Army*, Vol. XIII, p. 238 ff.

† See General Mansfield's remarks on the influence of Caste in Peel Report 1859. Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, p. 96.

§ Letter dtd. 13th Sept. 1854, quoted in Lee-Warner—*Life of Lord Dalhousie*, Vol. II., p. 275.

** Letter dated Aug. 15. 1854 quoted in *Ibid.* pp. 274-275.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 276-282.

† Baird—*Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie*, p. 85.

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to us as long as the active service against their old enemies may last."*

The relations thus established were in fact to last much longer. The services rendered by the Sikhs and Gurkhas during the Mutiny were not forgotten and henceforward the Punjab and Nepal had the place of honour in the Indian Army.

III.

The actual extent of the "Punjabization" and barbarization of the Army of Northern India at the close of the Mutiny is not difficult to ascertain. Describing the composition of the Bengal Army in 1858, Lord Canning wrote :

Exclusive of the disarmed corps, the Bengal Army now amounts to about 80,000 men, and if the militarily organized police be included, it amounts to about 130,000 men : that is, some 11,000 men more than at the time of the outbreak at Meerut ; of these 130,000 men, about 75,000 are Punjabees ; and of the Punjabees probably 23,000 are Sikhs. The difference between our position in 1857 and in 1858 is that there is now a larger native force, and that the bulk of it, instead of being drawn from Oude, is drawn from the Punjab."†

The proportions of the various classes in the Army (excluding the militarily organized police) on April 1, 1858 are shown in greater detail in the following table which has been prepared from a return of castes and tribes submitted by the Adjutant-General's office on August 13, 1858 :

TABLE II.

Proportions of Various Castes and Tribes in the Bengal Army in 1858.

Punjabis		Hindustanis		Hillmen	
Sikhs	10,263	Brahmins	8,526	Gurkhas and other hillmen,	4,946
Punjabi Musalmans	5,684	Rajputs	10,362		
Other Punjabis	18,374	Other Hindustanis	2,153		
Afghans etc.	160	Hindustani Musalmans	4,768		
		Classes as a rule not enlisted before the Mutiny :			
		Mers and Merats	1,481		
		Christians	572		
		Low-caste Hindus	8,818		
		Bhils & other predatory tribes	1,026		
	34,481		37,706		4,946
				Total classed	77,133
				unclassed	2,920
				Total	80,053

This gives an approximate percentage of 47 to the Punjabis and Northerners in the Army which quelled the Mutiny, and it is interesting to compare this figure with those of later and earlier years. The pre-Mutiny proportion was certainly not more than 10 per cent. The pre-war (1914) proportion was 47 per cent, the same that is to say as that for 1858 ; while the proportion for 1930 is 58 per cent. So far, therefore, as the actual "Punjabization" was concerned, the period of the Mutiny is the most decisive epoch in the process, the seventy years that have followed bringing only an actual increase of 11 per cent in the proportion, and of course a theory to round off the practice. That the theory did not immediately spring forth full grown and in full panopoly, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, that it did not come till twenty years later, may cause some surprise to many, but it was no more than natural. To the officers who shrieked for the Punjabization and barbarization of the Indian Army immediatcly after the Mutiny that catastrophe was too recent and too harrowing an experience for them to hide their feelings about it. Cool theorizing might do for quieter times. What they did then was to send forth a wail of suspicion and disillusionment.

* Appendix to the Minutes of Evidence, *Peel Report* 1859, p. 97. Cf. also General Hancock's evidence before the Peel Commission : "The feeling of the Punjabees and the heart with which they served us, was partly owing to this sort of national or *quasi*-national feeling on the part of the Punjabees against the Hindustanee people ; they had no compunction in plundering their cities and working against them." *Ibid.*, Evidence, p. 242.

† *Ibid.*, p. 58.

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One of the most distinguished of these officers wrote :

"I am strongly of opinion that recruiting should cease in Oude, the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, in Shahabad and Bhojpur, and in Rohilcund and Bundelcund, that no soldiers from these districts should remain in the regular army of Bengal.

That recruiting from the Punjab Seiks, Punjabee Mussalmans, hill tribes of Kamaon, Ghurwal, Sirmoor, Bussaihir, Chumba, Lahool, the Dogras of the lower Cashmere hills, men from the hills of Muree, the Hazarah hills, even the wilder tribes of Kohat, Khyberees, Mohmands and the hillmen of Damun Koh, the tribes that herd cattle on the Punjab rivers, the Jats of Kausi Kissat, the Daud Pootras of Bhawalpur, the inhabitants of the Shekawat country, the Rajpoots of Rajpootana, the Beloches—all might be entertained for the regular army.

No more Brahmins, no more Mussalmans of Hindustan *proper* to be entertained in the Regular native force."*

This pasage is taken from the evidence of General Hearsey, the Commander of the Presidency Division, before the Peel Commission which was making a searching enquiry into the question "whether there were any races, tribes, or castes hitherto neglected, from which recruits might with advantage be drawn for the infantry of the Bengal Army," and we already hear in it the splendid roll-call of names of the British-patronized fighting castes of India. No less straightforward was the evidence of other military officers. In summarizing the recommendations of fourteen high military officers of the Indian Army, including the Commander-in-Chief, that recruitment for the Bengal Army should be extended to Rajputs of Rajputna, Gujars, Jats, Ranghars, Mahrattas, Muhamadans of the Punjab, Pathans of the Border tribes, Mewatis, Burmans, Karens and others' Colonel Durand, the Agent to the Governor-General, wrote : "There was no difference of opinion as to extending enlistment over such a comparatively little worked fields as the foregoing." The point is well worth noting. The military authorities in India have never been quite averse to taking a leap in the dark where only the military quality of a particular class of recruits was concerned. But as regards its political reliability, that was a question which in their opinion did not permit of the hazards of experimentation.

IV

In spite of these emphatically stated opinions, however, there was no attempt in the post-Mutiny reorganization to give to Punjabis a higher ratio in the Indian Army than what they had already come to hold automatically owing to the destruction of the greater part of the Sepoy army in the Mutiny ; and for reasons which have to this day remained one of the fundamental principles of the recruiting policy of the Indian Army.

This may, without any attempt at putting too fine a point on the matter, be described as the principle of treating all Indians as potential enemies. In official language it was described in more euphemestic language as the theory of equilibrium between the different races and regions that furnished the recruits to the Army. The earliest and the most strident note on this subject was struck by one of the very officers who urged the case for Punjabization before the Peel Commission. Major-General Sydney Cotton, Commanding the Peshawar Division, wrote to General Mansfield :

"The newly raised troops of the Peshawar and Mooltan frontiers, and of the adjacent countries in and bordering on our territory, who have so well served us in our difficulties, and by adhering to or espousing our cause saved us at a most critical moment, are no more to be depended on than any others ..... Already do they feel their importance as the saviours of our tottering Government. Already do they feel the power which we have placed in their hands and they have before their eyes the baneful example of rebellion, which has been shown them by their Hindustanee neighbours, tending to prove that our Government has hitherto been placed on an insecure foundation."*

In the post-Mutiny consolidation of the class composition of the Indian Army† therefore, a kind of tripartite balance of power was set up between the Punjabis, upper class Hindustanis and low class Hindustanis, with the Gurkhas as an additional safe-guard. These low-caste Hindustanis had never before been enlisted in the Bengal Army and had no fighting traditions of their own. But their antagonism to the Brahmins and Khattriyas was a valuable factor of safety, and this made them for a time quite fashionable recruits. The experiment turned out, however, to be an utter failure and these classes were wholly eliminated from the army by Lord Roberts.

* *Peel Report* (Papers) 1859, p. 169.

* *Peel Report* (Papers) 1859, p. 121

† As laid down in Adjutant-General's Circular No. 117 N., dated the 9th September, 1864.

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These arrangements remained in force till 1886, the only increase in the proportion of a particular class of recruits during these years being to that of the Gurkhas and Pathans. But even the enlistment of Gurkhas was not as immune from risks as is popularly believed to be the case. The population of Nepal is divided into nine castes, of which three, the Brahmins, the Thakurs and the Khas are the three upper classes, representing the intelligence of the country. They were, as a rule, not recruited for the British Indian Army, which drew its Gurkhas from the Magars and the Gurungs, two lower and more or less savage castes. The characteristics of the different castes of Gurkhas and the principle of British recruitment from them are thus summarized in a classical handbook of the Indian Army:

"The Brahmans and Thakurs may be considered the aristocracy of the country, and together with the Khas, represent its intelligence. The lower castes are, as a rule, ill-educated and somewhat obtuse ....Magars and Gurungs are invariably soldiers or agriculturists; they are far and away the best classes from which to enlist ....The Gurungs are the least civilized and least Hinduized of all Gurkhas. They eat both beef and pork, which the Magars and others do not. The Khas are more or less under Brahminical influence, and more national than the Magar and Gurung, and therefore less suited for employment in the Bengal Army."*

To this fairly outspoken confession we might add the following extract from a letter written by Colonel R Sale Hill of the 1st Gurkha Light Infantry, to the Adjutant-General in India on 20th May 1879:

"I consider that Goorkhah battalions should be maintained almost entirely from the "Magar" and "Gurung" classes; and that the more pure a regiment is in this respect, the more efficient it is likely to be for active service and in trustworthiness to the state."†

These views were already time-sanctified. For, as far back as 1832, Brian Hodgson had written: "The Khas are more devoted to the house of Gurkha as well as more liable to Brahminical prejudices than the Magars or Gurungs, and on both accounts perhaps somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service than the latter tribes." § Commenting on this opinion of Brian Hodgson, the compiler of the official class hand-book for the Indian Army on Gurkhas, says: "This was written in 1832—namely, only sixteen years after our war with Nepal and it is on that account that Brian Hodgson says the Khas are somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service—not for want of bravery or soldierly qualities." * In the Nepalese army almost all the officers above the rank of Lieutenant and below the rank of Captain are Khas. In the Nepalese "Rifle Brigade" which consisted of picked men of all classes, were to be found members of Khas of over five feet eight inches in height and over, with magnificent physique. All Khas were temperate, hardy and brave. They were very national in feeling, intensely proud of their traditions, and they looked down upon the Magars and the Gurungs. A Khas who ran away in battle became an outcast and his very wife refused to eat with him.† Yet this class was not, as a rule, enlisted in the Gurkha regiments of the British Indian Army. The prohibition was somewhat relaxed in later years. But it was not till the great war of 1914-1918, when the British Empire was in dire straits for men, that the Khas got their chance of, as Candler puts it, dissipating the suspicion of inferiority. §

No less interesting are the ups and downs in the enlistment of the Pathan, another formidable fighting element of the Indian Army, who, according to many British officers, has more in common with the Englishman than other sepoys. "He is a gambler and a sportsman, and a bit of an adventurer, restless by nature, and always ready to take on a new thing. He has a good deal of *joie de vivre*. His sense of humour approximates to that of Thomas Atkins."** In spite of his avarice and cruelty and his proneness to almost every kind of rascality, "this much is certain that he has the power of prejudicing Englishmen in his favour, and there are few brought into contact with him who do not at least begin with an enthusiastic admiration of his manliness"†† But all this has not exempted him from the profound

* Barrow—*Sepoy Officers Manual* (2nd edition) 1857, p. 100.
† Appendices to the Report of the Special Committe Appointed to report on the Organization and Expenditure of the Army in India 1880, Vol. IV, p. 1601.
§ Hand-books for the Indian Army—*Gurkhas* by Lt.-Col. Eden Vansittart (1906), p. 73.

* *Ibid.*, p. 73.
† *Ibid.*, p. 71.
§ Candler—*Sepoy*, pp. 22-23.
** *Ibid.*, p. 63.
†† *Notes on the Pathans of the Pathan Recruiting Districts* by Capt. G. P. Ranken, 1895, p. 8. The above remark is made with reference especially to the Afridis.

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suspicion of the Army authorities in India. Introduced originally as a counterpoise to Sikhs, the Pathans had come by 1879 to hold a very important position in the Indian Army, when some insignificant and isolated incidents of the Second Afghan War somewhat destroyed their credit. During a flanking movement which Lord Roberts was executing by night, two Afridi privates of the 29th Punjab Infantry suddenly fired two shots, whether designedly to warn their kinsmen or by accident it was never settled beyond doubt. One of the men, however, was sentenced to be hanged by a subsequent court martial, and the other given the benefit of doubt. There was also during the same campaign some desertion among the Pathan soldiers, who disliked service against their fellow tribesmen. The question of the dependability of the trans-border Pathan, therefore, came as a subject of enquiry before the Special Army Committee appointed by the Viceroy in 1879. In the despatch that embodied the views of the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab on this matter, it was stated that:

"The policy of enlisting men of independent tribes with whom hostilities are not improbable has been sometimes questioned, and recent experiences during the late war with Afghanistan have caused some doubts to arise with regard to the usefulness of the Afridi as a soldier in the ranks of the Bengal Army. Opinions are divided on this subject; but His Honour, having regard to the good service rendered by the men of this class, sees no sufficient reason for excluding them from the Army, or for mistrusting them. Among the Native Officers of the Army are to be found some Afridis, who have by their loyalty and courage, established for themselves a reputation."*

The Army authorities, however, were not prepared to take any risks. By a Government order of 1882 the enlistment of Afridis was severely restricted to only five regiments of the infantry, "nor was any more extended enlistment of Afridis encouraged until 1890," when (Indian Army Circulars, Clauses 81,151, and 201) the formation of extra companies of Afridis was ordered in the 21st, 24th, 26th, 27th and 28th Bengal infantry, and the 1st, 4th, and 5th Punjab infantry as a temporary measure only.† The reputation of the trans-frontier Pathan rose considerably during the frontier wars of 1897, when Afridi soldiers of the Khyber Rifles held their posts against their own kith and kin without having British officers to encourage them, and when overpowered by numbers made their way to the nearest British garrison,* to be absolutely destroyed again during the great war and the frontier operations of 1919. Their unfaithfulness on these occasions has resulted in their complete exclusion from the Indian Army of today. No trans-frontier Pathans are now enlisted in the Army, and the field of cis-frontier recruitment has also been considerably restricted. While formerly all the clans of the Afridis held a place of honour in it, the army of today enlists only two—the Malikdin and the Kamber Khels, out of the eight clans of Afridis. Other Pathan tribes who were formerly liberally enlisted have also been eliminated, and the recruitment is now confined to the Khattaks, the Yusafzais, the Orakzais, the two clans of Afridis mentioned above, and a few Bangashes. These are still trusted, but who can tell that another frontier war will not produce another unexpected rise and fall in the sensitive barometer of British confidence?

All these doubts and suspicions, in fact, have never, and perhaps can never, leave the minds of the military officers of the Indian Army. Their uneasy conscience is always conjuring the vision of the fragile vessel entrusted to their charge escaping the Scylla of military inefficiency only to run into the Charybdis of political unreliability. The two sides of the dilemma were most neatly put in a questionnaire circulated by the Special Army Committee of 1879:

"If an efficient and available reserve of the Indian Army is considered necessary *for the safety of the empire*, it asked, should it not be recruited and maintained from those parts of the country which give us best soldiers, rather than amongst the weakest and least warlike races of India, due regard of course being had to the necessity of not giving too great strength or prominence to any particular races or religions, and *with due regard to the safety of the Empire*?" (Italics ours)

In order to understand the rather precariously balanced state of mind of the framers of this question, it is well to remember that by this time (1879) the theory of the martial races of India was just coming into fashion, though it had not become fashionable enough to convert any but the young bloods yet. The senior officers of the day were all for the good old theory of

* App., Vol. I, p. 230.

† *A Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army* by Lt. F. G. Cardew revised and edited in the Military Dept. of the Government of India 1903, p. 404.

* Forrest—*Life of Lord Roberts*, p. 180.

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equilibrium. In their opinion the safety of the empire was not so nicely distributed on both the sides of the problem. They still believed in their Mutiny-generated fears and refused to let go the sheet anchor of *divide et impera* for the sake of what they considered a problematical gain in military quality. Lt.-General H. J. Warre, Commander-in Chief of the Bombay Army, therefore, wrote:

"I consider it is not possible to recruit the reserve of the Indian Army altoge her from those parts of India which are said to produce best soldiers, without giving undue strength and prominence to the races and religions of those countries"*

And his opinion was shared by others. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederic P. Haines, said:

"Distinct in race, language, and interests from the more numerous Army of Bengal, it is, in my opinion, eminently politic and wise to maintain these armies (the Madras and Bombay Armies) as a counterpoise to it; and I would on no account diminish their strength in order that a reserve composed of what is called 'the most efficient fighting men whom it is possible to procure' may be established. If by this it is meant to replace Sepoys of the Madras and Bombay by a reserve of men passed through the ranks of the Bengal Army, and composed of the same classes of which it is formed, I would say that anything more unwise or more impolitic could hardly be conceived."†

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab also said that he was "opposed to having one recruiting field for the whole of the armies" in India. "It will be necessary," he added, "for political reasons, to prevent a preponderance of one nationality. The fighting classes are scattered all over India, and from these alone should enlistment be made." §

It was reserved, however, for Lord Roberts, who became Commander-in-Chief in 1885, to combat these old-fashioned and out of date ideas.

"In former days, he wrote, when the Native Army in India was so much stronger in numbers than the British Army, and there existed no means of rapid communications, it was only prudent to guard against a predominance of soldiers of any one creed or nationality; but with the British troops nearly doubled and the Native Army reduced by more than one-third, with all the forts and arsenals protected, and nearly the whole of the artillery manned by British soldiers, with railways and telegraph communication from one end of India to the other, with the risk of internal trouble greatly diminished, and the possibility of external complications becoming daily more apparent, circumstances and our requirements were completely altered. . . *"

But argue as he might, neither Lord Roberts nor the Army chiefs who followed him, were prepared to go beyond the margin of reasonable safety. Lord Roberts did not immediately "Punjabize" the Madras Army, and when in 1903 Lord Kitchener undertook the transformation by converting fifteen regiments of Madrasis into Punjabi regiments, he immediately furnished a counterpoise to the Sikhs and Punjabi Musalmans by raising the proportion of Gurkhas and Pathans. As Sir George Arthur his biographer, says:

"The Government, mindful of the lesson taught by the Mutiny, was alive to the danger of allowing any one element in the Indian Army to preponderate unduly. An increase in the Punjabi infantry had as its necessary sequel a further recruitment of the valuable Gurkha material and the enlistment of more trans-border Pathans in the Frontier Militia."†

But the trans-frontier Pathan, as we have already seen, turned out to be a very broken reed when the hour of trial came.

V

However that might be, for the moment Lord Roberts was determined to push on the work of Punjabizing and barbarizing the army. He was a keen advocate, almost the creator, of the theory of the martial races of India. The new idea had dawned upon him when he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army.

"Each cold season," he wrote in his reminiscences, "I made long tours in order to acquaint myself with the needs and capabilities of the men of the Madras Army. I tried hard to discover in them those fighting qualities which had distinguished their forefathers during the wars of the last and the beginning of the present century. . . . . And I was forced to the conclusion that the ancient military spirit had died in them, as it had died in the ordinary Hindustani of Bengal and the Mahratta of Bombay, and that they could no longer with safety be pitted against warlike races, or employed outside the limit of southern India."§

The theory of the martial races was already born, though it had not exactly the form then which it assumed later. Now-a-days it is asserted that none but Punjabis and some other selected tribes and castes have the military virtues. Lord Roberts, faced with the necessity of explaining the past

* Appendices to the Report of the Special Committee of 1879, Vol. I, p. 151.
† *Ibid.* p. 120.
§ *Ibid.* p. 218.

* Robert's *Forty-one Years in India*, pp. 531-533.
† Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 126.
§ Roberts—*Forty-one Years*, p. 499.

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achievement of the armies drawn from Madras, Bombay and Hindustan, confined himself to stating that it had died out in them, the cause of this decline being the "well-known and incontrovertible fact that those natives of India who pass their lives in ease and prosperity, secure from outside incursions and war alarms, do unquestionably lose the qualities that make a good soldier."*

About this "well-known and incontrovertible fact" we shall have something to say in its proper place. For the present it is sufficient to note the gradual shiftings of position of military thought. As was to be expected, therefore, the subject came up for a good deal of discussion when Lord Roberts became the Commander-in-Chief in India in 1885. The first step to be taken towards increasing the efficiency of the Indian Army was in his opinion,

"To substitute men of the more warlike and hardy races for the Hindustani sepoys of Bengal, the Tamils and Telegus of Madras, and the so-called Mahrattas of Bombay; but I found it difficult to get my views accepted, because of the theory which prevailed that it was necessary to maintain an equilibrium between the armies of the three Presidencies.."†

Fortunately, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and General Chesney, the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, shared his views. In a Note dated the 11th May, 1886, Lord Dufferin wrote:

"In view of the necessity of increasing the fighting efficiency of our Native armies without increasing our military expenditure beyond a certain definite amount, the question arises whether reductions might not be made with advantage in the numbers of the present forces in the Madras Presidency, and to a more limited extent in those of Bombay and Bengal. I imagine it will be generally admitted that it would not be safe to oppose certain categories of our existing regiments to a European enemy. If this is the case, is it advisable to keep up a number of battalions who cannot be trusted to withstand those who are most likely to attack us?...

With the conquest of Burma the cycle of our collisions with inferior races is probably closed. In future the function of our armies both British and Native will be confined, on the one hand, to maintaining the supremacy of our rule within India itself, and on the other, to repelling invasions by a European foe either along our north-western or south-eastern frontier, or at our seaports and the assailable points on our coasts. To these possibilities there may eventually be added the contingency of an inroad by the Chinese who in time may prove very formidable foes. Under these circumstances it appears to me desirable that we should get full value for our money, and that we should not spend a sixpence upon a single man who cannot be regarded as a satisfactory soldier."*

As a result of discussion thus started, three new Gurkha battalions were raised in 1886, and in the following year three new Sikh battalions, one Dogra, and one Garhwali battalion were added to them; certain classes were also eliminated from the existing regiments of the Bengal Army, and some class regiments formed. But the main question of the reorganization of the Madras and Bombay Armies out of which, as we have seen, the whole discussion arose, was left undecided at the time, and it was not till Lord Kitchener became Commander-in-Chief that any far-reaching changes in the composition of these armies were undertaken. The reason for this was the reluctance of military officers to do away with the factor of safety that lay in the different racial composition of the southern armies. Lord Dufferin quite appreciated these reasons, and wrote in a minute dated December 8, 1888:

"Here also there is a great deal to be said against the proposal to reduce them. I have brought this question several times to notice, but hitherto my military colleagues have not seen their way to effect any reduction. Undoubtedly there are many considerations besides those of economy, which present themselves in discussing this question. Although some of the regiments of these armies are not well adopted for severe campaigns, it is considered by some that they are sufficiently good to act as the police and garrison of the country, and that it would be a mistake to trust entirely to the best fighting classes in India, while it would certainly be dangerous to allow any great preponderance of one particular class."†

By the time that Lord Kitchener came out to India, some measure of reform was considered imperatively necessary, and in the reorganization scheme of 1903, among other changes, fifteen regiments of the Madras Army were converted into Punjabi regiments, though, as we have seen, with the safe-guard of an increase in the number of Gurkhas and Pathans. The changes carried out between 1903 and 1914, with the exception of the raising of two additional battalions of Gurkhas in 1907, are negligible.

* These words are Lord Kitchener's—Sir George Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 126.

† Lord Roberts—*Forty-one Years in India*, pp. 531-532.

* Collen—*Armies of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin* p. 19.

† Collen—*The Armies of India*, etc., pp. 20-21.

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VI

As the period between 1886 and 1904 is the only period during which even professedly military reasons had anything to do with the changes in the composition of the Indian Army, it is necessary to subject the extent and the reasons of the so-called reforms to a closer analysis. It will have been observed that the doubts with regard to the military quality of certain recruits applied principally to the Madras Army and to a more limited extent only to those of Bengal and Bombay. It will be convenient to take the case of each of these armies separately.

To take the Bengal Army first. The following table shows the proportions of the different classes in the Bengal Army in 1883 and in 1893 when the reforms considered necessary by Lord Roberts had been carried out.

TABLE III

Showing the proportions of different classes in the Bengal Army in 1883 and 1893.

Region and Class	Number of Companies 1883	Number of Companies 1893
I Punjab, etc.		
Sikhs	105	131
Pathans	34	42
Dogras	32	48
Punjabi Musalman	41	49
Total	212	270
II North India excluding I.		
Brahmans	25	16
Rajputs	47	56
Jats	16	16
Hindustani Musalmans	36	32
Other Hindus	29	nil
Total	153	123
III Hillmen		
Gurkhas, Garhwalis, etc.	75	122
Total	75	122

Of the increase of Punjabis (I and Hillmen (III) nearly the whole is accounted for by the raising of the new Sikh, Dogra, Gurkha, Garhwali, and Punjabi Musalman units (the 34th, 35th, 36th, and 37th Sikh regiments, the 38th Dogra regiment, the 39th Garhwal regiment, the 33rd Punjabi Musalman regiment, the 9th Gurkha regiment and the five extra battalions of the five Gurkha regiments), while the brunt of the reduction under head II (Hindustanis) fell upon the miscellaneous classes included as "Other Hindus," the net reduction of high-caste Hindustanis being only four companies or about five hundred men in a total of about twelve thousand. This was hardly the result to be expected from Lord Reberts' sweeping assertion that the fighting spirit had died out in the ordinary Hindustani. The whole thing, in fact, was the result of a rather naive confusion of thought. The decline in the efficiency of the Hindustani sepoy to which both Lord Roberts and Lord Dufferin referred was not due to the decline of the martial quality of the ordinary Hindustani sepoy who fought so gallantly for the British both before and after the Mutiny and again during the great war of 1914-1918, but to the inclusion after the Mutiny, out of political consideration and as a counterpoise to the high-caste soldiers, of unsuitable low class men such as Pasis, Dhanuks, Lodhas, Chamars and Mehtars who had never before or after served as soldiers. The proportion up to which high-caste Brahmins and Rajputs could safely be enlisted in the Indian Army, safely from the political point of view that is, was definitely fixed after the Mutiny. But the authorities did not dare to fill up the gaps that remained with more Punjabis than they had already enlisted. So these low-caste men were taken in as a counterpoise both to the Punjabis and the Hindustanis, and it was they who turned out to be very unsatisfactory soldiers. In 1882 four regiments of these low class levies were abolished, and they were finally mustered out as a result of the reforming activities of Lord Roberts. It was the reduction of the 29 companies of these men which reduced the proportion of Hindustanis from 35 p. c. in 1883 to 24 p c. in 1893.

We can now proceed to consider the cases of the Madras and the Bombay armies. With regard to the disparagement of the Mahrattas by Lord Roberts it is hardly necessary to say anything except that their soldierly qualities were brilliantly vindicated during the last war, when for the first time in two or three generations they again saw field service, and in this connection, we might also quote the following opinion of General H. J. Warre who was Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army in 1879 :

"History has proved," says General Warre, "that the whole of the western coast of India is a military country, producing a warlike population. The southern Mahrattas have proved themselves in former days, and are still, equal to any other race

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in India as a fighting people. Their power has been broken and their military ardour quenched by an almost total disarmament, but they are still a hardy people, in a mountainous district, inured to toil, and especially good at tracing their steps over the rough and impracticable Ghats. What more can we require to make soldiers ?"*

But the Madras Army will require a little lengthier treatment. This army, it will be remembered, was the descendant of the famous Coast Army which conquered Southern India for the British. It was recruited principally from the Tamils, Telugus, Madrasi Musalmans, Parayans and Christians of the Madras Presidency. Its fighting record was very fine. But for nearly two generations after the close of the Mahratta wars, it practically saw no service, and was maintained principally as a reserve for the Army of Bengal. This was its position when Lord Roberts became its Commander-in-Chief and was convinced of its unreliability as a fighting machine. He was right in his detection of the relative inefficiency of the Madras Army—which by the way had been recognized many years ago†—but not in his diagnosis of its causes, which were very clearly pointed out by General Sir Neville Chamberlain in his reply to the questionnaire of the Special Army Committee of 1879 :

"I admit, General Chamberlain said, that some Madras Infantry regiments do not come up to the proper standard ; but this is not because of any inherent deficiency or defect in the material available. It has been, because of the regiments being badly commanded, partly arising from a rigid adherence to the claims of seniority, partly to the British officers having been constantly changed, and partly to a loss of feeling of *esprit de corps*, created by large reductions and a flood of supernumeraries and partly because the army has not had its fair chance of field service."§

In this opinion, General Sir Frederic P. Haines, at that time Commander-in-Chief in India, whole-heartedly concurred.

"It has been customary," he said, "to declare that the Madras Army is composed of men physically inferior to those of the Bengal Army ; and if stature alone be taken into consideration, this is true. It is also said that by the force of circumstances the martial feeling and the characteristics necessary to the real soldier are no longer to be found in its ranks. I feel bound to reject the above assertions and others which ascribe comparative inefficiency to Madras troops. It is true that in recent years they have seen but little service ; for with the exception of the sappers, they have been specially excluded from all participation in work in the field. I cannot admit for one moment that anything has occurred to disclose the fact that the Madras Sepoy is inferior as a fighting man. The facts of history warrant us in assuming the contrary. In drill, training, and discipline the Madras Sepoy is inferior to none ; while in point of health, as exhibited by returns, he compares favorably with his neighbours. This has been manifested by the sappers and their followers in the Khyber ; and the sappers are of the same race as the sepoys."*

This was very truly said. The contention that the relative inferiority of the Madras Army was due to lack of field service was admitted indirectly even by Lord Roberts when he said that the sappers were a "brilliant exception to the rest of the Madras Army."† If an explanation of this exception were required it could easily be found in the fact that the sappers had always been employed on field service while his comrades in the infantry had seen none. In 1888, when he could not abolish the Madras Army, Lord Dufferin also suggested that it should be given its share of field service in order to keep up its fighting spirit.§

The fact is, the whole attitude of the British authorities in India in favour of the men of the North, was due to a historical circumstance, the circumstance that by 1880, due to the growth of the Russian menace, the North-Western Frontier had become the principal theatre of operations for the Indian Army. Not only did this fact make it more convenient for the authorities to recruit their soldiers from classes who were near at hand easily available and familiar, moreover, with the terrain, but it also gave the army of Northern India the ablest and the most energetic officers, who were most fitted to bring out the latent qualities of their men by training and organization. All this, as Sir George Arthur says in his life of Lord Kitchener,

Tended to damp the zeal and mar the efficiency of the Madras and Bombay armies and not a little to foster jealousies between them and the Bengal Army. Nor did the post-Mutiny reorganization of the Indian Army do anything to abate these heartburnings, and service in the other Presidencies became increasingly unpopular. Young officers who were ambitious, or could wield influence strained every nerve to be posted to the Bengal Staff Corps with the result that the Madras and the

* App. to the Special Army Committee Report, 1880, Vol. I, p. 167.

† See for example the minutes of Lord Mayo and Lord Sandhurst dtd 3. 10. 1870 and 27. 1. 1870 respectively, *Ibid.*, Vol. IV p. 1540.

§ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 151.

* App. to the Report of the Special Committee Vol. I, p. 120.

† Roberts—*Forty-one Years*. p. 500.

§ Collen—*Op. Cit.*, pp. 20-21.

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Bombay Staff Corps were always considerably under strength."*

The evil was so serious that it was one of the most weighty reasons which induced Lord Kitchener to decide upon the final abolition of the Presidency system. But before that was done, the more energetic and, naturally, the more vocal officers of the North had branded the men of the South—not the officers, they were British—with a permanent stamp of inferiority.

(*To be concluded*)

* Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 126.

Great Britain's Social Services

By WILFRED WELLOCK, M. P.

On many occasions I have described the growth of the British Labour Party and the British Trade Union Movement, thereby revealing some of the struggles which have resulted in placing the workers of this country in the strong economic position they now occupy. That progress has demanded unexampled heroism on the part of a large number of courageous souls, and keen and often prolonged suffering on the part of the masses of the people. Those two qualities have together succeeded in building up some of the strongest and most effective working-class movements in the whole world, movements embracing a powerful Trade Union organization, which no Government can or dare ignore, and a Labour Party which is now strong enough to hold the reins of Government, and ere long will hold a majority of seats in the House of Commons.

That is a great achievement, and records the struggles of many decades, being indeed the culmination of a long process of development, which in truth goes back many centuries, and which in the more definite form of our modern Trade Union and Labour Movements goes back well over a century.

But it will naturally be asked what has been the actual value to the workers of the country of all this struggling and organizing over so many decades? What benefits have they derived and do they feel that all the struggling has been worth while?

No question could be easier to answer in a general way and yet it is a very difficult question to answer, as the benefits derived are so numerous, varied and far-reaching.

In the first place, the struggle has been worth while if for no other reason than that it has increased the dignity of the workers. All the servility, the bowing and scraping to the rich, once so common among the masses of this country, and still is in some districts, has now almost completely been swept away. Generally speaking, the workers of today have dignity and social standing, and in all but the backward areas—politically backward, I mean—positively refuse to kotow to the rich in any way. Nay, owing to the revelations regarding the sources of the wealth of the rich and the manner of their lives, these now command little respect among the working classes. The result is that the latter quite definitely look upon the country as a democracy and think of its wealth and its resources, no matter how these may at present be distributed, from the standpoint of national well-being.

In the second place, the workers have far more security of tenure in their employment than formerly, while their wages and conditions, owing to Trade Union organization and Factory legislation, are incomparably superior to what they were even twenty years ago, not to speak of sixty or seventy years ago.

But it is not about these matters that I desire to write in particular in the present article. I want to deal specifically with the social amenities which have followed from what we call "Social" legislation, Acts of Parliament whose aim is to develop and protect the lives of the workers and their children in all sorts of ways. These social services are now so numerous, so vast and

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far-reaching as to strike the imagination when one looks at them in their totality. Many of them indeed were instituted long before Labour came into political power as we normally understand power. But it was not until the Labour Party made its appearance, and showed signs of becoming a national political force that the workers' demands began to be taken seriously, and that entirely new avenues of social legislation began to be opened up. When, as just before the World War, the Labour Party had secured 34 seats in the House of Commons, the other parties saw what was coming, and realized that unless they listened to the demands which Labour was making, they stood to lose an increasing number of working-class votes. So they went forward with their Social legislation; but despite all they did they could not keep pace with Labour's demands. Consequently they have suffered defeat after defeat.

Anyone with the least insight was bound to recognize that the changed social conditions due to modern industrialism were bound to carry with them vast changes in social organization, if, that is, the workers were to be saved from economic impotence and the very worst forms of industrial slavery. We all realize, of course, that the normal condition of the world is a state of flux, change being the law of life, human beings and social organizations being no exception to the rule.

But although this knowledge is in our hearts, it is often so deep down that we forget it, and even at times deny it, instead of facing the bold facts of life and endeavouring to meet changed conditions by policies which spring from well-thought-out principles and ideals. A new method of industrial organization may carry with it the necessity for organizing a new order of social relationships, and thus the creation of a new social philosophy and a new social ethic.

It may have seemed a very ordinary and trifling thing to discover the power of steam, but that simple discovery, made in a tiny workman's cottage, has probably caused more social upheavals, broken down more social conventions and religious systems than any other single event in history. It led to the abolition of small or individual ownership in industry. Instead of a man belonging to his loom or other tool, as heretofore, he must now work for an employer, and to some extent be at the mercy of such employer. Workers were thus segregated together in large and increasing numbers, and as these units of manufacture grew in number and size, giving place later to the Limited Company, and later still to the Trust and Combine, the impotence of the worker increased. If he were turned out of his employment he was now almost helpless, while if owing to the results of mass production and over-production work should be scarce, he would be completely stranded, with nowhere to turn for help and succour except to charity, which he strongly resented. It is this development in the industrial world which led to the great struggles, including strikes, lock-outs, revolutions, etc., of the last few decades.

Happily our working-class organizations have developed with sufficient rapidity to be in a position to secure for the workers by means of legislation, etc., a reasonable amount of social insurance in the way of widows and old age pensions, sickness and unemployment insurance, relief in case of destitution, the feeding of and medical attention for school children, etc.,—a no mean achievement, although we are by no means satisfied, as the record of the present Labour Government will no doubt show.

As the result of our Health Services, for instance, statistics reveal that while the population of Great Britain rose from 29½ millions in 1881 to 44 millions in 1927, the death-rate fell from 19.5 to 12.5 per 1,000 of the population in the same period. That in itself is a remarkable testimony to the effectiveness of these services. Maternity and child-welfare centres are being established all over the country at the present moment. They are under the charge of Local Government Authorities, and are supported by State grants. A recent Act of Parliament has made the setting up of these centres compulsory, and has placed upon the County Councils the duty of seeing that adequate accommodation for dealing with maternity cases is provided within their areas. Moreover, medical inspection in schools has now reached a high standard of efficiency, over 2,000,000 children being medically examined last year.

Furthermore, an extension of culture and the raising of the standard of life among the workers has tended to raise the value of human life, to the worker, and thus to

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reduce the size of families, parents now preferring to bring up two or three children well than to bring up badly and unhealthily a large family. Thus whereas our birth-rate was 32.6 per 1,000 of the population in 1881, in 1927 it was 17.1. The average attendance of children in elementary schools is 5,564,000—a very high percentage indeed, considering our population.

Now let us look at our insurance schemes. Nearly all our workers are compulsorily insured, both for sickness, widows and old age pensions, and unemployment. A certain sum is deducted from their wages each week, while a similar sum is paid by the employers, and again a similar sum by the State. An adult worker receives 10 per week for himself, with allowances for wife and children when he is sick, and a larger amount when he is unemployed. He also gets free medical attendance, medicines, etc. In most cases he may also receive free dental treatment, including free artificial teeth, etc.

Thus the country now spends some £40,000,000 a year on Unemployment Insurance. But a considerable number of our workers are not yet covered by unemployment insurance, while a great deal of poverty has other causes than unemployment. Hence we spend about £55,000,000 a year in Poor Law Relief, as compared with £9,000,000 in 1881.

These are colossal figures, but they only serve to show the degree of suffering which would have entailed upon our people by the existing industrial system had this legislation not been passed. There are approximately 12,000,000 insured workers in the country today, and of these about 10 p. c. are unemployed.

In addition, the State spends over £30,000,000 a year on Old Age Pensions to people over 70 years of age, who receive some 10 each per week. Besides these pensions, which are non-contributory, pensions are given to all insured workers, and to the wives of insured husbands, when they reach the age of 65. This is a new scheme, and is costing about £15,000,000 per year.

To pay for all these insurances, etc., somebody has to be taxed, and pretty heavily taxed at that. But we in England say that the super rich derive most of their wealth from the sweat and toil of the poor, and thus that the State has both a right and a duty to tax them in order that the toilers may live in reasonable comfort and security. It is not so long ago that a tax of 9d. in the £ upon all income over £150 per year was considered excessive. But, shades of Gladstone and Disraeli! this is considered a mere flea-bite today. What would those politicians think of taxation today? Income tax is levied at the rate of 4 in the £ on all incomes above £180 in the case of unmarried persons, and above about £250 in the case of married persons. In addition, a special super-tax is levied on all income above £2,000 per year.

Then we have heavy Death Duties. This duty is levied on the estates of the rich, and the rate varies with the size of the estate, being very heavy in the case of the super rich. The other day a millionaire died whose estate was valued at £4,900,000. He had to pay over £2,000,000 in death duties.

Thus the estimated income from these sources for the current year reach the following staggering figures:

From Income-tax	£ 239,500,000
Super-tax	58,000,000
Death Duties	81,000,000

I will conclude this survey by giving the comparative sums in £ millions or fractions thereof, for the financial years 1914-15 and 1929-30, (quoting the original estimates in each case), spent on the social services by the State:

	1914-15 £ millions.	1929-30 £ millions.
Payments to Local Authorities	8	14½
New Contributions to Local Authorities	—	15½
Education	16½	46¾
Health Services	½	4¼
Subsidies for workers' Houses	—	12¾
Reformatory Schools and Mental Deficiency	½	1¼
Grants for Employment Schemes	—	2
Old Age Pensions	10	35½
Pensions for Great War Victims	—	54
State Contribution to Widows Pensions	—	4
State Contribution to Health Insurance	5¾	6¼
State Contribution to Unemployment Insurance	¼	12
	41½	208¾

and yet we are only at the beginning of this important branch of social development.

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American Imperialism in the Caribbeans

By MALCOLM DOUGLASS

THROUGHOUT the world the activities of imperialism have been marked with utter contempt for the civilities of international law and with the grossest kind of cruelty towards the oppressed peoples, but nowhere on the face of the earth has the progress of imperialist domination been marked with such barbarity and high-handed tyranny as has been the case in the spread of American rule in the former republics bordering the Caribbean. In its relentless search for markets for the expansion of its economic power, Yankee aggression has taken several well-marked forms, although the result has been one and the same in every case. There are the out and out colonies like Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, the protectorates over Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua, the "regulation" of Panama, and the political and economic suzerainty over the nominally independent Republic of Cuba.

The Caribbean region is of peculiar importance to the American Empire because of its proximity, because it is a source of raw materials unobtainable within the country and as a market for manufactured goods. From a military standpoint it is particularly important as the gateway to the Panama Canal. Thus from every viewpoint it has been considered necessary by those interested in American economic expansion for the United States to gain complete sway over this region.

One of the most effective methods has been that employed in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua,—financial intrigue followed by armed intervention supposedly in the interest of law and order. American interest in Santo Domingo started over fifty years ago during the term of President Grant, but it was not until 1893 that the programme of financial penetration actually got under way. In that year the San Domingo Improvement Company, an American concern with offices in New York, bought the debt of 170,000 pounds sterling which a Dutch company had loaned to the Dominican Government, and with it went the right to collect customs revenues to support their claims. And in 1899 when the President of San Domingo appointed a board of his own to collect the customs, the company appealed to the Washington Government which in turn brought pressure on the Dominican Republic to purchase the company's claim for four and one-half million dollars, and forced her to agree that in case this sum was not paid, the United States could appoint its own man to supervise customs receipts. Three or four years later the local government encountered financial difficulties, and pressure was again brought to bear so that President Morales of San Domingo had to "invite" the United States to take over the customs houses. In 1905 and again in 1907 President Roosevelt of the United States concluded agreements with the Dominican Republic which established the right of collection of the customs by the United States and also prohibited the local government from contracting additional debts or lowering its taxes without the consent of the American Government. Moreover, according to the treaty of 1907 a loan was arranged by which certain American bankers were to lend twenty million dollars to San Domingo, this loan being guaranteed by American control of the customs.

However serious this interference into the financial affairs of the country might be, it proved to be merely the entering wedge for a far more serious interference with the political life of the republic. The President of the island republic was shot in 1911 and certain amount of political unrest ensued, so President Taft sent an American commissioner to investigate. He was accompanied by a large detachment of marines, and although he interfered to the extent of asking the provisional president to resign, the political turmoil grew in extent. In 1913 President Wilson sent an American warship and instructed the American minister to supervise the elections which were held in that year. Finally the true nature of American activities in San Domingo were revealed in May 1916 when United States marines were anded under the cover of the

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long-range guns of the American battleships. The Dominican president immediately resigned, and the U. S. State Department refused to recognize the one elected to succeed him unless he agreed to sign a new treaty with the United States which was much more drastic than the one then in force. President Henriquez refused, whereupon the American customs collector refused to pay the Dominican Government their share of the customs revenue. A deadlock ensued which was broken by the commander of the marines who declared martial law, ousted the duly elected officials of the government and declared himself dictator of the island. A military dictatorship was maintained until 1924 during which a veritable reign of terror existed. Public meetings were absolutely prohibited, homes were plundered and burned and unbelievable torture and cruelties were committed. The real purpose of this drastic action became apparent in 1921 when an eight per cent bond issue for $2,500,000 was issued to American bankers by the U. S. military government. This was followed by another bond issue for $6,700,000 the next year which was taken by another group of New York bankers.

In 1924 the Dominican leaders finally consented to sign an agreement with the United States recognizing all the debts which had been forced upon her and handing over the financial control of the republic to American appointees. As the result of this concession, American military forces were finally withdrawn although the new treaty allows the United States to establish a protectorate over the smaller republic and gives a semblance of legality to the political and economic domination which in fact was wrested from the Dominican people by utterly lawless means.

Bad as the situation has been in San Domingo, American aggression in Haiti has been even more ruthless and indefensible. Haiti was an independent republic from 1804, when she gained her freedom from France, until 1915 when the United States forced her to sign a treaty even more drastic than the one imposed upon San Domingo. Haiti has a population of three millions, and although subjected to occasional political disturbances, no American citizen was ever injured nor was American property ever interfered with prior to the period of U. S. military control. Foreign investments were at all times respected and the interest on the foreign debt scrupulously paid.

The history of American relations with Haiti are almost completely the record of the National City Bank's interests in that unfortunate country. In 1910 the National Bank of Haiti was reorganized in connection with the floating of a new loan by a group of French bankers. The National City Bank in connection with a group of other New York bankers immediately brought representations to the State Department that they too should be represented in the new Bank, and in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine whereby the U. S. States looks upon Central and South America as its private poaching grounds, the U. S. Government brought sufficient pressure to secure the inclusion of the New York bankers in the new project. After the outbreak of the world war, the American State Department went a step further and suggested that it would be desirable for the American interests to take over the complete ownership of the Haitian National Bank, and in 1919 the National City Bank secured the shares held by the French bankers and became in fact the sole owners of the National Bank of Haiti. In the meantime, in 1914 and 1915 the State Department made severe direct overtures to Haiti looking towards securing control of the customs as they already had done in San Domingo, but the proposals were flatly rejected. Consequently, there ensued one of the most audacious pieces of international banditry ever recorded. In December 1914 a detachment of United States marines landed in Port au Prince, the capital, and forcibly seized $500,000 in gold from the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti and carried on board an American warship whence it was shipped to the vaults of the National City Bank of New York. Haiti protested and demanded an explanation, but none was ever given.

In spite of tremendous pressure the Haitian Government resisted all the efforts on the part of the United States to force upon her an unwelcome treaty, until in July 1915 a revolution broke out which furnished the necessary pretext for the landing of American troops. An election of a new president was held in which the chamber was guarded by U. S. marines, and the candidate favoured by the United States was elected. This candidate, Dartiguenave by name, had agreed in advance to accept the U. S. demands, but when the

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demands came they proved to be so much more drastic than those previously offered that even he could not assent to them, so additional pressure had to be brought. The American naval forces seized all the customs houses and refused to allow any of the revenues to pass into the hands of the Haitian Government. Then under the direct threat of establishing a military dictatorship as was done in San Domingo, the Haitian Government finally capitulated and signed a most humiliating treaty. Ratification, however, was secured only after the most direct threats had been publicly made that U. S. military control would be maintained until such an action had been completed. The ratification did not terminate the period of American military control in Haiti, however, and that control was utilized to secure a number of additional concessions. In 1918 a new constitution was forced upon the republic which among other provisions ratified and confirmed all the acts of the American military government. Several significant changes in the original agreement were also forced through by the American financial adviser—an appointee of the National City Bank—which greatly strengthened the hold of the latter institution upon the financial resources of the country. Finally a loan for $40,000,000 was floated by the National City Bank and allied interests—this step always marking the successful termination of an adventure in imperialist practice. This loan is, of course, secured by American control of all the financial affairs of the republic.

The record of military control in Haiti has been one of the blackest pages of all history. A Congressional investigation in 1924 brought out the fact that during the period of occupation no less than three thousand Haitians had been murdered by American marines. Very few of these were killed in open warfare, although a number of revolts against the American rule did occur. Many, if not most of those killed, were murdered in cold blood. The writer of this account happens to have heard certain American marines boast of the number of Haitians they had killed—invariably in quarrels over women. For some reason the Haitians seemed to have resented the wholesale appropriation of their wives by the marines, with the result that hundreds of them are now dead for the crime of trying to protect their wives' honour. Many others were murdered simply for sport, and there is no record of any marine suffering severe punishment for such indiscriminate killing. A "nigger's" life is of no value to the imperialist shock-troops.

And the period of armed intervention is not yet over for Haiti. In the last part of 1929 riots broke out as a result of strikes at the customs houses and a marine patrol killed five Haitians and wounded twenty more. Immediately the local commander of marines sent out an appeal for more marines to be sent to Haiti, but these precautions proved not to be necessary. General Russell, who is at present in charge, has forced President Borno to announce that there will be no elections in 1930. It has now been thirteen years since the Haitian Senate was dissolved for refusing to assent to the new constitution even though it had ratified the treaty which has proved so obnoxious.

It has been much the same story in Nicaragua. First, there were American investments; this was followed by direct political interference culminating in a military dictatorship, fighting between American marines and local patriots and after a complete American victory new loans were negotiated which has saddled the Nicaraguan people indefinitely with an economic burden which makes them virtually the slaves of the Wall Street bankers.

The United States not only has the usual economic and political interest in Nicaragua—interests which it is especially easy to pursue under the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine—but she is especially concerned because Nicaragua offers a possible alternative route for a trans-oceanic canal to supplement the Panama Canal.

The government of President Zelaya opposed attempts on the part of the United States to extend its control over Nicaragua by obtaining Foneseca Bay and a canal route, as well as attempts of American business interests to establish themselves in the republic. In 1909 a revolution against Zelaya broke out which was financed by Adolfo Diaz, who at the time was drawing a salary of $1,000 a year as an employee of an American corporation. Although he was not known to have any other resources, he advanced over half a million dollars for the revolution. The American Consul at Bluefields knew about the revolution in advance and

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informed his government of the fact intimating that the revolutionists would be friendly to American interests. The revolutionists were openly supported by certain American business concerns, but nevertheless they were finally defeated by the government forces and forced to retreat to Bluefields where they were saved from annihilation when U. S. marines were landed to "protect" that city. Later with direct aid from U. S. and the marine corps, the revolutionists reorganized their forces and turned tables on the government forces. Estrada was elected president and Diaz Vice-president of the new regime, and the new government was recognized by the United States a few months later. Steps were immediately taken to float a loan—to be taken by American bankers—and to secure control of the customs as a perpetual security for American interests. President Estrada was forced to resign because of the popular protest against the sale of Nicaragua's birth-right to Yankee interests. Diaz succeeded him, but was only able to maintain himself in power by dependence on American backing. During 1911 a loan was forced upon Nicaragua in return for which that country agreed to give up the control over its customs, to allow the American bankers to have 51 per cent of the stock in the newly organized National bank and to supervise the reorganization of the national currency. Later additional loans were advanced upon the provision that the American bankers were to assume a controlling interest in the national railway and steamship lines. Meanwhile, a revolution broke out against President Diaz, and the United States rushed eight warships and 2,600 men to suppress the rebellion. Following the crushing of the revolution an election was held in which Diaz was elected for a term of four years.

In this connection it is interesting to note a recent speech of General Butler who commanded the marines in this campaign and who aided in the supervision of the "election." Speaking before an audience at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on December 5, 1929, General Butler is reported in the newspapers as having said: "While with the marines, I took charge of two elections and our candidates always won." Concerning the elections in Nicaragua, he explained that "the opposition candidates were declared bandits when it became necessary to elect a candidate." Concerning one election he said: "The fellow we had in there, nobody liked. But he was a useful fellow—to us—so we had to keep him in. How to keep him in was the problem. We looked up the election laws and found that the polls had to be open (a sufficient length of time)—at least that is the way we translated it—and a voter had to be registered in order to vote. The district was canvassed and 400 were found who were willing to vote for the proper candidate. Notice of opening of the polls was five minutes beforehand, and the 400 voters were assembled in a line and when they had voted, in about two hours, the polls were closed. The other citizens had not registered and therefore, were ineligible to vote" This is the same General Butler who dissolved the Haitian Congress when it refused to adopt the constitution favoured by American interests. He was in command of the marines in China in 1927-28.

With the pro-American more or less firmly intrenched in power there followed a new series of loans arranged by American bankers in exchange for further economic and political concessions within the republic. The climax was the Bryan Chamarro Treaty of February 18,1916 by which the United States paid Nicaragua three million dollars in exchange for all the rights for the proposed trans-isthmian canal together with the 99 year lease of certain strategic islands which were to be used as a naval base by the United States. Further serious trouble broke out in 1927 when the Liberal party staged a revolt against the Chamarro-Diaz faction which had long been controlling the country in the interests of American Imperialism. A deadlock ensued in which each faction claimed to have a duly elected president and therefore to constitute the legal government of Nicaragua. In accordance with their usual practice, the American marines intervened and by the judicious declaration of "neutral zones" around the principal cities or at any point where the revolutionists seemed to be gaining the upper hand, the pro-American party was spared annihilation. However feeling was running high against the American intervention and it was obvious that the Diaz party could not be kept permanently in power even by the power of U.S. marines. At this point there entered into the struggle one of the most able and dramatic personalities of modern history, General Augusto Sandino. Sandino was still a comparatively young man, less than forty, who had inherited strong patriotic traditions

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from his father, a wealthy landowner of the liberal party. As a young man he had been driven out of his home and even from his country by the oppressive measures of the pro-American "conservative" party. Gradually he had come to realize that there was no salvation for his native country as long as it was held under the domination of American imperialism. So in 1927 he returned to his native country from Mexico and threw himself whole-heartedly into the fight against the American invaders. The story of this struggle is one of the most thrilling tales of heroism against overwhelming odds ever recorded. For practically a year Sandino with only four or five hundred devoted followers not only held off but actually defeated the well-equipped military forces of the United States. At one time there were over five thousand marines—the cream of the U. S. fighting forces—in Nicaragua, and even then Sandino with the whole country-side behind him was able to hold his own in the numerous battles which occurred. The Central American soldiers had hitherto been looked upon as a joke. They were almost entirely untrained and indisciplined, and virtually unequipped. Sandino had very little equipment except what he captured from the marines but they made up in courage and determination for their lack of guns, and although hundreds were killed, Sandino had no difficulty in securing new men to take their places. He took his men deep into mountains where they alone were at home, and by rapid moves would attack the marines first at one place, then another. The North Americans, burdened by their heavy artillery and handicapped by their unfamiliarity with the territory, were continually being taken off the guard. Nor could they ever catch the Nicaraguan patriots when they attempted to concentrate to their forces so as to crush them by sheer force of numbers. Thus the struggle dragged on for months to an indeterminate ending and might be still continuing had not political changes put a new face to the situation.

Early in 1928, President Coolidge sent Colonel Stimson, now Secretary of State in the Hoover cabinet, to Nicaragua to try to arrange some compromise whereby peace could be restored. After a confabulation all the principal "liberal" leaders agreed to suspend hostilities, upon the payment of a price, except Sandino. It was agreed that the United States should "supervise" an election and that all parties would abide by the result. After the wholesale bribery and corruption in the elections of Chicago and Philadelphia, the suggestion that American marines were capable of such supervision seemed like the sheerest hypocrisy, but it passed unchallanged. As the result of this agreement the struggle of Sandino, although maintained for many more months, became more and more futile, and although he was never defeated, his movement ultimately lost its power.

The elections were held; the liberals were returned to office by an overwhelming vote; but no sooner had they come into power than negotiations were entered into for the floating of a new loan and talk began to revive about the building of the canal. The independence movement had been defeated, and Nicaragua was once again safe for American imperialism—thanks to the American marines. Incidentally, although the agreement called for the immediate removal of the marines upon the conclusion of the election, they still remain in Nicaragua.

Thus we have seen the path of imperialism in the small republics of the Caribbean. First, the investor, then an American instigated revolution, then intervention and military control until an agreement has been reached which places all the political and economic power in the hands of the North Americans, and finally loans which ensure a permanent period of economic servitude to the North American masters.

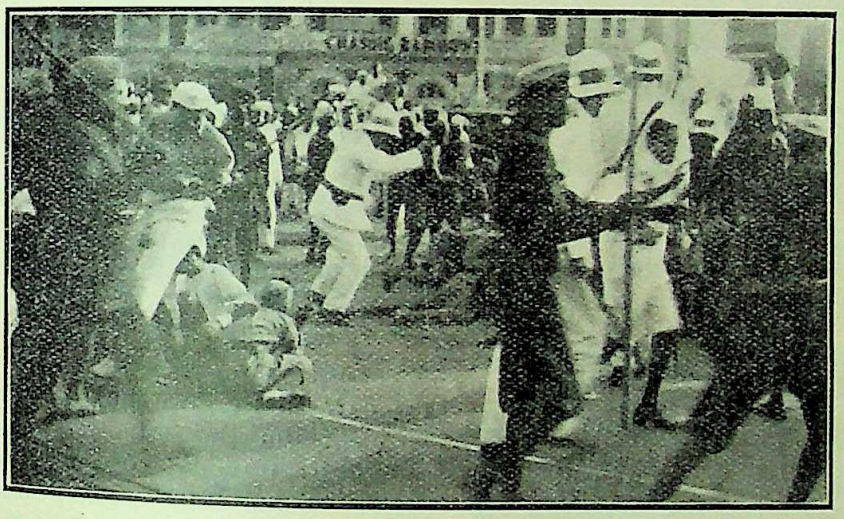
In Cuba American control has been even more direct and more effective. In theory the United States restored Cuban independence after the Spanish-American war in 1898, but the Platt Amendment restoring, supposedly, this independence made specific provision for American military intervention for the preservation of "law and order" and that all acts of an American military government during such a period of occupation should be recognized by the government of Cuba. On four different occasions the United States has despatched military forces to Cuba, on each occasion to protect certain political groups that were deemed to be friendly to the United States. The final result has been that at present Cuba is ruled by a dictator who has practically destroyed every vestige of political freedom in the island, but who is eminently satisfactory to the United States. During the past twenty years the economic penetration of the country by

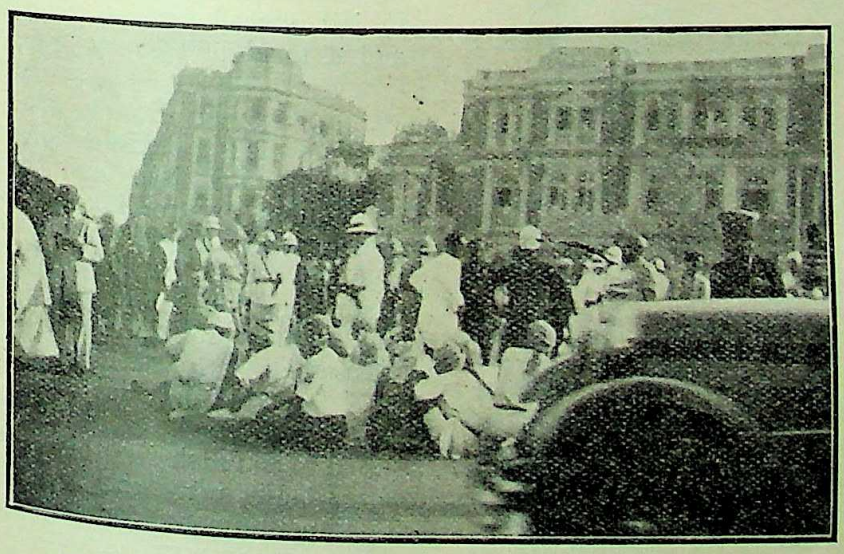
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American capital has proceeded at an almost unbelievable speed. The sugar industry, which is the source of the country's wealth, is almost entirely in the hands of Americans. In all over a billion and a quarter dollars are invested in Cuba, two-thirds of this in sugar. The government of Cuba has also been brought under the direct control of American capital by means of the usual loans, and even American paper money has been forced upon Cuba as the national currency. The result of these steps has been the impoverishment of the islands in spite of the vast amount of money which has been made in sugar—by the Amerian owners.

In conclusion, the Caribbean policy of the United States might be summarized in these terms: "American interests shall be regarded as predominant in countries north of the equator, not only against European nation—which is the basis of the Monroe Doctrine—but also as against all other American countries—especially against the desires of the countries themselves." The workers and peasant-farmers of those countries are producing an important share of the world's wealth, and by combined political and economic aggression, the bankers of Wall Street have seen to it that every available cent of this wealth shall flow into the pockets of American financiers and capitalists—for the poor uneducated native would not know what to do with such riches.





Two Scenes of the Garhwali Day Procession in Bombay

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Indian Womanhood



Srijukta Asoklata Das
Condemned to four months' imprisonment



Srimati Santi Das, M. A.
Joint-Secretary, Nari Satyagraha Samiti, Calcutta
Condemned to four months' imprisonment



Srijukta Giribala Ray
Condemned to four months' imprisonment

Of all the provinces of India, Bengal can lay claim to the distinction of having the highest number of women imprisoned for political activities. At present, the number of her daughters and adopted daughters in jail exceed forty, and this figure is being added to almost every day.

This is a sufficiently eloquent testimony to the patriotism and the spirit of sacrifice of Indian womanhood, which fostered for generations in the performance of a selfless rôle in their homes, have shed its tender glamour over the sufferings, the miseries and the sordidness, too, of a political struggle.

We publish in this issue the portraits of three ladies who have been recently condemned to imprisonment, for their political activities. They are Srijukta Asoklata Das, her daughter Srimati Santi Das, M. A., the Joint Secretary to the Nari Satyagraha Samiti of Calcutta and Srijukta Giribala Ray.

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How Sir Binod Mitter was Superseded

MANY and varied have been the tributes which have been showered upon the memory of Sir Binod Mitter, who died so suddenly in London on July 20. All were agreed that he was a brilliant jurist and that, from many points of view, his death was a loss to this country. One tribute and that of the present Secretary of State for India may be quoted in this connection :

INDIA OFFICE.
WHITEHALL.
21st July, 1930.

Dear Mr. Mitter,

Please allow me to offer you my deepest sympathy in the bereavement which you and your family are called upon so suddenly to bear. It is unnecessary for me to say—for his own colleagues have already testified—how sorely Sir Binod Mitter will be missed in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ; but I should like, if I may, to add to the many tributes which I have no doubt will be showered upon your father's memory, the tribute of one who rejoices always to see the sons of India in the foremost ranks of life, and now feels keenly the loss of one of the most eminent.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,
Wedgwood Benn.

S. N. Mitter, Esqr.

Sir Binod had reached the crown of a busy professional life and had got over the feeling of neglect and injustice which he had previously suffered at the hands of the Government of India. The story of that neglect and injustice is not perhaps known to many persons in this country ; but now that Sir Benod has been removed from us by the cruel hand of death, there can be no objection in setting out the story in full.

The Times in its obituary notice of Sir Binod Mitter observes as follows :

"In 1910, he was made Standing Counsel to the Government of India, a position which carried the second place at the Bar and membership of the Bengal Legislative Council. He twice officiated for 18 months as Advocate-General but on the grounds not personal to himself, was not selected in 1917 for the substantive position. He retired from the Standing Counselship and later when offered the Advocate-Generalship declined the post as he found by that time that work in Calcutta in the summer half of the year was too much for his physical energies."

These statements are not wholly correct and it is desirable in the interest of historical accuracy and truth that the facts should be made known. When in 1910 Mr. Walter Gregory resigned the Standing Counselship, the Government of India had not deserted Calcutta and were in residence here. They cast about for a successor to Mr. Gregory, and Sir Edward Baker, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was asked by Lord Minto to sound Mr. B. C. Mitter, as he then was, whether he would be willing to accept the position of Standing Counsel, to the Government of India. Sir Edward Baker sent his Judical Secretary, the late Mr. E. P. Chapman, I. C. S., to Mr. Mitter. They had prolonged discussions and in the end Mr. Mitter regretfully informed Sir Edward Baker that he was not prepared to accept the position which had been offered to him on the terms then attaching to the office of Standing Counsel. The Standing Counsel, in those days, was expected, in addition to other Government duties, to conduct on behalf of the prosecution *all* cases committed to the Calcutta Sessions. In passing, it may be noted that the Standing Counsel of the present day is only expected to conduct the prosecution in murder trials and in political cases and in such cases of importance as would justify the Government or the presiding judge to make a call on his services. To continue the story. Mr. Mitter was then at almost the zenith of his practice on the original side and he was not prepared to make the sacrifice that would be involved by accepting the offer. Sir Edward Baker was not however lightly to be dismissed and he summoned Mr. Mitter to an interview at Belvedere. Mr. Mitter went and, at the earnest personal request of Sir Edward Baker, agreed to accept the position of Standing Counsel, it being understood that Sir Edward Baker would write to the Government of India asking for an increase in the salary of the office of Standing Counsel and a revision too of the duties to be performed by him. At this interview, a record of which was subsequently made by Mr. Chapman, Sir Edward Baker stated that when the question came up for consideration of the appointment of a successor to Mr. Kenrick, the then

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Advocate-General, it was not likely that Mr. Mitter's claims would be summarily overlooked. Sir Edward Baker carried out his promise of asking the Government of India for a revision on the lines indicated above. But the Finance Department of the Government of India, which meant Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, would not give way, and the result was that after nearly a year, Sir Edward Baker regretfully informed Mr. Mitter that he had failed. Be that as it may, the question of appointing a successor to Mr. Kenrick came up in the early spring of 1916, when Mr. Kenrick retired. Meanwhile, there had been a change in the Chief Justiceship of Bengal. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, keen and unerring judge of men, had retired and his place had been filled by Sir Lancelot Sanderson. The latter on his way out from England in October-November 1915, took care to visit what had then become the Imperial city of Delhi before taking charge in Calcutta of his duties as the Chief Justice of Bengal. Sir Lawrence Jenkins had never been liked by the Government of India and the India Office and it was widely believed that venomous criticisms of Sir Lawrence Jenkins had been instilled by the India Office into the ears of Sir Lancelot Sanderson before the latter left England. But that is another story and I must reserve that for another occasion. The question of the appointment of a successor to Mr. Kenrick, whose retirement was impending, was discussed between the Government of India and Sir Lancelot Sanderson during the latter's stay in Delhi and it is reported that Sir Lancelot Sanderson assured Lord Hardinge, who was then the Viceroy, that he had in his mind a capable English barrister who might well be invited by the Government of India to come out from England and accept the position of Advocate-General of Bengal. This was the position of affairs in November 1915. As stated above, Mr. Kenrick went away early in 1916 and Lord Carmichael who was then the Governor of Bengal stated to the Government of India that he would on no account consent to the appointment of any person other than Sir S. P. Sinha, as he then was, as Advocate-General of Bengal. Sir S. P. Sinha had been Lord Minto's Law Member and on retirement from that office had reverted to the Bar where he reigned supreme. Lord Hardinge who had already been very considerably influenced by Sir Lancelot Sanderson was not prepared for the strong attitude taken up by Lord Carmichael and he telegraphed to Lord Carmichael to see whether Sir Lancelot Sanderson would consent to the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha. Sir Shamsul Huda, who was then the Judicial Member of Lord Carmichael's Government, was deputed to see Sir Lancelot Sanderson. The interview took place at No. 7, Middleton Street. Sir Lancelot Sanderson hummed and hawed but at last observed that of course Sir S. P. Sinha was a very distinguished barrister and he could not oppose his appointment as Advocate-General of Bengal. As soon as Sir Lancelot said that, Sir Shamsul Huda asked him whether he would be good enough to record his opinion on the official file. Sir Lancelot agreed and the record of his opinion is still in the Bengal Secretariat. Lord Carmichael telegraphed to Lord Hardinge about what had happened and recommended that Sir S. P. Sinha should be appointed permanent Advocate-General of Bengal. The Advocate-General of Bengal occupies that position for a period of five years and when Lord Carmichael recommended that Sir S. P. Sinha should be made Advocate-General he certainly contemplated that the latter would hold office for a period of five years. But unknown to Lord Carmichael, other influences were at work and when Sir S. P. Sinha's Letters Patent of office as Advocate-General of Bengal, signed by His Majesty the King, came out from England, to his and Lord Carmichael's surprise, it was discovered that he had been made Advocate-General of Bengal for a period of one year only! Lord Carmichael was furious and he wanted to know from the Government of India who was responsible for this. In passing, it may be noted, that no previous Advocate-General had ever been appointed for a period of one year. When the Letters Patent arrived from England in October 1916, Sir S. P. Sinha was in Simla, assisting the Committee which were engaged in considering the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code. Sir George Lowndes, who was then the Law Member of the Government of India, had also been taken aback; it was soon discovered that Caesar in the person of the Secretary of State for India (Sir Austen Chamberlain) had been appealed to from India by *somebody* and thus it was that Sir S. P. Sinha's period of office as Advocate-General of Bengal had

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been limited to one year. Be that as it may, Lord Carmichael, thorough gentleman that he was, would not stand nonsense and he induced Sir S. P. Sinha after a few months to leave the Bar and become a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal, in succession to Sir Shamsul Huda. Sir S. P. Sinha left the Bar, but before he could be installed in office as Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal he was called upon by Lord Chelmsford to proceed to England as a Member of the Imperial and War Conference of 1917. It was then that, at the instance of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Mr. T. C. P. Gibbons was brought out from England as Advocate-General of Bengal in supersession of the rightful claims of Sir B. C. Mitter. Sir B. C. Mitter, who had been holding the position of Standing Counsel from 1910 to 1917 resigned office at once and held undisputed sway at the Bar. He was never offered the permanent position then or at any subsequent time, and it is not correct to say that he declined the office of the Advocate-General because of the reason put forward by the *Times*.

Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, when he came to know Sir. B. C. Mitter in 1919, expressed his deep regret that Sir B. C. Mitter's claims to the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal had been scandalously overlooked and was about to appoint him as Chief Justice of Allahabad when the eleventh hour intervention of Lord Reading in favour of Sir Grimwood Mears prevented Mr. Montagu from carrying out his original intention. I was not in England at that time ; but ask Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani for the full details of that transaction.

FINANCIAL NOTES

The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Report

The report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, which concluded its labours more than two months ago, was at last released for publication on the 12th of August. The report is in three volumes. Volume I presents the survey and recommendations of the Committee, volume II records that part of the evidence which was collected as replies to general questionnaire, and volume III gives the replies to special questionnaire, notes and memoranda and minutes of oral evidence.

The main report, as embodied in volume I, is divided into eight parts. Part I deals with introductory studies comprising economic features of Bengal and the existing credit agencies ; part II is on credit for agriculture, minor industries and internal trade ; part III gives the study of Co-operation in the province ; part IV is on legislation, etc. as affecting economic life and credit institutions ; part V deals with indigenous finance including banks, bankers, money-lenders, and loan offices ; part VI takes up other miscellaneous subjects like banking practice, negotiable instruments, etc., part VII is on investment habit and attraction of capital, and part VIII gives a summary of the entire report, paragraph by paragraph.

The summary of the principal findings of the Committee have been published in various dailies and weeklies, and hardly any useful purpose will be served by repeating them here. We shall, therefore, make an attempt to bring out and critically examine the special features of the report and shall go into details on subjects that have not drawn adequate public attention.

The basic features of the Bengal Banking Enquiry Report seem to be in the following :

(a) A thorough enquiry into the economic life of the province and a more or less complete economic survey of past and present conditions as affecting credit requirements have been made.

(b) The real cause of agricultural indebtedness and of the peasants' improvidence has been discovered not to lie so much on social and religious ceremonies as on their precarious existence on account of extreme poverty.

(c) The effective solution of the problem has been sought both in relieving the present burden of indebtedness as well as in devising means to augment agricultural capital.

(d) The only way to provide for both these requirements is considered to lie in the wide extension of the Co-operative movement.

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(e) Emphasis is laid on the need for improvements in marketing of agricultural produce and organization of markets for different commodities with standardized weights, measures and quality in order to create and foster further credit. The eatablishment of licensed warehouses, and the introduction of trade acceptances for setting free commercial credit are two essentials in this connection.

(f) Protective legislation, on the lines of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, restricting free transfer of land by an agricultural tenant is not considered necessary.

(g) Legislation for the regulation of the activities of money-lenders and their registration is considered desirable, but it is recognized that the solution of the problem of usury must lie not so much in legislative restrictions as in the establishment of suitable credit institutions which will render usurious activities impossible.

(h) Finally, it is noted that the problems of credit and banking in the province are closely dependent on wider financial situation of the country as a whole. Solutions must be sought, therefore, with due regard to all-India problems. Viewed from this point the primary requirement for the expansion of banking organization in the country is a well-organized money-market with a central bank at its head to control credit as well as the currency policy.

The Committee deserves our congratulation, if not for any new and attractive scheme for revolutionizing the ecomomic life of the people, at least for the collection of much valuable data and their presentation in a most useful form for future workers in the field of economics of rural Bengal.

The Committee discovers that the fertility of agricultural land in Bengal is deteriorating steadily on account of the absence of manure, and the yield of the different crops has become less and less during the last five quinquenniums. There are hardly any peasant proprietors except in the *khas-mehal* estates and innumerable intermediate tenures have grown up between the proprietor and the cultivator in almost every estate. Agricultural holdings are found almost in all cases to be very small, the settlement records of eighteen districts giving the average area as between ·61 to 2.82 acres. The Committee, however, noticed some discrepancy between these findings and the estimates given in some of the older Government reports, and after a series of assumptions concluded that the averege area of a holding for each agricultural family is 5·21 acres. One fails to understand why the Committee grew so apologetic in recording their findings of fragmentation of the soil, and of the increase of uneconomic holdings in the province. To make the study of holdings useful what was needed was a classification of different holdings into groups showing the number of holdings of different size in the province. Mere average on the total is more misleading than informative.

Each holding is divided into a number of fields or plots, which are often scattered over considerable distances and are hardly ever contiguous. The average area of these plots is only about a quarter of an acre. This affects the credit of an agriculturist, for he can rarely get a loan from anybody other than a neighbour.

The following table shows the average profits of cultivation per acre of the principal crops in Bengal, which a gentleman farmer who hires all labour, human and cattle, and uses methods employed in Government farms, can expect to make in an average year. This is particularly of interest as showing the possibilities of agriculture as an occupation of the vast number of our unemployed young men.

Name of crop	Average cost of production	Normal yield per acre		Harvest price per maund in 1928-29		Value of produce per acre		Profit
	Rs.	lbs.	Mds.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.
Rice (cleaned)	47	1,022	12·4	6	10	82	2	37
Other food crops (wheat)	33	721	9	6	0	54	0	21
Jute	92	1,331	16·2	9	0	145	12	54
Oil-seeds (rape and mustard)	33	483	5·8	8	12	50	12	18
Cane-sugar (*gur*)	276	3,054	37·2	8	9	318	8	42
Tobacco	168	1,007	12·2	20	0	244	0	76

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Within the last two generations a remarkable advance has been made in the standard of living of the Bengal peasant. The average income of an agricultural family from agriculture alone is Rs. 406 per annum or Rs. 79 per head of population. An average annual income of Rs. 44 per family is obtained from subsidiary occupations, bringing the total income up to Rs. 450 a year. The estimated expenditure of such a family is Rs. 420 per annum leaving a small surplus of Rs. 30 per family or Rs. 6 per head. There is thus little room for improving the standard of living of the peasants unless means are devised to improve the productiveness of the soil and to bring to the producer a greater share of the value of crops, than what he now receives.

The Committee observes that the rigours of the caste system as affecting free choice of occupations in Bengal are not very stringent. The expenses of social ceremonies are disproportionately high among the middle classes, causing many and heavy debts ; but this evil is not so prominent among agriculturists.

In course of a general description of existing credit agencies the Committee discovers that so far as the Imperial Bank of India is concerned two things deserve scrutiny, namely, that "the resources of Bengal are being employed in other parts of India to a greater extent than before," and that "the proportion of Indian to European deposits is higher than the proportion of Indian to European advances in the Bengal circle." The public of Bengal can rightly demand why such invidious practices have not been condemned by the Committee strongly enough. The exclusiveness of the Exchange banks has also not been commented upon, and it appears that the Committee could not muster sufficient courage to expose the exploitation of the resources of this province by foreigners.

The total agricultural debt in Bengal is estimated roughly to be Rs. 100 crores. This figure is obtained with reference to the statement of indebtedness of members of rural Co-operative credit societies, and from a study of *per capita* registered and unregistered debt, which amount to Rs. 16 and Rs. 18 respectively. From these the average debt of rural families is calculated to be Rs. 175, including both agriculturists and non-agriculturists.

This indebtedness is mainly due to improvidence and poverty and not so much to litigation or social ceremonies.

The average annual expenditure of an agricultural family of 5·15 persons cultivating a farm of 5·21 acres is estimated as follows:

		Rs.	As.
1.	Cost of cultivation	69	2
2.	Rent, cesses and rates	28	6
3.	Food	225	0
4.	Clothing	35	0
5.	Lighting	5	12
6.	Tobacco and betel	7	12
7.	Repairs and renewals	12	0
8.	Social and religious ceremonies	15	0
9.	Miscellaneous, including education, amusements, entertainment of relations or visitors, etc.	22	0
	Total	420	0

Of this sum the cash requirement is calculated to be Rs. 320 only, which has to be met from the sale of produce or from loans. Assuming that on an average one-half of this amount or Rs. 160 only may have to be borrowed as short-term loan, the total requirement for the short and intermediate loans for the six million agriculturist families in Bengal is estimated at Rs. 96 crores.

Apart from the improvement of existing credit facilities for providing short-term loans, the Committee lays great emphasis on the need for long-term agricultural credit. The present requirements of the province have been estimated to be Rs. 62 crores, of which Rs. 44 crores represent mortgage debt leaving 18 crores of unsecured debt.

The two requisites for agricultural improvement are in the opinion of the Committee, repayment of old debts and the stoppage of waste due mainly to fragmentation of the soil, want of irrigation and lack of knowledge of scientific agriculture. Everyone will agree with these findings of the Committee, but the proposal for the establishment of co-operative land mortgage banks for providing the requisite long-term credit appears to be open to objection. Apart from the figures for the multiplication of co-operative societies in the province those that have experience of actual working of these in rural Bengal know how they have failed to inspire that spirit of mutuality on which their success depends. So long as the present state of illiteracy and superstition continues it is idle to think of much to come out of co-operative organizations, and in highly technical matters like the financing of agricultural improvements with long-term credit few co-operative central

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banks can venture to interest themselves. The experience of co-operative jute sale societies in Bengal during the last three years does not encourage us to support any new field of co-operative activity so long as real and active co-operation cannot be secured. Mere belief in co-operative principles and their successful application in other countries are no grounds for our looking up to co-operative methods as the only panacea for most of the evils in our rural life. The Loan offices of Bengal, which have built up quite independently an amount of credit almost equal to that of the co-operative societies are likely to be of greater help in the reconstruction of the country-side, so long as the people are not sufficiently advanced in education to manage their own institutions without the help of professionals.

Valuable suggestions have been made by the Committee for improving the marketing of agricultural produce. The most important of these is that on the establishment of licensed warehouses. We are entirely at one with the authors of the report in emphasizing that no real improvement in the economic condition of the agriculturist can be effected without the establishment of warehouses which will not only teach the peasant prudence, but will also secure for him reasonable prices for his products. The proposal for encouraging local *aratdars* to adapt themselves to the conditions of licensed warehouses has our support.

Mention should here be made of the preference given to Europeans by the jute mills, as discovered by the Committee. The Indian merchants in the Calcutta jute market find much difficulty in disposing of their stock to the mills. Their names or marks, with rare exceptions, are not recognized by the mills in utter disregard of their proved integrity and their financial position. They are compelled to sell through European firms of brokers, who are in most cases merchants themselves. They take advantage of the best market to sell their own goods first, and the Indian clients get their chance only when they are no longer sellers themselves. The Indian merchants again has to pay a brokerage of 1¼ per cent, while the European merchants dealing directly with the mills have not to pay any brokerage at all. With a few exceptions the mills do not allow the Indian brokers to call on them to sell jute. Thus, direct sale to the mills is practically closed to Indian merchants. This is a position serious enough and calls for immediate cure. But in vain do we search the pages of the report to find suggestions for an effective remedy.

Regarding credit for internal trade, including the distribution of imported goods the Committee finds existing facilities to be extremely limited, and negotiable instruments seldom used. The accommodation required by wholesale dealers of Calcutta is obtained generally by borrowing on *hundis*, *i.e.*, on personal credit. These merchants also grant credit to their clients in the same way. In the movement of the products to the exporting centres credit can similarly be obtained only on personal security. In rare cases the bill of lading can be used as security for discounting the *hundi* drawn on the Calcutta agent. All other transactions in the internal trade are on cash basis. For goods sold on credit the Committee urges the introduction of trade acceptances. Although there are obvious practical difficulties in inducing our creditors to draw bills and our debtors to accept them, we welcome this experiment. This will at any rate provide new field of work for the loan offices in the mofussal, which are anxiously looking out for the development of commercial bills in the interior.

Speaking of industrial credit the Committee notes that Bengal contains a large variety of middle-sized industries, mostly in and around Calcutta. These have to depend in many cases on borrowed funds as the initial capital is almost always exhausted in setting up the factory with the necessary equipment. A special type of industrial banks should be orgainized to help these concerns, which, for want of suitable financing agencies are greatly handicapped today. The Committee must have noticed in this connection that only the Bengalee banks in Calcutta came forward to help in the building up of Bengal's industries. The attitude of the Imperial Bank, the Exchange banks, and even of the non-Bengalee Indian banks carrying on extensive business in Calcutta, on the question of encouragement of industries in Bengal, is highly to be deplored.

Part V dealing with indigenous finance is perhaps the most useful portion of the report, bringing to light many things not hitherto known. The Committee hopes that some measure of co-ordination between indigenous bankers and other credit institutions will be secured, but it is not quite sure how to effect this co-ordination. The loan offices

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of Bengal have been thoroughly examined by the Committee and numerous valuable suggestions have been made for improving their working. We find this section extremely useful and we commend it to all who are interested in the administration and establishment of loan offices in the province. We are no lovers of legistative control or guidance of credit institutions however, and therefore we feel that the Committee has gone rather too far in its reliance on statutory reforms. A Federation of Bankers in Bengal can surely do a lot to bring about necessary improvements, and we trust that our loan offices will try voluntary methods before the activities of some of them may call for legislative interference generally.

How the Boycott Tells

After all that is said and all that is done it is necessary to examine how far the efforts directed towards the boycott of foreign cloth, so vehemently urged for the last seven months, have had their adequate return. The following statistics of movements of cotton twist and yarn, and of cotton piece-goods are given to help our readers to form their own judgment.

IMPORTS

A. COTTON TWIST AND YARN

(i) During week ending August 9, 1930, and Corresponding Week of 1929

(In thousand lbs.)

Into	1930	1929
Calcutta	230	327
Bombay	84	333
Madras	21	227
Total	335	887

(ii) During last three months, April to June, 1930

(a) Grey (in thousand lbs.)

	Apl.	May	June	Jan.-June
United Kingdom	632	661	545	4,511
Japan	510	549	379	2,686
Other Countries	880	1,091	938	6,071
Total (1930)	2,022	2,301	1,862	13,268
„ 1929	3,410	2,282	2,342	17,145
„ 1928	1,108	2,274	2,226	10,508

(b) White (in thousand lbs.)

United Kingdom	372	427	353	2,170
Japan	10	39	77	246
Other Countries	4	—	2	9
Total 1930	386	466	432	2,425
„ 1929	682	509	596	3,219
„ 1928	378	412	394	2,103

(c) Coloured (Cotton Twists and Yarn) In thousand lbs.

United Kingdom	142	191	180	1,236
Japan	—	—	4	4
Other Countries	58	16	22	452
Total 1930	200	207	206	1,692
„ 1929	393	418	422	2,511
„ 1928	276	237	340	1,828

B. COTTON PIECE-GOODS

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930 and Corresponding Week of 1929

(In thousand Yards)

	Grey.		White.		Other kinds.	
	1930	1929	1930	1929	1930	1929
Calcutta	6,158	18,020	3,188	2,852	3,867	2,967
Bombay	722	4,932	716	2,464	969	5,011
Karachi	12		151	774	186	324
Madras	39	354	23	710	21	352
Rangoon	449	320	716	878	1,813	1,783
Total	7,380	23,626	4,794	7,678	6,856	10,437

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(ii) During last three months, April to June 1930

(a) Grey (in lakhs of Yards)

	April	May	June	Jan. to June
United Kingdom	442	285	130	2,441
Japan	298	341	227	1,893
America	—	2	1	4
Other Countries	1	—	1	19
Total 1930	741	628	359	4,357
,, 1929	1,016	711	352	4,701
,, 1928	818	463	234	3,350

(b) White (in lakhs of Yards)

United Kingdom	426	348	259	2,258
Other Countries	50	48	33	279
Total 1930	476	396	292	2,537
,, 1929	596	394	344	2,742
,, 1928	593	662	466	3,243

(c) Coloured, printed or dyed (in lakhs of yards)

	Apr.	May	June	Jan to June
United Kingdom	285	206	153	1,353
Continent	21	22	19	162
Japan	105	75	82	736
Other Countries	9	10	8	54
Total 1930	420	313	262	2,305
,, 1929	515	442	306	2,457
,, 1928	451	474	366	2,603

From the above figures for imports it will be seen that in cotton twists and yarn the decline on the total figures for January to June 1930 has not been very marked in comparison with the figures for corresponding periods of the last two years, 1929 and 1928. Imports during the week ending 9th August however shows a sharp decline and it may be presumed that the effects of the boycott have now begun to be reflected on this trade. Further, it is probable that those local consumers of imported cotton twists and yarns who could not adapt themselves to new conditions immediately after the inauguration of the boycott are gradually getting themselves adjusted to the demand in the country.

In the case of cotton piece-goods however, the decline in imports during the last few weeks has been remarkable. During the week ending 9th August, only 7,380,000 yards of grey piece-goods were imported, the corresponding figure for last year being 23,626,000.

Attention should here be drawn to the fact that mere import figures are not indicative of the trade in foreign yarn and piece-goods that is going on internally in the country. We are aware, that a large proportion of these imported goods are lying stocked in various ports for want of up-country buyers. The following figures for despatches by rail will throw considerable light on the question how far the boycott has affected the actual sale of imported cotton yarn and piece-goods.

DESPATCHES BY RAIL

A. COTTON TWIST AND YARN (In Cwts.)

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930

	Foreign	Indian	Total
Calcutta	394	3,126	3,520
Bombay	643	4,694	5,337
Karachi	—	2	2
Madras	680	1,180	1,860
Total	1,717	9,002	10,719
	50,647	251,450	302,097

B. COTTON PRICE-GOODS (in Tons)

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930

	Foreign	Indian	Total
Calcutta	135	210	345
Bombay	33	695	728
Karachi	—	1	1
Madras	112	169	281
Total (tons)	280	1,075	1,355

In examining the net effects of the boycott a study should be made of the conditions reflecting in Great Britain in this connection. The position there in the textile industry has continued to be gloomy for some years past, and the blow that the anti-British movement in India has dealt to that industry can easily be imagined. In the review of foreign trade of the United Kingdom for the month of June, we find that the textile trades made the poorest showing among exports during the month. Shipments of all classes of cotton goods were smaller than in May last or in June, 1929. Compared with that month the exports of grey yarn were 1,215,000 lbs. smaller, shipments of grey piece-goods fell off by 18,808,000 square yards, bleached piece-goods by 27,370,000 square yards, printed piece-goods by nearly 5,500,000 square yards, and dyed piece-goods by some 11,700,000 square yards. The main reason for these declines was the fact that the "Eastern" markets showed the greatest decrease in takings.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

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Industry and Research

The importance of research to industry has been fully recognized both in America and Europe. But India still lags behind in this respect, and, therefore, the remarks of one of the contributors to the *Scientific Indian* are very timely :

One of the greatest drawbacks of Industrial India is that the manufacturers cannot afford to maintain a well-equipped laboratory or engage the services of qualified chemists for regularly testing their products and for suggesting improvements upon them. And even if they could afford they would not. Because the necessity of employing a chemist or maintaining a laboratory is hardly realised in this country. Indian industrialists think it wasteful to spend money for such a purpose. Yet Industry owes a great deal to Research.

In the industrial West it is customary—well-nigh compulsory—to house a laboratory in the plant and include a chemist on the staff. The expenses incurred are gladly borne and in the long run amply repay in many ways. Research helps industry in improving the quality of products ; in lowering manufacturing costs ; in preventing wastes ; in utilising by-products. Above all it guarantees purity and maintains a standard upon which alone lasting goodwill is built. The simple mention of the Kodak Laboratories of international fame will suffice as an instance in point. The popularity of photography the world over is indissolubly linked with the research carried therein.

These remarks apply particularly in the case of India now that she is witnessing another phase in her much needed industrial renaissance. If she intends to make abiding progress she must adopt some of the methods pursued by Western industries.

Few manufactories in this country can boast of a laboratory as an annexe to their workshops. The manufacturing process is left in charge of laymen who have little or no knowledge of industrial chemistry and certainly without any vocational training. One baneful result of such a procedure is that swadeshi articles often acquire a bad reputation, being immature products of amateur experiments.

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Old Age Pensions and Insurance

Mr. Leroy A. Lincoln writes in *Indian Insurance* on the place held by insurance in national business structure, and points out, in this connection, one of the neglected aspects of insurance :

One more product deserves mention here. Perhaps it might be called the complement of life insurance. I refer to pensions—annuities, of course in our parlance. American business has but lately come to realize that the human machine, like its other machines, will become old, worn out, obsolete. The spirit which now pervades our employers forbids the scrapping of the human machines which have given faithful service in their useful years, but recognizes that these machines wear out. Instead, then, of scrapping the machines, far-seeing employers are through pension funds preparing in advance to substitute old age pensions for wages. How shall they be organized and managed ? What shall they provide ? These are questions which are occupying a prominent place in the minds of keen students of sociological problems in public and private life. Leaders in government are alive to the question. Individual States are considering the subject through their legislatures. Life insurance companies have been developing group pension programmes available to employers desiring to make old age pension provisions for their employees. There is much for us to learn, much for the public to learn, but it is rapidly becoming apparent that some vehicle, public or private must be found for organizing and managing systems of old age pensions which shall be purely pensions without those frills which so materially increase the cost. Our companies must meet this problem and meet it squarely if we do not wish to see it taken out of our hands by government. Surely, the institution of life insurance in this country will be alert to devise and present appropriate means of satisfying the growing demand for this sort of protection on a basis which, both in cost and in administration, will be superior to any service which government may be expected to provide.

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The Governor-General in the Dominions

A great change has come over the position of the Governor-General of the Dominions during recent years so that their rights and powers as laid down in the written constitutions have became more or less antiquated. The whole subject is dealt with by Mr. St. Nihal Singh in *The Indian Review* :

The (written) Constitutions of the other Dominions are more or less antiquated documents, containing all the formulas that appear to make the Governor-General supreme in legislation and

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administration, but lack the provisions whereby those formulas are reduced to legal fictions, all legislative power residing in the legislature and all administrative power being exercised by the Ministry, responsible exclusively to the legislature.

A Governor-General may be able to exercise a measure of influence upon the course of legislation and administration through offering sage advice to the Ministry, but the Ministry may choose to disregard his counsel and refuse to pay heed even to his warnings. The responsibility is the Ministry's and not the Governor-General's. As the constitutional representative of a constitutional monarch, the Dominion Governor-General must, in the last analysis, follow the advice tendered to him by the Ministry, whether he may deem it wise or no.

Not quite half a dozen years ago the Governor-General of Canada (the Viscount Bying of Vimy) chose to act otherwise upon one occasion. Instead of dissolving Parliament, as he was asked to do by the Premier (Mr. MacKenzie King), he, on his own initiative or at the suggestion of a Conservative statesman (as it was openly said in Canada) sent for the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Arthur Meighan) and charged him with the task of forming a new Government.

At the election that followed some months later, and witnessed by me on the spot, it was apparent that the majority of the voters in the Dominion did not favour any such innovation. Mr. King and his Liberals headed the polls. The Conservatives were beaten. Mr. Meighan was personally defeated and resigned his leadership and returned to his legal practice.

The verdict of the electors was plain to any one who had the eyes to see. It is to be doubted that any other Governor-General of Canada will try again to rule of his own initiative instead of following the advice tendered to him by his constitutional advisers.

Shortly after his triumphal return to power, Mr. King crossed the Atlantic and attended a session of the Imperial Conference from which emanated a document designed to reduce to writing the more important innovations introduced in Dominion practice since their creation as self-governing nations. The importance of the part that the Canadian Prime Minister played in those deliberations has never been understood at anything like its true worth.

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Indian Women of To-day

In her special address on India, which Mrs. William Graham, the wife of the President of the British Board of Trade, delivered before the British Women's Conference in London, she referred eloquently to the Indian women of to-day. Her speech has been quoted in full in *Stridharma*, from which we quote the following extracts :

To the women, whose love for freedom is inspiring, we owe a duty which no political or other loyalty should effect. There are women in this country who throw up their hands in horror at India's social evils, and go about asking, "What can we do to help Indian women ?" Indian women are quite capable of helping themselves, if only we will let them work out their own salvation. The women of India are Indians first and women afterwards.

They are in the forefront in social reform ; they are organised. The Women's Indian Association is a powerful body. I am glad to be able to have read at this Conference this afternoon a message from its Vice-President, who until recently was the Deputy-Speaker of the Madras Council—a place which she has held for nearly a decade, and to which she has been unanimously elected and re-elected. We have with us Dr. Besant, its President-founder and Mrs. Hannah Sen, its London representative. I have also met on different occasions its secretaries and other

Indian women through this and other Associations have accomplished what to me seems stupendous tasks. In education, in child-marriage reform, in the abolition of untouchability, in temperance, in the abolition of evil customs, and in every other department of national progress the women of India are taking a full share. Our task is not to lecture them on feminism, but to remove such restraints as are imposed on them by us. If we do that we have done all that we need do. If we fight shy of that we lay ourselves open to doubt regarding our sincerity. You cannot work for equality or freedom for Indian women without giving equality and freedom to India herself. I leave this thought with those of you who are engaged in securing equality of citizenship for women in the British Empire. It is not the men of India, but we, who are keeping the women of India in an inferior status of citizenhip.

The women of India have no need for our lip sympathy. They are truly in earnest about their country. Their influence in the national and domestic life in India is unbounded. Some of them are to-day in prisons, but no prison will hold all India's daughters. If we can sell our goods and nurse the glory of our Empire only by keeping the women of India in prison let us make our choice to divest ourselves of the Empire.

—

New Turkish Literature

Dr. Julius Germanus, who holds the chair of Islamic studies endowed by the Nizam, in the Visva-Bharati, writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* on the modern movements in Islam in course of which he gives on account of the new movement in Turkish literature :

In the half a century which has elapsed since the works of the young Turkish writers first appeared, Turkish literature has traversed a long road. The sonorous phrases even of Namik Kemal, Ziya Pasha or Abdul Hakk Hamid appeared cumbrous and gave way to the pure language of the people. Turkish nationalism liberated itself from the bondage of the past. The Arabic tongue no longer occupied a sanct position ; conglomerations of foreign words without any meaning became obsolete. The Turkish language again became a means to express thoughts and not to conceal them. The older literature grew more and more alien in spirit to the Turks and were enjoyed less and

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less. Fuzuli, Nedim and Baki were often referred to by modern writers but were scarcely read; like the venerable old arm-chair in the corner, uncomfortable to sit in, the older writers were shoved into the background. The changing times created new ideas and new forms. Instead of the *ghazel* with its monotonous theme, European poetry with its great variety warmed itself into the hearts of the people. *Redjayizade Ekrem* was a pioneer of European poetic forms, and at the same time a master of the tenderest tones in the Turkish style. Dramatic literature produced a genius of extraordinary ability: Abdul Hakk Hamid, who in his prose dramas soars to the level of immortality. French literary movements readily influenced the Turkish poets, and the impressionistic school soon found imitators in Tevfik Fikret and in that most ingenious writer Djenab Shihab Eddin. Prose literature found a new vehicle in the Turkish novel (called the "national" novel (*milli*) because it deals with social problems), and a number of writers contributed to create the typical Turkish novel of the present day: a symbolistic, romantic and melancholy story. Humoristic literature also developed rapidly as being most congenial to the Turkish spirit. All these literary productions reflect the slow but sure awakening of the Turkish spirit from its slumber of centuries. Every new literary work was a step forward in the liberation of the language from its foreign shackles, and also marked from day to day the advance of the Turkish people in their struggle to get free from both Asiatic and European despotism. Poets began to sing the songs of their own hearts, in the language of the people; novelists to describe in a popular form the lives of men of the people and Turkish politicians began, at long last, to act in the interest of the people. Time-honoured words and expressions from the classics, familiar and cherished as they were to older ears and tastes, were rudely brushed aside to give place to the words of the peasant of Anatolia. A new Turkish literature was created for the Turks, in the language of the Turks.

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Social Hygiene in Britain

Dr. B. C. Oliver writes in *The National Christian Council Review* on the progress of social hygiene in Britain. The work of promoting this work has for some years past been carried on by the British Social Hygiene Council, which is an influential body including many distinguished scientists, educationists and statesmen as members. The educational aspect of this work of which an account is given by Dr. Oliver and quoted below, is one of its most important sides:

The British Social Hygiene Council, during the last twelve years, has placed the educational aspect of its work in the forefront of its programme, recognising that it is a changed attitude of mind on the part of the public that will lead to the prevention of venereal diseases. In their educational programme they have passed beyond the negative idea of prevention, and are striving to lay the foundation for a healthy social life. In their statement of aims and objects, more than half are directly concerned with the positive aspect, *viz.*

1. To preserve and strengthen the family as the basic social unit.

2. To promote educative and social measures directed towards the development of control of the racial instinct.

3. To emphasize the responsibility of the community and the individual for preserving or improving, by educative and social measures, the quality of future generations.

4. To further social customs which promote a high and equal standard of sex conduct in men and women.

5. To co-operate...to secure these ends.

The major educational associations are represented on the Social Hygiene Council.

It was recognised that arrangements would have to be made for a programme for schools and for the public. The schools must be reached through the teachers and through the educational authorities. Conferences of school teachers in secondary education have been called, summer schools and instructional courses of lectures have been provided, addresses have been given to many educational associations.

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Muhammadan Waterworks

Love of running water was very strong with the Muhammadan rulers of India, and it led them to provide for tanks and reservoirs in their buildings. This interesting subject is dealt very interestingly in the *Indian State Railways Magazine* by Mr. E. F. Allnutt:

A love for the presence of water—especially of running water—is characteristic of Muhammadan design, whether it be of royal or of a more modest domestic interior, or of a formal garden around tomb or shrine. In this respect Moslem taste is in sharp contrast with the Hindu preference for large expanses of still water as exemplified by innumerable tanks and wells.

This marked fondness for ornamental water which can be observed quite as well in Muhammadan domestic design of to-day, as from the monuments and gardens which remain to us from Moghul genius of the past, is not only one of the most pleasing conventions in Saracenic architecture but, in garden planning, is the element that has probably done more than anything else to stereotype the form which, to Muhammadan feeling, the ideal garden should take. It has been said that a garden, whether it contain flowers or not must include masonry, trees, sward and running water in its composition in order to become a satisfying work of art. Whether this be so or not—and many, doubtless, will dispute it—it is beyond question that, by the skilful use running water, confined and conveyed by a modicum of mason's work, and relieved by, sometimes a very restrained quantity of vegetation, Muhammadan garden planners have often succeded in creating delightful,

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sequestered oases of refreshment in the most unpromising corners of a parched and thirsty land.

It may well be that this predilection for decorative water, which was so generally evinced by the Moghul invaders of the Punjab, was the expression of an inborn taste that could but rarely be indulged in the barren, dessicated regions of High Asia from whence they came. To a people accustomed to the forbidding, inhospitable uplands of Turkestan ill-watered at best and often mere desert, descent into the verdant plants of the Five Rivers must have seemed the entry into an earthly Paradise. In the midst of the cultivated fertile and shady groves of a scene that contrasted so strikingly with the sterile wastes which they had left behind they lost no time in ministering to a desire for luxurious ease once the stern business of conquest was accomplished. And the abundance of water gave them an opportunity of using it lavishly in the building activity that quickly followed success in the field. Together with the erection of palace, fort and mosque went the layout of garden and court and, in all, provision was made for water—precious alike for its life-giving refreshment, its cool, soothing beauty and its symbolism.

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Unity of Indian Trade Unions

Mr. R. S. Ruiker, President of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union pleads for unity among Indian trade unions in *The Indian Labour Review*. After referring to the present split in the Indian trade union world and the unemployment problem, Mr. Ruiker goes on to say :

But what has been the lead that we have given to the various trade unions in the country? To-day we stand as scattered sheep and our common enemy is steadily gaining ground. The G. I. P. Railway strike was suppressed by the Government by eviction of strikers from their quarters, by hundreds of prosecutions against most peaceful and innocent railway workers, and in some cases against their leaders too ; and thousands of strikers are still being kept out of employment on the G. I. P. Railway. The workers asked for bread and received a stone

All this is due to our ranks being hopelessly divided. The time has really come when an earnest effort ought to be made to present a united front to our common enemy. The necessity for presenting such a united front is more urgent becase of the grave political crisis through which India is passing today. The Simon Commission, the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London, the most phenomenal non-violent movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, all these questions require the closest attention from every Trade Unionist in the country. Labour in India can no longer afford to shut its eyes to the glorious fight for freedom which is being fought today in India. But unfortunately there is no strong central organisation which can give a clear lead on these burning questions which vitally affect the future of the Trade Union movement.

It is more easy to state the problem that confronts us than to find a satisfactory solution for it. I make my humble suggestions for what they are worth. I quite agree with the editor of *The Indian Labour Review* that violence of any sort has to be ruled out of consideration, whether it emanates from Moscow, or England. We do not want a policy of violence dictated from Moscow, nor do we want slavish submission to a foreign rule based partly on violence. So long as the British Trade Union Congress and its political counterpart, the British Labour Party, headed by Mr. Romsay MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, endorses a policy of ruthless repression and rules by ordinances, Indian workers cannot very well accept the lead of the British Trade Union Congress.

The Indian workers, situated as they are, must chalk out their own economic and political programme without caring for the frowns or favours of Geneva or the jeers and gibes of Moscow. Indian Trade Unions must refuse to be dictated to either by Geneva or by Moscow. It is the slavish imitation of either Geneva or Moscow which has been the root cause of all our troubles and meaningless fights. We must brush aside the docile trade-unionist who subordinates the interests of thousands of starving Indian workers either to the dictates of the British Trade Union Congress or those of the Geneva school of thought. We must eqally give up the meaningless imitation of Moscowite programmes which only mean disaster to the Indian working class.

—

Hindu Religious Thought and Western Mysticism

That Hindu religious thought has things to learn from Western mysticism is not perhaps commonly realized. In the series of articles which M. Romain Rolland has been contributing the *Prabuddha Bharat*, he pointed out the three lessons which Hindu religious thought might be interested to learn from the West :

To sum up : the following in my opinion are the three chief lessons that Hindu religious thought should be interested to learn, and to take from European Mysticism :

1. The architectural sense of Christian mysticism. I have just described it in the work of Denis ; and his sovereign art is to be found throughout the Middle Ages. The men who raised the cathedrals, carried into the construction of the mind the same genius of intelligent order and harmonious balance that made them the master-builders of the arches linking the Infinite to the finite.

2. The psychological science of the Christian explorers of the "Dark Night" of the Infinite. In it they expended a genius, at least equal—(sometimes superior)—to that which has since been deviated into profane literature, through the theatre and the novel. The psychology of the mystic masters of the sixteenth century in Spain and the seventeenth century in France foreshadowed that of the classical poets: and modern thinkers who imagine that they have discovered the Subconscious have scarcely reached the same level. It goes without saying that their interpretations differ. But the essential point is not the interpretation

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the name given by the mind to what it sees—but *what it sees*. The eyes of Western mysticism reached to the limits of the inaccessible.

3. The formidable energies that Western mysticism uses to achieve Divine Union, in particular the passionate violence of the European accustomed to battle and action. It devoured Ruysbroeck, so that his Bhakti (Love) sometimes took on the guise of the Seven Deadly Sins "Implacable Desire," the fury of mortal "Combat," the "torrent of delights" and the embrace of carnal possession, and the colossal hunger of the Epicurean. Similarly the "*Irascibilis*" of Eckhart whose Soul being identical to God's "cannot bear anything above it, even God Himself," and so seizes Him by force.

In these three directions I believe that Indian Mysticism might find sources of enrichment.

—

Modern Cynicism and its Remedy

In the same paper are quoted some remarks of Mr. Bertrand Russell in modern cynicism and its remedy:

Russell shows how religion, country, progress, beauty and truth have lost their old influences on men. Religion is intellectually unsound,—the God of most moderns is a little vague. Patriotism no longer attracts,—"It is obvious to all intelligent young men that patriotism is the curse of our age and will bring civilization to an end if it cannot be mitigated." Similarly of progress, beauty and truth. "Myself when young accepted this view (that truth was absolute, eternal and superhuman) and devoted a misspent youth to the search for truth. But a whole host of enemies have risen to slay truth; pragmatism, behaviorism, psychologism, relativity-physics. . . . . It is difficult to worship a merely human and relative truth."

Not these alone. There are also other reasons for cynicism. "The effect of mass production and elementary education is that stupidity is more firmly entrenched than at any other time since the rise of civilization . . . . The work of the intellectuals is ordered and paid for by governments or rich men whose aims probably seem absurd, if not pernicious, to the intellectuals concerned. But a dash of cynicism enables them to adjust their consciences to the situation." This then is the reason: Intellectually we are fine, but by action and mode of life, gross. The conflict is at the foundation of modern life.

What is the remedy then, according to Russell? "The cure will come only when intellectuals can find a career that embodies their creative impulses. I do not see any prescription except the old one advocated by Disraeli: 'Educate our masters.'" The intellectuals are to change the tastes of the stupid rich who are now holding the stage. "How pleasant a world would be in which no man was allowed to operate on the Stock Exchange unless he could pass an examination in economics and Greek poetry, and in which politicians were obliged to have a competent knowledge of history and modern novels." Causation in the modern world is more complex and remote in its ramifications than it ever was before, owing to the increase of large organizations, but those we control these organizations are ignorant men who do not know the hundredth part of the consequences of their actions."

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Federal India

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer subjects the proposals of the Simon Commission with regard to federal constitution for India to a thorough examination in *New India*. After referring to the proposals of the Simon Commission, Sir Sivaswami says:

There are a number of admissions in the Report of the Simon Commission which tell against their own recommendations. They concede that the conditions necessary for the development of the Federal Government do not now exist in India. They admit also that the present structure of the Government of India is one of the Unitary type. But what they say is that the present structure of the Government must be destroyed and broken up, and new political entities must be called into existence. The tendency of a Federal Government they observe, is towards greater and greater centralization. Even in the United States of America, the tendency has been increase the power of the Central Government. When that is the tendency even of a Government of the Federal type, does it not look strange that, when we are on the road towards that better type of Government, the Simon Commission should express a desire that we should pull down the existing edifice?

There are some arguments, put forth by them, in favour of a Federal system, which they seem to consider as having immense force. Let us consider British India. They say that the areas and populations of the different provinces are so vast that it is not possible to have a system of direct election to the Central Assembly. As regards the Provincial Councils, they seem to think that the difficulties do not exist. But the number of voters for the Provincial Legislature in some districts is nearly a lakh, and this number is sufficiently large to cause difficulties. I think the problem will be serious even for the local Legislative Councils. They think that the method of indirect election will solve the difficulties. But at what expense? It is observed by the Simon Commission themselves that the essential condition of any representative Democracy is that there should be contact between the voter and the member. Even as it is, it is difficult; it will be far more difficult, I may say, impossible, to secure any such contact under a scheme of indirect election. The result will be that the voter will not be trained at all to make his wishes known to the country at large. The voter would never think imperially, and would never be trained to do so. America adopted a system of indirect election to the Senate. But within the last 20 years or so, the system has been abandoned, and now there is direct election to the Senate. This experience of America carries with it a lesson.

The difficulties arising out of the size of electorates would be considerably reduced if as in England and other countries the party system is properly developed in India. It is conceded that in this country one party at any rate has fairly organized itself and has got sufficient influence—and in the

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eyes of some, perhaps too much influence—and it is actively working. In the same way, if other parties come into existence and establish their organizations, we can surmount the difficulties created by the vast population and area of each constituency.

Another absurdity which one would have believed the members of that Commission were incapable of perpetrating is that the same individual could a member of the local Council as well as the Imperial Legislature at the same time.

In a truly Federal Government, so far as fitness of the States for entering into the Central Government is concerned, they must all have a certain level of capacity, the assumption underlying this being that the various States ought not to be interfered with in their internal administration. But the Commission seem to think that such areas as the Agency Tracts of Ganjam and Orissa and Baluchistan are to be brought within the scope of the Federal Government. Do they contemplate that they are all fit for the exercise of complete internal autonomy? The Central Government would necessarily have to pay special attention to the internal management and administration of these backward areas, and therefore they could not possibly have that internal autonomy which is the fundamental postulate of any type of Federal Government. That seems to me to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of this argument of the Simon Commission which is based on the existence of backward areas. The Commission opine that during the march to the goal of responsible government, maintenance of the peace and safety of the country must continue to be an important concern of the Central Government. But I would ask the question: Would it cease to be a matter of Central concern after India had reached the goal?

I can see only one advantage in all these recommendations from the point of view of the Simon Commission. It is the inestimable advantage of putting off the transfer of responsibility to the people. The Commission has said that it is necessary to take "a long view" of the development of Indian Self-Government. Altogether their view is so long that Indian Self-Government cannot be realized within any measurable distance of time.

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Art and Industry

Mr. O. C. Gangoli, the veteran Bengali art critic pleads eloquently for the introduction artistic standards in the industrial productions of the country in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*:

Under the stress of the 'Swadeshi Movements', the fields of Industrial Arts have been made to yield all manners of 'home-made' products and articles 'made-in-India.' But these indigenous products, arts and crafts, are woefully devoid of any 'taste' or any 'sense' of beauty. Objects of daily use—articles of furniture, textiles, potteries and domestic utensils, etc.—acquire a new value when illuminated with the glow of taste and the polish of beauty. Industrial products lacking in artistic finish and in quality of design, as a rule, lag far behind in all competitive markets. In Europe, America and in Japan,—in the fields of education as of commerce, '*Application of Art to Industry*' is a favourite slogan and an inevitable article of faith for economic salvation. Ruskin's well-known dictum—'Industry without Art is Brutality'—became long ago an article of economic faith in all phases of industrial development in Europe. It is a well known fact—well recognised by people of shrewd commercial sense—that crafts and industrial products with a touch of artistic finish, or a novelty of design, are best sellers in international markets. All manners of Japanese arts and crafts, chiefly objects of daily use—by virtue of their novel ideas of design and the touch of their peculiar racial aesthetic flavour—captured the markets of Europe and America many decades ago. The output of Japanese export trade—in art-wares *e.g.*, pottery, screens, mattings, toys, etc.—runs into formidable figures. In woeful contrast the figures of export Indian trade in art-wares and industrial products display, every year, a steady tendency to a depressing downward course. The much-vaunted 'Wembley Show' proved to be an absolute moonshine and has failed to afford Indian products any decent foot-hold in the markets of Europe. The reasons for this may be more than one, but the most obvious reason is the poverty of design and finish in all forms of our modern Indian art-crafts. Unless Indian producers can brush up their aesthetic taste, revise their quality of design and stamp their wares with the peculiar mark of Indian genius, Indian products have very little chance in the competitive markets of Europe to-day. Art as a factor in industrial fields has yet to be recognized by Indian traders and industrialists.

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England in Palestine

British policy in Palestine has perhaps been vitiated by the fundamental error of trying to reconcile the irreconcilable—the Jewish and the Arab claims that is. This defect, as Mr. Vincent Sheean points out in *Asia* strikes at the very root of a sound system of administration for Palestine :

The position of England in Palestine is not a pleasant one for those Englishmen who have the good name of their country at heart. Both the Arabs and the Jews feel, with a fair show of reason, that Britain has betrayed them ; and to the observer who is not Arab nor Jewish nor English, it must seem that the British have put themselves into a situation in the Near East from which there is no escape with honour. The individual British officials in Palestine appear to do their best at all times, but they are defeated by the impossible regime they are pledged to serve. In this minute and barren country they are obliged to facilitate the establishment of a new nation without detriment to the rights of the nation which already lives there—a strange endeavour which rends their consciences, so that they become naturally divided into two groups, those who emphasize the first part of their duty and those who emphasize the second. That is to say, they become either pro-Jewish or pro-Arab, and a large part of their intellectual energy is dissipated in an effort to conquer the inevitable tendency to favouritism. Underneath this effort which may be stated in other terms as the attempt to deal justly and honorably with Palestine, is the troubled consciousness that England's slate is not clean : that England has not been really fair either to the Jews or to the Arabs, and that the Near East is strewn with England's broken pledges. Good government is difficult indeed under such circumstances.

Even those who most thoroughly dislike the theory and practice of British imperialism must admit that the British possess, as a race, the genius for government : no other Western people has ever done so well in the equitable control of the East. But in Palestine the fabric of British imperial tradition breaks down. It is not possible to be uniformly just in this country, where the whole basis of government is injustice. As a result, instead of impartial and inflexible rule, what we see in Palestine is a vibration between two opposed policies. The British are just to the Arabs one day and to the Jews the next—which is to say, unjust to the Jews one day and to the Arabs the next. No other course is possible, since experiment has abundantly shown that justice to both Arabs and Jews cannot exist under the Balfour Declaration.....

After this Mr. Sheean goes on to sketch the history of the British occupation of Palestine and summarizes his conclusions as follows :

To sum up : the British made a series of solemn but contradictory pledges during the war, promising Palestine to the Arabs, the French and the Jews in succession while the country still was part of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the war Britain bought off the French by giving them Syria and the Hauran. Since then a British civil administration has tried to govern the country justly but is handicapped at every turn by the effort to be faithful to conflicting commitments. This situation arises from, and was produced by, the double pronged Balfour Declaration, one prong of which imposes a Jewish nation on the Arabs, and the other prong of which forbids this new nation to disturb the "rights" of the same Arabs. The process has now continued, with a few sanguinary interludes arising from the reluctance of the Arabs to be so bandied about, for ten years. How long can it endure ?

The answer to our final question is more likely to be found in India than in Palestine. It is obvious that so long as India remains in the British Empire its defences (among which Palestine is important) must also remain. When India goes, the whole edifice goes with it. Palestine is now too organically woven into the whole system of Imperial defence to gain its freedom without a terrible struggle for which the Arabs are not prepared. The present regime, with all its inconsistency and weakness, is valuable to the continuance of the British Empire.

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The Futility of Wars

President Lowell of Harvard and President Angell of Yale have both spoken emphatically for the cause of pacifism. Their views are quoted and summarized in *Unity*.

President Lowell of Harvard in his emphasis in his recent baccalaureate address on "lack of of wisdom" as perhaps the most salient defect of our day, puts his finger on a sore spot. The majority of our people do not want intemperance, nor crime, nor war. They want to get rid of them, but they do not know how ; and in their action they are swayed by their partisanship and their passion. This is glaringly evident in the current discussion of Prohibition ; and president Lowell considered the present "chaotic condition" in this

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matter. He also took up the so-called "crime wave," the mournful revelations lawlessness and the attitude of the public to this problem. He then concentrated his attention upon the "lack of wisdom" in the nations in dealing with the war system. The folly and futility of war are now recognized by all sane and sensible men, and they have been brought home to us with startling new emphasis by the awful calamity of the World War, the most disastrous war in human history nineteen centuries after Christ. The united wisdom of the world should have been sufficient to prevent it, and should be able to ensure the world against a recurrence; but the wisdom of the world was not united and was not brought efficiently to bear. "The apologists for each belligerent explain that their side was not responsible and did not want it; and probably a majority of the people in every country engaged did not desire the war. Certainly a very large majority everywhere today lament the conditions that made it unavoidable. Yet there was not wisdom enough in the world to prevent it." President Lowell's wholesome moral was that the nations ought to apply their hearts unto wisdom and apply more definitely and unitedly the the wisdom which they have. "Wars need not occur if there were wisdom enough to direct the course of human conduct."

By impressive coincidence, this execration of war was the chief burden of President Angell's baccalaureate address at Yale at the same moment. He approached the subject from a different angle, but put the issue sharply up to the people of the United States.

Of all the nations of the earth (he said) we are the most powerful and have least at stake in any sheer question of armaments. On us above all others, therefore it rests to take generous and liberal attitudes, disregarding the pettifogging efforts to match with other nations inch for inch on the length of our guns and pound for pound on the tonnage of our vessels. To see our rulers haggling huckster-wise over such issues fills one with a sense of national shame.

He sharply exposed the grotesque futility of war as a means for the just settlement of international issues and its utterly irrational wastage of life and treasure. "The time is rapidly approaching," he added, "when even the fire-eating politician must hesitate to advocate armed struggle. With the Peace Pact, the League of Nations, and the International Court, from two of which our timid nationalists shy, war should be made humanly impossible." But this would not be unless the rising generation of scholars so decree!

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The State Shops of Moscow

All business and big stores in Moscow are owned and managed by the State. There are no private shops. Herr Heinz Pol of *Die Weltbuehne*, a radical weekly of Berlin, gives an interesting description of daily life in Moscow in his paper. The following account of the great departmental stores of that city are quoted from the translation given in *The Living Age*:

Here is a little catchword for visitors to Moscow. Everything in the Soviet capital is just like Berlin except that it is completely different. Let me explain this strangely comic paradox. Take business, for instance. The stores look like ours and are decorated in the same way, though of course always in the style that is found in the vicinity of the Stettin Station. Every line of business exists. There are photograph shops, flower shops, wine shops, a considerable number of confectionery shops, in short, everything you desire. The centre of the city is filled with department stores at whose entrances many people are standing. These buildings have big show windows like those in our own department stores, and even if they are less elegant, they decorated with real taste. When you go into such an establishment you find standing behind the counter a young man or woman who will ask you what you want, pack up your goods, and hand you your package.

If you want to get about Moscow, taxis may be had and the streets are also teeming with new American automobiles, exactly like those in Berlin. There is, however, this tiny difference. All these fine shops, warehouses, taxis, Buicks, and Packards do not belong to firms or to individuals but to the Russian State, to the city of Moscow, and to trade unions. *C'est la petite difference qui fait la musique.* Ninety-nine per cent of the business in Moscow has been taken out of private hands and only a few little shops down side streets are run by private individuals, most of them shoemakers, tailors, and the like. The bulk of the business is done by trusts. Three or four big buying and selling trusts own four-fifths of all the stores and business houses in Moscow, so that one keeps seeing the same names on the signs. The trust for the development of agricultural products, known as the 'Mosselprom', has about five hudered shops in the city in which meal,—chocolate, cakes beer, vodka, cigarettes, and every kind of household commodity is offered for sale. Another group, known as the 'Kommunar', owns nearly as many stores and sells suits, dress goods, shoes, linen, hats, and so forth.

The distinguishing characteristic of these selling societies can easily be explained. All goods are standardized, yet a tremendous variety of goods is on sale. Prices, of course, are standardized too. The result is that there are no good or bad purchases and no cheap or expensive places to buy. In some shops, of course, there is a greater choice of wares than in others, but you do not pay more for the same thing in the city than you do in any suburb. There is a tremendons number of book-stores. Most of these are huge affairs with two or three show windows, decorated in the most modern manner. Perhaps this is why so many people cluster about them. But it is also true that books in Moscow are really cheap. A new series of novels issued by the state publishing house costs about twenty cents a volume and the smallest editions in this series run to fifteen thonsand copies. One thing, however, is missing. There are no beer parlours, cognac shops, or cafes on any of the streets. There is only one very small refreshment shop, a last relic of the 'Nep' period, in an obscure

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side street, where one can buy a cup of coffee and eat a piece of cake, but aside from this there are literally no cafes in Moscow, and no distilleries either. Prohibition has really been put through here, but it is a special kind of prohibition. Only the sale of single drinks is forbidden and you can buy as much wine, beer, or vodka by the bottle as you wish in the Government wine shops. It is forbidden however, to drink anything in these shops or on the street or any where in public. One can drink only at home.

This has, it should in passing be observed, resulted in the decline in the consumption of alcohol in Moscow by two-thirds. During his stay in Moscow, Herr Pol did not see a single drunken person.

—

Swadeshi in Japan

Mr. M. Ouchi, a Japanese writer, puts forward an eloquent plea for the consumption of Japanese goods by the Japanese in *The Japan Magazine* :

It is highly regrettable to note that the Japanese people, being mentally relaxed, have been much frivolous and extremely extravagant; blindly valuing foreign articles and not being awakened to the seriousness of the economic depression and the national economic crisis. At this juncture, we Japanese ought to co-operate and go ahead for the purposes of promoting the development of domestic productive industry and encouraging the use of domestic products so as to increase the wealth and power of the Empire as one of the leading powers in the world. It may be mentioned with reverence that H. I. M. the Emperor keeping this point specially in mind, is pleased to use Imperial household requisities, etc, made in Japan, and wishes the Court to follow the example. This is a great stimulus to using domestic made articles among the people at large, which must be their determination.

This does not mean the use of all Japanese products, however inferior in quality, and the rejection of all the foreign products; it aims mainly at the production and use of fine qualities. The demand for domestic products has been restricted hitherto chiefly by the fact that they were inferior in quality to the imported goods so as to make them unsuitable for the consumers' purposes. More especially it has been almost impossible to get among domestic made machines and chemical products anything quite strong, accurate and safe as needed by consumers. The question of domestic products is essentially a question of economy, and it is not feasible, if it is advocated to use domestic made articles without due consideration of quality and price. It is to be desired, therefore, that Japanese manufacturers should look into the question of price as well as that of quality so as to see how to cheapen their products to meet foreign competition. As for the consumers, they taking into consideration that eventually, domestic products will win over foreign products in rivalry as to quality and price, and the national wealth and power promoted by it, should use as much as possible domestic products even at a temporary sacrifice, and their enthusiastic co-operation will succeed in multiplying the output of fine domestic products as much as is desired at present.

In this way the question of using domestic products in preference to foreign articles is advocated and discussed seriously now by the Government and people, wishing to get through peacefully the existing economic crisis by carrying the proposals into practice.

—

Temporizing with India

This is the heading under which *The New Republic* devotes a leading article to the second volume of the Simon Report. After observing that its publication is a crushing blow to those who had hoped that it might have an important effect in ending the terrible situation which exist in India, the writer goes on to say :

As we have already said, concessions which might have meant something five or ten years ago are meaningless today. Twenty-four hours before the second volume of the Report was made public, Mr. Negley Farson, correspondent in India of *The Chicago Daily News*, cabled to his paper a description of last Saturday's riots in Bombay, from which we quote a few sentences :

"Heroic, bearded Sikhs, several with blood dripping from their mouths, refusing to move or even to draw their "*kirpans*" (sacred swords) to defend themselves from a shower of *lathi* blows—

"Hindu women and girls dressed in orange robes of sacrifice, flinging themselves on the bridles of horses and imploring mounted police not to strike male volunteers, as they were Hindus themselves—

"Stretcher bearers waiting beside little islands of prostrate, unflinching, immovable *Satyagrahis* who had flung themselves on the ground grouped about their women upholding the flag of *Swaraj*—

"These were the scenes on the Maidan Esplanade today. . . .

"Dark-faced Mahratta policemen in their yellow turbans marched along in column led by English sergeants across the field toward the waiting crowd . . . Crash! Whack! Whack! Whack! At last the crowd broke. Only the orange-clad women were left standing beside the prostrate figures of crumpled men.···

"A minute's lull and then, with flags flying, another column of volunteers marched on to the vast green field. A column of Mahrattis marched to meet them. They clashed and again there was the spectacle of the green field dotted with a line of fallen bodies Here sat a little knot of men, their heads bowed, submitting to a rain of *lathi* blows—refusing to move until completely laid out.···

"I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the *lathi* blows. He was a short, heavily muscled man. The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off···He closed his eyes

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as the blows fell—until at last he swayed and fell to the ground. No other Sikhs had tried to shield him, but now, shouting defiance, they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth...[Restored to consciousness] the Sikh gave me a smile and stood up for more."

In this episode of a single day in a single city, five hundred men stood and let themselves be battered into unconsciousness by the police, without lifting a finger in self-protection. They did this because they believe in "non-violent non-co-operation." Their action is a sufficient indication of the depth of the passion for freedom which the British are now combating. We wonder how many readers of *The New Republic* there are who care deeply enough for any cause to suffer for it what these Indians did?

Bombay is the answer to the Simon Report. India today demands, in Gandhi's phrase, substantial independence—not necessarily in the form of complete freedom, but with nothing less than genuine Dominion status. The Simon Report gives her no such thing, now or in the near future.

—

Stalin as the New Lenin

In the same paper is to be found a very interesting account of the policy and the personality of Stalin :

The defeat which Stalin, Secretary-General of the Communist party, inflicted on the leaders of the Right Opposition at the Sixteenth Congress of the party, in Moscow, must be viewed with peculiar irony by the exiled Trotzky. Less than three years ago, the Fifteenth Congress of the party denounced the views of Trotzky and his associates, spokesmen of the Left Opposition, as incompatible with membership in that party; today, a verdict couched in identical terms is directed against the Right Opposition. In 1927, as in 1930, the men brought to the bar of Communist justice were found guilty of "deviations from the party line"—the policy which Lenin had formulated, and of which Stalin, the master's self-appointed disciple, has constituted himself the sole official interpreter. The revolutionary drama maintains the classic unities. The retractions of the Right leaders, however, have saved them from Trotzky's fate. Rykov remains a member of the Political Committee of the party, while Bukharin and Tomsky have been re-elected to its Central Committee. Stalin has apparently found it expedient to deal more generously with political opponents who are either less dangerous than the Left Opposition, or enjoy a greater popularity with the rank and file of the party. For the present, at least, Stalin has refrained from effecting the political shake-up predicted by reports from Moscow, as a result of which, it was claimed, he would emerge from his relatively obscure position to assume the office of president of the Council of People's Commissars once held by Lenin, and now occupied by Rykov.

Had these predictions been realized, Stalin would have merely donned the outward trappings of a power he has exercised since Lenin's death in 1924. A professional revolutionary, described by Lenin in his political testament as "crude and narrow-minded," Stalin was brought up in the hard school of underground revolutionary activities, where he became a shrewd judge of character and learned the secret of utilizing the loyalties of men of lesser ability for his own ends. He played no spectacular part in the November revolution. With great patience and by methods which to the moralist, would appear highly unethical, he succeeded in so enlarging the scope of the originally unimportant office of secretary-general of the party as to make it the stepping-stone to dictatorship. He has created a pyramid of power, in which the Communist party, which numbers less than two million members, guides the destinies of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," wielded in turn by three million industrial workers over some one hundred and twenty-five million peasants. Within the party itself, he has established the undisputed control of a small steering committee, the Political Bureau, over whose decisions, by means of manipulation and judicious expulsions, he rules like an eastern despot. The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics functions in the shadow of, and at the mercy of, the party hierarchy, and the actions of even the highest government officials, such as Kalinin and Rykov, are subordinated to the policy of the party. The secret of Stalin's success in maintaining the dictatorship of an infinitesimal minority in the teeth of opposition both from the Left and from the Right appears to lie in his ability to gauge the exact degree of strain which the country is able or willing to bear, to alter his course suddenly in order to meet new exigencies, and to adopt the methods advacated by his defeated opponents when he considers it opportune.

—

A Plea for Philippine Independence

It is a well observed fact that all imperialistic powers think and act alike. Nobody should therefore be surprised if the arguments by which United States seeks to deny the Philippines their freedom bear a family resemblance to the arguments of the British in India. Mr. Manuel Roxas, the Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives attempts to answer some of these in course of an article contributed to *Current History* :

It is affirmed that the Filipinos are not ready to govern themselves, that they lack the experience for self-government. Against these assertions the Filipinos offer their record in the government of the Philippines for the last thirty years. The period of greatest popular autonomy during the administration of Governor-General Harrison has seen the greatest progress in education, sanitation, public improvements, trade and economic development. It also reveals a marked improvement in the administration of justice and the general efficiency of the Government. To judge fairly of the stewardship of the government by the Filipinos during that period, it is not fair to point only to their mistakes without mentioning their achievements.

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The homogeneity of the Filipinos is being questioned. On this point President Taft had the following to say: "There is no tribal relation among Filipinos. There is a racial solidarity among them undoubtedly. They are homogeneous." As to culture, literacy in the Philippines is over 60 per cent. This proportion is higher than the literacy in thirty-six of the fifty-six independent nations, including Spain, Portugal, Chile and Siam. The proportion of the qualified voters who actually vote in the Philippine Islands is higher than in many other countries, not excepting the United States.

How could the Philippine Islands maintain their independence as against foreign aggression? The World Court, the Kellogg-Briand peace pact and other existing instrumentalities to insure the peace of the world, besides membership in the League of Nations, are the best guarantee for the international security of the Philippines. It is important to note that Great Britain, Japan, Holland and Portugal, mentioned by General Allen, as well as France, are members of the League of Nations. Section X of the Covenant of the League provides that "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

—

Madame Curie

Mr. Bernard Jaffe contibutes to the *Forum* a life-sketch of Madame Curie. He begins with a description of the scene in which the President of the United States presented her with a bottle of radium:

On May 20, 1921, the President of the United States stood in the reception room of the White House. Around him were grouped the French Ambassador, the Polish Minister, Cabinet members, judges, scientists. Before him stood a frail woman dressed in black. The President began to speak: "It has been your fortune to accomplish an immortal work for humanity. I have been commissioned to present to you this little phial of radium. To you we owe knowledge and possession of it, and so to you we give it, confident that in your possession it will be the means to increase the field of useful knowledge to alleviate suffering among the children of man."

Then follows the account of the discovery of radium:

After more than two years of constant work they had extracted a small amount of bismuth salts which showed the presence of a very active element. It appeared to be three hundred times as potent as uranium. Marie isolated from it a substance which resembled nickel. After subjecting it to every known test, in July, 1893, she announced the discovery of a hitherto unknown element, which she named "polonium" in honor of her beloved country. The reality of this new element was at first questioned, but its existence was soon confirmed.

Others might have been satisfied with this discovery, but not the Curies. They kept working with what was left of that ton of pitchblende, now boiled down to amounts small enough to be put into test tubes. This residue appeared to possess properties much stronger than even polonium. At this stage of the experiment they had to be unusually careful not to lose a particle of the precious stuff they had isolated with such superhuman labour. Marie examined every drop of the solution that came trickling through the filter. She tested every grain of solid that clung to the apparatus.

At night, when they went to their shed, they were filled with awe. Years ago it had been a dissecting room; it was now an even spookier place. Instead of cadavers laid out for dissection, they "saw on all sides the feebly luminous silhouettes of the bottles and capsules containing their product. They were like earthly stars—these glowing tubes in that poor, rough shack." They knew that they were nearing their goal. At last, when the final separations were completed, it was Marie who first gazed upon a few crystals of salt and realized that she had discovered another new element. It was radium, and it was destined to cause a greater overturning of chemical theories than any other element that had ever been isolated.

Pierre was made Professor of Physics at the Sorbonne, and Marie was put in charge of the Physics lectures at the Higher Normal School for Girls at Sevres, near Paris. She taught, studied, worked in her laboratory, and helped take care of Irene. As a teacher she needed the degree, Doctor of Science, and after five years of research she presented her thesis. In it she set forth her complete work on radioactivity. The eminent scientists who made up the examining committee were astounded by the mass of original information brought out by this woman. Before her, they seemed mere schoolboys and hardly knew what questions to ask. It was unanimously admitted that this thesis was the greatest single contribution made by any doctor's thesis in the history of science.

The news was made public. A strange element had been discovered by a woman. Its salts were self-luminous: they shone in the dark like tiny electric bulbs. They were continuously emitting heat in appreciable quantities. It was calculated that a ton of radium would boil one thousand tons of water for a whole year. The new element was also the most potent poison known to mankind—even acting from a distance. If a tube containing a grain the size of a pin-head were placed over the spinal column of a mouse, the animal would be paralyzed in three hours. Radium next to the skin produced painful sores. Pierre's fingers were almost paralyzed from its effects. Becquerel had said to Marie, "I love it, but I owe it a grudge." He had received a nasty burn on his stomach from carrying a minute amount of radium in a tube in his vest pocket. Its presence sterlized seeds, healed surface cancer, and killed microbes. It coloured diamonds and the glass tubes in which it was kept. It electrified the air around it and it penetrated solids....

That was her crowning achievement, after which:

She was persuaded to become a candidate for membership in the Academy of Sciences, of

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which Pierre had been a member. The taboo of sex was again raised in the circle of distinguished scientists. No woman had ever been elected to that body. There was "an immutable tradition against the election of women, which it seemed eminently wise to respect." Level-headed scientists suddenly become excited. There was much heated discussion. Marie, of course, remained in the background. When the vote was taken, on January 23, 1911, Madame Curie failed of election by but two votes, and France has not yet lived down this episode of bigotry.

More than twenty-five years have passed since Presidents and Kings first went to the Sorbonne to honour this woman. Her slow, noiseless step is still heard there. And as one watches her indomitable spirit at work, one wonders which is greater—her epoch-making scientific conquests or nobility of her self-effacing life.

—

A Sidelight on British Political Tradition

One admirable aspect of British political life is pointed out incidentally by an Austrian friend of Mrs. Snowden, the wife of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who describes their daily life in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. After referring to the political crisis raised by the resignation Sir Oswald Mosley from the Labour Government, the writer goes on to say :

The next day Sir Oswald Mosley resigned from the Government, creating a crisis of the first water. Neverthless, Downing Street continued to pursue its accustomed pace. In the afternoon Mrs. Snowden received two hundred and fifty people for tea and rows of gilded chairs were set out in the big reception room. The occasion was the formation of a society to help poor women to an education and to free them from some of the miseries of their everyday life. Tories, Liberals, and Socialists, ladies from the highest social circles and intelligent working women had all gathered together to hear Ethel Snowden speak. She described in a few clear-cut and quite unsentimental words the life that the average women leads. She appealed to the common conscienee of all, to the sympathy of one human being for another.

"First of all, this question must be taken entirely outside of politics. I want to take this occasion to protest against making humanitarian questions political. The association we want to form now will serve as a symbol of this idea. All that we want is to give the working women every opportunity for social development. Each individual, as soon as she has formed an opinion and come to an independent judgment, can then decide what path she will follow, whether she will prefer a Conservative, Liberal, or Socialist point of view. A free choice. Nothing shall hinder her in making one, for our cause has nothing whatever to do with propaganda. Time alone will be able to assist us in achieving our programme and I am firmly convinced that we shall succeed."

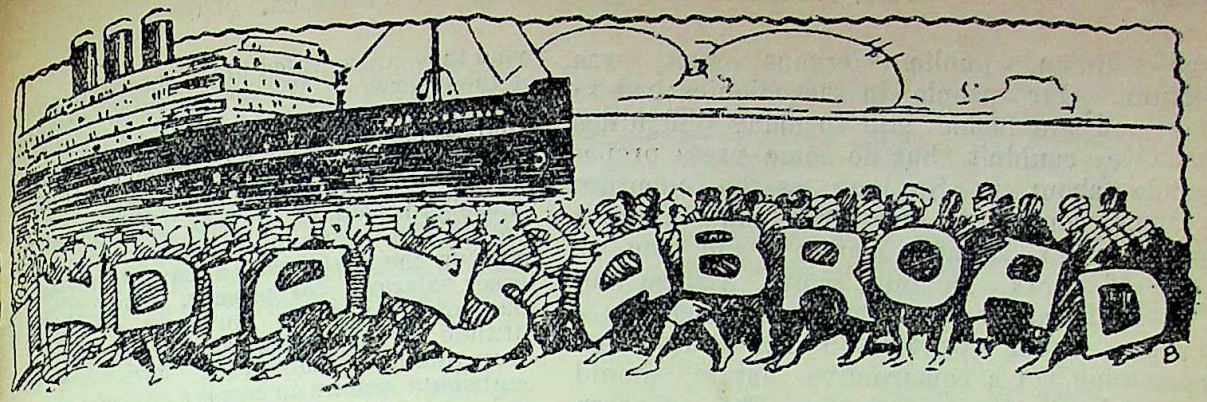
When we are dining together later I expressed to Ethel my amazement at her bold declaration, which was so different from what one hears in countries where party lines are strictly drawn.

"Our political education runs back for centuries," she replied. "No party man in England fears being misunderstood by other members of his party when he takes it upon himself to come to an understanding with political opponents on certain subjects. On political grounds and in Parliament we are enemies to the death, but we also maintain certain great traditions. The retiring Prime Minister, for instance, always makes a speech congratulating his successor and socially there is no hostility at all. Indeed, hearty friendship often exists."

Let me describe an experience illustrating how highly this right of individual liberty is esteemed in England. I was particularly interested in a marvellous Scottish chorus that I hope will visit Vienna next years. Its leader is a great musician but also a great eccentric. He refuses to recognize the universal custom at concerts and theatres of playing the national anthem, taking this stand on a purely artistic ground, since he believes that a programme of music is a separate entity and that the purity of its effect should not be spoiled. During my visit this chours was invited to sing before the King and Queen at Balmoral. After the first intermission the King summoned the leader to tell him how much he had enjoyed the artistic perfection of the chorus and then added, 'I beg you to lay aside all feeling of compunction here. You must feel at home and since you have artistic reasons for not singing the national anthem at your concerts don't make any exception to-day.' The leader was so pleased by this fine display of tolerance that he had the hymn sung at the close of the concert.

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BY BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI.

The Work of the Indian Agent in Malaya.

An esteemed correspondent of mine sends me the following account of the work of Rao Saheb Subbayya Naidu, the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya, who has now retired from that position :—

Rao Sahib Subbaya Naidu arrived in Malaya in 1926 in succession to Mr. Arulanandam Pillai who was the first Indian to be sent to this country as Agent. The Rao Saheb came to Malaya after relinquishing an important office in the Madras Secretariat.

When he arrived in Malaya he had before him a number of grave problems to be faced, many of them needing immediate solution. First and foremost of all was the wage question which drew his attention to be tackled. He subsequently made representations to the Government of India supporting the claims of Indian labourers for a minimum wage. For months together he concentrated on the wage issue in which he triumphed after overcoming a series of difficult situations. The writer of this note has more intimate knowledge of the man and his work in Malaya than anybody could claim and therefore can authoritatively state that the Agent's task in connection with the legislation of standard wages was by no means an easy one.

In this connection he had to prepare a memorandum for presentation to the Indian Immigration Committee which met to decide whether the standard wages should be legalized. The planters in a majority were up against the fresh wage proposals and as the Rao Saheb stood reading his memorandum to the meeting he was greeted with continued uproar, but nothing daunted him from discharging his duty with remarkable courage. A prominent planter later confided to the writer that the Agent's memorandum was a remarkable document on Indian labour he had seen as yet during his thirty years of stay in Malaya. That was responsible for convincing many planters of the justice of standard wages in the Kuala Lumpur area in 1928.

For many years it was a standing grievance of the Indians in the Federated Malay States that no one among them had ever been offered a seat on the Federal Council. In this connection the Agent made representations on several occasions and the result was the appointment of the Hon. Mr. S. Veerasamy as an un-official member of the Federal Council. Membership to the State Councils too followed.

A series of cases in which Indian labourers have been victims to wrongs were exposed by the rare tact displayed by the Rao Seheb. Among the many cases he brought to light mention may be made of the Tampin Liggi case, Mr. Christon's case and the Sermban *cause celebre.* In all these he had the assistance from the able counsel, the Hon. Mr, Veersamy.

Several important changes were brought into the Malayan Labour Code through the Rao Saheb's initiative and suggestions. In the cause of education of Indians and matters relating to the health problems of estate labourers he did a good deal to secure better conditions. The cooperative thrift movement also has flourished among Indian estate labourers.

Furthermore he was a regular visitor to the quarantine stations and decrepit homes for Indians, also the incoming immigrant steamers from India. He also visited Labaun and Brunei, some remotest parts of the F M. S. where Indian labour is employed.

In the interest of better understanding between the planters and the Indians from whose ranks the former's labour force is recruited, the Rao Saheb addressed no less than half a dozen planters' Associations in various districts.

All this work was accomplished within the course of such a short period as three years and everything required personal labour and persevering spirit.

A man of charming manners and loveable disposition he will be much missed in Malaya, particularly in Kuala Lumpur where he was an important figure in the cosmopolitan society, in which he played such a prominent part. Although a representative of the Indian Government he identified himself as a Malayan throughout his tenure of office in this country.

Rao Saheb has linked Malaya with India in friendship and it is to be hoped that his worthy example will be followed by his successor.

Pamphlets about Colonies

The work that has been done in India about our countrymen abroad has been mostly of a spasmodic character. It has maily consisted in putting their grievances before

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the Indian public. Perhaps that was natural. Our people in the colonies had to face and are facing still so many difficulties that we couldn't but do some press propaganda about it. So long as the indenture system continued our first and foremost duty was to agitate against it and then we had to work for our South African and East African people. But now there is a feeling among workers in this cause that something of a constructive nature should be taken up immediately. The modern Indian emigration is about a hundred years old; Indians were first sent under indenture in 1835. Most of these emigrants were of course labourers and that is why out of 25 lakhs of colonial Indians more than sixty per cent belong to the labouring class. It is a happy sign of the times that now professional people are anxious to emigrate to these places where Indians have settled in large numbers. I receive four or five letters every month from such people asking to supply them information about several of these colonies. Now this is very difficult to do. It would be good if some pamphlets were published about these colonies giving necessary information about every one of them. Printing of these colonial pamphlets will not cost more than £4 for each pamphlet and I shall request our colonial friends to arrange for their publication.

The Grievances of our People in Tanganyika Territory

Many of us here have been under the impression that our people in Tanganyika are enjoying 'equality of status' and have no disabilities imposed upon them. It is to be noted that Britain is administering the territory as a mandate from the League of Nations, and India being a member of the League we are entitled to get equality of status by way of our right. Mr. V. R. Boal of Dar-es-Salaam has kindly sent me a list of India grievances in that territory, which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of India. Mr. Boal writes:

Asiatic Civil Servants

We can unhesitatingly say that the attitude taken by the Government with regard to the rights of the Asiatic Civil Servants has not only been unsympathetic but also uncalled for and undesirable. They have been deprived of their right for pension They are systematically debarred from going up. All doors for their future prospects have been shut. Not only are they accorded inferior status; they find it very hard to get the Government to sanction for what they are entitled to under an ordinary condition of their service. We mean housing accommodation. There is no scheme for a widow and orphan provident fund. The fate of the Asiatic employees in the Railway administration is awfully bad, and especially that of the traffic staff the worst. They have no future prospects to speak of. Those who had worked well in the beginning of the administration and had gone on their well-earned leave were re-engaged on lesser salaries. No pension. Provident fund took place of the pension. But even in that too, the attitude of the authorities have been quite unsympathetic. Employees have been asked to contribute arrears in respect of their back services and consequently most of them have been unable to enjoy the benefits of the provident fund. But this is not all. There are many more unhappy incidents needing exposure. How the Traffic Staff is being treated very few know. An Assistant station master works as a Station Master continuously for two years or more, yet his promotion to Station mastership is uncertain and in very many cases impossible. We have not touched on the grievance of the Railway Asiatic Artizans. They are not only one or two, but many.

Hospital Facilities

The attention of His Excellency was drawn to the inadequate hospital facilities for Indians first in 1926 when Indian deputation had waited upon him soon after his arrival and thereafter on many occasions through the press and the platform. At the first interview a promise was made to improve the condition. Honourable Indian Members have asked questions in the Council with regard to the same. But nothing has up till now been done in the matter. A few beds in Sewa Haji Hospital (now specially meant for natives) are all that the Government have got for a population in Dar-es-Salaam about 5000 in number. In the European Hospital, wards are allotted for Goans but none for Indians. At other places in the territory practically there are no hospital facilities for Indians, even there where private medical practitioners are not available. The Dar-es-Salaam Indian Community urged from time to time that some improvements may be made in Sewa Haji Hospital. But their voice fel on deaf ears. His Excellency's promise up till now remains unfulfilled. In April last the Tanganyika Indian Conference passed a resolution urging for adequate hospital facilities for Indians. That resolution was duly conveyed to Government. It proved quite ineffective.

Education

Out of 5000 Indian children the Government has made provision for only 200 and that too, after eight years of its administration. The question of payment by Indians of Education Cess still remains unsettled. The general belief is that in deciding this question the Indian opinion has been totally ignored.

Repairs to Roads

The condition of roads in the Indian area is hopelessly bad. In European quarters roads are tarred once or twice a year whereas in Indian quarters not only they are never tarred but left unattended for years and years together. Why? Are Indians not paying taxes? Certainly they are and even more than those who are specially

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...ere. If separate accounts are kept for income of ...taxations and expenditure it will come to light how ...Indians are being treated in this connection. But that ...is impossible. It is not easy to expect Government ...to keep separate accounts for indirect taxations ...when the demand of the Indian community for ...the same for direct taxations received no response. ...Now that Indians are required to pay shs. 30 a ...year, it remains to be seen how Government extends ...educational facilities to 5000 Indian children."

The Crisis in Mauritius

Our people in Mauritius are passing through a great economic crisis on account of the fall in the price of sugar. It is to be noted that there are 281,000 Indians in Mauritius ie 75 p. c. of the total population inhabiting the island. I interviewed Honourable J. Gujadhur, member of the Legislative Council, Mauritius on the subject when he was in Calcutta and he told me that only India could save her children in Mauritius by establishing a preferential treatment on import duties to Mauritius sugar. We saw Mr. C. F. Andrews also in this connection and he wrote a letter to Sir G. L. Corbett of the Government of India on this subject. I do not know whether Mr. Gujadhur could carry things any further. Possibly he couldn't on account of his illness. Now he writes from Mauritius :

"On my return to Mauritius in August last year, I mooted the question in the Chamber of Agriculture, with a view to sending a delegation to India to make representations to the Indian Government, to advocate the necessity of establishing a preferential treatment for our sugars over Java and foreign sugars.

In January or February of this year I learnt that upon the recommendations of the Indian Board the import duty on the sugar has been increased from Rs 4-8 Annas per cwt to Rs 6. If the delegation had been to India, the time would have been opportune to deal with that question, as duty on sugar in India, is not a protective measure against home grown sugar, but is purely and simply a source of revenue. To my mind, it seems, that it would have been rather an easier task to adjust the revenue in the following manner and for reasons as hereunder :

India's annual import of sugar varies between 8 to 9 lacs tons, 99 per cent of which comes from Java. Our total annual output amounts to about 200 to 220,000 tons. out of which 150 to 160,000 tons could be exported to India. If a differential treatment were established in favour of Mauritius, say Rs 2-8-0 per cwt, the deficit in revenue could be made good by a slight increase on the remaining sugar to be imported from Java viz between 650 to 700 thousand tons yearly, and that without in any way increasing the price of the commodity to the consumer.

The question now arises, why should a preference in duty be given to Mauritius ? My reply to this is, to help 281,000 (or say 75 p. c. of the population inhabiting this island) of your countrymen or descendants of Indians here settled since nearly a century, who, by dint of labour, self sacrifice and thriftiness to-day owning nearly 50 p. c. of the lands under cultivation, are faced iwith a world crisis of sugar, as threatens them with ruination and starvation.

The preference if it were so adopted while it would not burden in the least the inhabitants of India, would relieve the distress of a suffering population on the brink of utter despair and ruin and who are in dire need of relief.

In telling you, how grave the situation is for the whole Colony in general and graver for the Indians in particular, as they have no savings to enable them to face the crisis even for a year or two, I can only put forward the most appalling testimony to this, that the acreage of land under cane cultivation owned by Indians, has fallen from 49 p. c. in 1920 to 41 or 42 p. c. last year, whereas during the same period the Indian population has increased by 6 p. c.

Indian labour is proverbially cheap, but, I do not think, that is a cheaper than in Mauritius, (mark the labourers in Mauritius also are Indians), in that sense that (1) whatever they earn is hardly sufficient to give them belly food and (2) every foodstuff rice, dholl, flour, ghee, oils and all other commodities has to be imported from India.

Our natural market for sugar is India, and thro' irony of fate, during the war, our sugars had been requisitioned by the Home Government since which time, the Indian market has been practically closed for us. In dealing with India for the sale of our sugars our advantages are manifold., 1. Exchange question is settled as our coin is the Indian Rupee. 2. Regular steamship service would be established thereby ensuing regular supplies of foodstuffs.

At the present moment, the exchange is so high that it weighs considerably on the price of foodstuffs, and coupled with it, the irregularity of a steamer service to ensure supplies, adds to help the traders holders of stock to raise their selling price of foodstuffs and thus fleece the inhabitants.

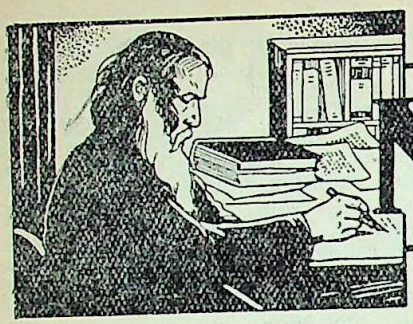
You are, I believe, well aware of the fact that Sugar Crisis is spread world wide through over-production ; at present selling prices it is an impossibility for any sugar producing country to meet its cost of production ; but you know that almost all the sugar producing countries enjoy, subsidies, grants in aid, bounties or the like, thus putting others in a state of great inferiority.

So long, as the Indians here settled were able to man their own barge, they didn't appeal to their mother country, but now the situation is so precarious to-day that it ought to command the sympathy of their Indian brethren to come to their rescue, wherein lies their salvation."

I would suggest it to Mr. Gujadhur and his friends in Mauritius that they should send a deputation to India at the end of this year to put their case before the Indian public and the Government of India. It is to be hoped that they will get a sympathetic hearing every where, for Mauritius is practically an Indian Colony and we should do all that we can to help the three lakhs of our people in that island :

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NOTES

Progress of India During the British Period

Dr. Ambedkar belongs to the "depressed classes." But as he has received the advantages of education in India and abroad, he is as much a member of the Indian intelligentsia as other educated Indians. Hence, though, as a member of his socially downtrodden community, his viewpoint is naturally different in some important respects from that of the bulk of politically-minded Indians, he has been able to deliver a thoughtful and thought-provoking address as president of the first session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference recently held at Nagpur. Coming from any other man, it would have received praise. But it has special significance as the pronouncement of a leader of the "depressed classes" in India.

The British rulers of India claim that they are the trustees of the Indian people, particularly of the "depressed classes," whose position, most of them assume, would be very much worse under Swa-raj than under British raj. Let us, therefore, hear what Dr. Ambedkar, a representative of the "depressed classes" who has been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and of the Committee of that Council which co-operated with the Simon Commission, says of the achievements of British rule. Though he does not directly enumerate these achievements, he does so by implication when he reminds his audience:—

> Gentlemen, you cannot keep on singing the praises of a bureaucracy because it has given improved roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected transportation by rail, contrived to carry letters by penny post and flash messages by lightning, has stabilized currency, regulated weights and measures, corrected the prevalent notions of theology, geography, astronomy and medicine, and stopped our internal quarrels. All praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order.

The question of what advantages Britain expected to gain and has gained therefrom need not detain us here. Let Britain have the full praise for the progress in any direction which India has made during the British period of her history.

Dr. Ambedkar does not dwell at length on what is implied in the enforcement and operation of "law." It is that, except where race prejudice, political bias and motive, and expediency come in, there generally has been laudable reign of law in the country during the British period. The speaker did not mention another direction in which India has made progress. During the British period there has come to pass greater intellectual and cultural contact with the world outside India than before;—India is no longer isolated, as she practically was for some time in her history; she is carried along in the current of world-forces like other countries. And she has learned some modern science and technology.

Whether as much progress, or possibly more progress, in all these directions could have been made under other circumstances would be a futile speculation. Neither is it necessary for our present purpose to try to ascertain how much of the progress made is due to the deliberate efforts of the British Government and how much to the working of the time-spirit in the modern world. Nor need we dwell on the evil effects of a too "literary" education, of one-sided westernization, of the absence to a great extent of adequate attention to our own ancient culture, and of the teaching of false, defective and biassed history resulting in defeatism and what has been called "slave mentality."

Dr. Ambedkar did not mention the educational efforts of the British Government in India, probably because his own community has not been affected thereby to any appreciable extent, it being among the most illiterate in the country. But we have added a few words on those endeavours to make somewhat more complete the picture, in outline.

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of India's advancement during the British period of her history.

Of course, for arriving at a correct estimate of the effects of British rule, it would be necessary to see the "other side of the medal." This need not be done in this note. This other side may be ignored or assumed not to exist. It may even be taken for granted that British rule in India has been more efficient, more altruistic, and more sincere and honest than it has been in Great Britain itself. But even under that assumption India's right to a full measure of self rule would remain quite indisputable. For no nation can be honoured and congratulated on being un-dehumanized and manlike, if its progress and civilization be what they are solely or mainly because it has received benefits and blessings from others. Men's glory and relative perfection consist in their being themselves able to do individually and collectively all that is necessary for living a healthy, prosperous, beneficent, happy, beautiful and full life. This cannot be done by the people of any country which is not self-ruling. The world has been peopled by various races and nations in order that they may, each and all, contribute their quota to human civilization and progress according to their special gifts and aptitudes. No people, deprived of self-rule, can make this contribution. And unless every people makes its own particular and special contribution which it alone can make, mankind as a whole cannot make adequate progress towards perfection.

But we have strayed from our point.

The British rulers of India rest their claim to rule India partly on their special and unequalled friendliness and beneficence to and protectorship of the "depressed classes." It would be interesting, therefore, to note what a fully accredited and competent representative of those classes, who is not blind to the achievements of the British Government and has co-operated with it has to say on that

Government's Beneficence to the "Depressed Classes."

Dr. Ambedkar prefaces his remarks on this topic with the following general observations :

There is no doubt that a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the British rule. In the words of the late Mr. Gokhale : "We must all the days of our life live in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend." No Indian can feel that upward impulse which is the source of elevation witnessed in a self-governing community.

This is one of the grounds on which the claim to Swaraj is based. But, says he :

You may not appreciate the moral grounds on which the claim to Swaraj is made to rest ; and you may even be amused by it when it is urged by members of the aristocracy as one is when one hears Satan quoting scriptures in support of his cause. There is no doubt that the cost of the British Government in India is out of all proportion to the means of the people. It is the costliest government in the world. This again may not appeal to you and you may say that no cost is too great for the maintenance of law and order in this country.

So, he thinks, "there is one thing that must appeal to you and that is the poverty of the people. Is there any parallel to the poverty of the Indian people in any part of the world ?" This poverty is so universally admitted that no proof of it is required. But nevertheless the speaker mentions the many terrible famines during the British period of the history of India and the appalling loss of life caused thereby as a proof of our poverty. "What must be the cause of this ?" he asks, and answers the question himself, assigning to the British Government what in his opinion is its due share of blame.

The causes of India's poverty cannot be discussed in a brief note, and we are concerned here with what the British Government has or has not done for the "depressed classes," in the opinion of an eminent spokesman of theirs. Coming to his main point, he observes :

In this progressive impoverishment of the people, who are those that suffer most ? I am sure that of the half of the agricultural population which is admitted not to know from one half year's end to another what it is to have a full meal the Depressed Classes must form the largest part. Their abject poverty must make them ready victims of famines to which they must be paying the largest toll.

Having said, as quoted in the first note, that "all praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order," the speaker observes :—

But, gentlemen, we must not forget that people, including the Depressed Classes, do not live on law and order ; what they live on is bread and butter. This inexorable law of life must make even the Depressed Classes demand a government that will help the economic prosperity of the country

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and thereby effect a betterment in their material life.

—

Government Paralyzed between Two Limitations

The speaker does not spare anybody who, in his opinion, deserves castigation, and so he proceeds to say :

I would be the first to admit that the much talked of "annual tribute" which the people of this country pay to England pales away in magnitude before the heavy exactions by the landlords and capitalists of this country from the paltry and hard-earned wages of the masses who toil for them. But I cannot understand how you can expect the British Government to give relief from the crushing weight of the landlords and the capitalists.

One thing we must remember is that every Government, however powerful, suffers, as pointed out by Professor Dicey, from two serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power, and if the British Government does not sympathize with the living forces operating in Indian Society, is inimical to its aspirations, is apathetic to education and disfavours Swadeshi, it is not because it cannot favour these things, but because it is against its character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits the authority of every Government is the possibility of external resistance. Does not the Government of India realize the gravity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society ? Does not the Government of India realize that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry ? Does not the Government of India realize that the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work ? It does, and yet it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why ? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them ? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a Government to anybody ?

Under a Government paralyzed between two such limitations much that goes to make life good must remain held up.

—

Swaraj the Remedy

What remedy, then, does he suggest ?

We must have a Government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interests of the country. We must have a Government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a Government which is of the people, for the people and by the people, in other words, it is only the Swaraj Government that will make this possible.

We shall see later on what kind of Swaraj Government the speaker wants.

—

The Depressed Classes Remain Where They Were

It might be contended that, though Indians in general and the "depressed classes" in particular are poor, Britain has done much to improve the position of the latter in other directions. Dr. Ambedkar denies that this is the case. Addressing his hearers, he said :

Before the British you were in a loathsome condition due to your "untouchability." Has the British Government done anything to remove your "untouchability" ? Before the British you could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured you the right to the well ? Before the British you could not enter the temple. Can you enter now ? Before the British you were denied the entry into the Police force. Does the British Government admit you in the force ? Before the British you were not allowed to serve in the military. Is that career now open to you ? Gentlemen, to none of these questions you can give an affirmative answer. Those who have held so much power over the country for such a long time must have done some good. But there is certainly no fundamental alteration in your position. So far as you are concerned, the British Government has accepted the arrangements as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Your wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, and I say that the British Government, actuated with the best of motives and principles, will always remain powerless to effect any change so far as your particular grievances are concerned. Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your own hands. No share of this political power can come to you so long as the British Government remains where it is.

—

The Depressed Classes Need Not Fear Swaraj

While admitting that it is natural for the "depressed classes" to be afraid of Swaraj, Dr. Ambedkar asserts that their apprehensions and suspicions of the Swaraj of the future are unfounded.

It is only in a Swaraj constitution that you stand any chance of getting the political power into your own hands without which you cannot bring salvation to your people. I know that to the majority of our people Swaraj is a weird apparition. It is very natural that it should be so. It recalls to their mind the tyrannies and oppressions and injustices practised upon them

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by their fellow-countrymen, and they fear that under Swaraj these violations may recur. But, gentlemen, if you will for one moment forget the past and visualize the Swaraj of the future with its wholesome devices to protect masses from classes you will find that, far from being a weird apparition, it is going to be a system of Government in which you yourselves stand the chance, other things being equal, of being amongst those who will be installed as the political sovereigns of this country. Do not be obsessed by the past. Do not be swayed by fear or favour from any quarters in making your decision. Consult your best interests and I am sure you will accept Swaraj as your goal.

—

"Civil Disobedience Extremely Inopportune"

As we have been trying to give some idea of the opinions of this leader of the "depressed classes" on Britishers and his own countrymen, whether we accept them or not, we quote below, without comment, his views on the civil disobedience movement, which he does not consider morally wrong or unconstitutional but "extremely inopportune."

The movement is condemned, as you are aware, by all moderate opinion as being unconstitutional. That argument, I must confess, does not appeal to me. What would you say if the orthodox classes were to tell you that your temple entry movement is an unconstitutional movement? That instead of direct action, your proper method is by petitions to the orthodox classes, suits in Courts of Law and attempts to alter the Law? Would you be satisfied with such limitations upon your resources in your battle for freedom against orthodoxy? It seems to me that you can insist upon the use of constitutional means only if there is an accepted constitution in existence. But where there is no such constitution, few will be inclined to listen to the gospel of constitutional means. Such a view cannot be strange even to the British mind. For after all, was not the Ulster movement a movement of Civil Disobedience? And did not the best of British politicians support and participate in it?

The question is not whether the movement of Civil Disobedience is right or wrong. The question is whether it is opportune and consistent with the safety and security of our interests. I am opposed to the Civil Disobedience movement because I am convinced that it is extremely inopportune.

In the extracts from the speaker's address given in many newspapers, we do not find him suggesting any method, different from *satyagraha*, by following which Swaraj may be attained. Such a suggestion could have been considered.

—

"Depressed" President on Simon Commission

The following is the verdict of the President of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference on the Simon Commission:

Every one of us expected that the Simon Commission would not only be just to the depressed classes but it would also be generous .... No minority in India stands so downtrodden and yet so helpless as do the depressed classes... Surely a community so much sinned against must in all honesty receive the most generous treatment. The depressed classes have not only not received any generosity at the hands of the Simon Commission, but they have not received even bare justice. One may well ask what has become of the sentiments expressed by Lord Birkenhead when he moved the resolution in Parliament for the appointment of the Simon Commission. It was then said that the depressed classes formed a special trust and that the British people could not hand over that trust without making adequate provision for their safety. Are the Simon Commission's recommendations to be taken as the fulfilment of those magniloquent sentiments?... I am afraid that the British choose to advertise our unfortunate condition, not with the object of removing them, but only because such a course serves well as an excuse for retarding the political progress of India.

—

So-called Insurmountable Obstacles to Swaraj

The differences of race, creed, language, customs and culture prevailing in India are said to constitute an insurmountable obstacle in the way of India becoming free. This argument has been refuted repeatedly. Dr. Ambedkar meets it in detail and asks:

If Latvia, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Czecho-slovakia, Hungary and Rumania, with all their differences of race, creed, language and culture, can function as united self-governing communities, why cannot India?

These are all comparatively small countries. But the very large countries of Russia and the U. S. of America also function as independent and self-governing countries, in spite of there being a greater variety of languages, religions, races, etc., being found in both those countries than in India.

The speaker was right in observing:

And after all is said and done, has not the system of self-government itself been the cause of unification of many a people who in its absence would have remained as discordant and as distinct as they were in their original condition?

—

Swaraj for the "Depressed Classes"

Dr. Ambedkar has made it clear that he wants Swaraj, he is for India obtaining

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full Dominion status. But he wants safe-guards, as he has considerable distrust of the "native aristocracy," which term he uses "to denote the combined force of wealth, education and superior social standing."

The scheme for the protection of minorities which obtains in post-war States consists in the enactment of clauses in the constitution recognizing what are called the fundamental rights of the minorities. The Nehru Committee's report adopts this scheme as the best sort of protection for safe-guarding the interests of the Depressed Classes. I must sound a note of warning against your being duped by such a scheme...

Is there any remedy provided in the Nehru Committee's Report against the infringement of the fundamental rights? I find none, not even the appeal clause. The guarantee in the Nehru constitution is, therefore, quite illusory.

Even if there was the appeal clause in the Nehru constitution I would still advise you not to accept the scheme. A right of appeal to the League of Nations or to the Viceroy or the Governor would be a very desirable addition to the armoury of the Depressed Classes. But it cannot be an effective weapon. The best guarantee for the protection of your own interests consists in having the power of control in your own hands so that you may yourselves be in a position not only to punish when the mischief to your interests is done, but to keep a watch over your interests from day to day and prevent possible mischief from arising. This will never be secured by leaving the power in the hands of the third party, be it the Governor, Viceroy or the League of Nations. For of what good will that power be to us if those who will hold it in trust for us refuse to exercise it when we call for their intervention?

So he wants adequate representation of his community, to be secured by "weightage", adult suffrage, and joint electorate with seats reserved for it. The "weightage-factor" is "to vary inversely with the social standing of the minority, defined as it must be by (1) its social status, (2) its economic strength, and (3) its economical position." He also demands "a certain percentage in the public service to be reserved for the Depressed Classes."

Unless a minority be given either more seats than or at least as many seats as the majority, there can be no absolute safe-guards for the minority. But there are several minority groups to placate, every one of which cannot be transformed into a majority. And *perhaps* the majority community, too, have some rights.

Whatever separate provision may be made for safe-guarding the interests of minority communities, should be made terminable after a certain period. One of the tests which may be applied for determining whether the time has come for such termination is that of literacy. When the depressed classes reach the average standard of literacy of the "higher" castes, one of the grounds for "weightage" would disappear.

There is no honour implied in being considered and called "depressed." Therefore, the leaders of that community should look forward to the day when it would be able to do without any special props.

—

Best Safe-guards for Minorities

As the best safe-guards for the interests of any minority community lie in the fraternal friendliness and goodwill of the majority, Dr. Ambedkar would have done well to recognize and appreciate the sincere efforts, however inadequate, made by various religious bodies, social service societies, and Mahatma Gandhi to improve the condition of the backward classes as a matter of fraternal duty. But, whilst there is great acerbity displayed in his address against the "native aristocracy" (used in the sense explained above) and whilst there is some praise given in it to the British Government, there is not a word of appreciation in it for any of those Indians who have made sacrifices and borne persecution and social obloquy for the sake of the community which the speaker represents. Patronizing condescension he must, of course, resent. But is he incapable of discerning and appreciating a friendly and fraternal grasp of the hand?

—

Primary Education in Gaols

The Government resolution on the report of the Administration of the Jails Department, Bengal, for 1929, mentions the successful efforts made to provide primary education for young prisoners in the Alipore Central Jail. So far as that jail is concerned.

"The scheme has now been sanctioned as a permanent measure and it is hoped that primary education will soon be introduced in the other four Central Gaols with equally successful results.

"The importance of according correct treatment to young offenders cannot be overestimated, and the very interesting and encouraging account which the Inspector-General is able to give of the development of the Borstal School at Bankura should not only lead the Courts to study the possibilities of the Act and make a discriminating use of the institution, but should attract and hold the interest and active support of all persons who

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desire to assist in the conversion of potential criminals into useful and productive citizens.

"The Borstal School can do much for young persons committed to it, but its efforts will go in vain unless the public at large recognize that they and they alone can ensure the ultimate success of its work by the practical help and sympathy which they extend to the boys on return to normal life, and by actively participating in the work of the After-Care Associations which are assisting their return to society."

Though the experiment has been introduced none too early and though it is on a very small scale, nevertheless it deserves commendation. But all illiterate juvenile prisoners should have the benefit of the scheme. There is also no reason why adult illiterate prisoners should not be taught the three R's in jails. Educated prisoners who can be depended upon may be utilized for the purpose of teaching them.

—

The Non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committee's Report

The report of the non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committee, presided over by Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-President of the Legislative Assembly, was published at Delhi on August 13 last. It differs from the official enquiry committee's report in that it includes the evidence also, so that its readers may judge for themselves whether the conclusions of the committee follow from the evidence. We have not yet (August 21,) seen the report. We reproduce the following extracts from the summary given in *The Tribune* of Lahore :

"The case on behalf of the Government is that officials had heard (a) that two leaders had been forcibly rescued by the crowd ; (b) that the crowd had injured the Assistant Superintendent of Police with a stone, (c) that there had broken out a serious riot in the town and (d) that the crowd was armed with lathis, crowbars, hatchets, sticks, etc., and was violent. The case on behalf of the people, on the other hand, is that all the allegations are untrue and in fact the crowd was absolutely non-violent and peacefully dispersing immediately after the two leaders were admitted into the Thana, when all of a sudden, without any warning, the armoured car rushed in.

"The authorities have led no evidence before the Sulaiman Committee to prove their allegation that a riot had broken out at the Kabuli Gate and the police were unable to cope with the situation."

After discussing the main incidents of April 23, the Committee summarize their conclusions on them as follows :

(1) There was no outbreak or riot at the Kabuli Gate on the morning of April 23.

(2) The two leaders were not rescued by the people from the police custody.

(3) The Assistant Superintendent of Police was not hurt by a stone from the crowd.

(4) The people were absolutely non-violent and were dispersing when the leaders were admitted into the Thana.

(5) The people had no arms such as *lathis*, sticks, etc.

(6) The Deputy Commissioner at about 10-30 A. M. on April 23 when the people had begun to disperse rushed with three or four armoured cars from the Cantonment to the City and without warning took the people unawares with the result that the wheels of one or two armoured cars crushed about twelve to fourteen persons, six or seven of whom were instantaneously killed and the remaining seriously injured.

(7) Every endeavour had been made and step taken to prevent the above incident being known to the outside public and perhaps to the higher authorities.

(8) That the armoured cars were taken to the gate by the Deputy Commissioner in spite of the advice of the City Magistrate who was on the spot, that the crowd was non-violent, unarmed and had begun to disperse and there was no necessity for reinforcements.

(9) That the armoured cars were taken to the Kabuli Gate not as a precautionary measure but to create an impression.

(10) If the armoured cars had not been brought and rushed into the crowd regardless of consequences, subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened.

(11) The Despatch Rider was not hit or killed by any member of the crowd but was run over by one of the armoured cars after he fell down by collision.

(12) The allegation that the crowd set fire to the armoured car is not true.

(13) The Deputy Commissioner was hit by a piece of stone thrown by some member of the crowd.

The Committee have discussed in detail the law on the subject of the dispersal of assemblies or crowds, which is contained in the Criminal Procedure Code, and are convinced that its provisions were altogether ignored by the local authorities. After giving the reasons on which their findings are based, the members conclude :

(1) In the situation that had arisen at Peshawar on the 23rd April firing by armoured cars and the military was wholly unjustifiable.

(2) Provisions of law and procedure were not only not complied with but were set at naught before orders to fire were given.

(3) The Deputy Commissioner without any warning and without any justification rushed the armoured cars through the unarmed, unresisting and peaceful crowd (which had already commenced to disperse after the two leaders were admitted into the Thana) and thereby killed and wounded twelve to fourteen persons. Had he not done so subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened. Enraged at the sight of their dead and wounded brethren, some irresponsible persons in the crowd picked up stray stones and threw them towards the armoured car. One of the stones hit the

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Deputy Commissioner and this led to his ordering the armoured cars to open fire. If the object of the Deputy Commissioner was merely to disperse the crowd, he could have easily done so by other methods.

Similarly, with regard to the second firing, Mr. Isemonger had decided to use military force. Refusal by the people to disperse until they were allowed to remove the dead and the wounded and unless the armoured cars and the military were withdrawn led him to order firing. If his object was merely to disperse the crowd, whether it was necessary to do so or not, he could have easily done so by other methods but he made no attempts to try other methods. He resorted to firing straight off.

(4) Firing was resorted to recklessly, indiscriminately and for inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the Bazar but was extended to side streets, bye-lanes, balconies and other places round about.

(5) The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 125, but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this larger number of killed and wounded it is impossible to secure in the conditions now obtaining in the province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after April 29,was seized by the military on May 4, since when further inquiries have become impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city.

Moulana Kifayatulla, who was one of the members, writes in a brief dissenting note :

I agree with the whole report except as regards the finding of the majority that Mr. Metcalf was injured by a stone on April 23, 1930. From the evidence before us, it has not been proved that the Deputy Commissoner was hurt by a stone. Indeed one witness, Muhammad Akram Khan, has stated to the contrary, that the Deputy Commissioner, while running towards the steps of the Thana, fell down and struck his head against the edge of the steps and was thus injured.

—

India and Women's International League

The Women's International League has for its international president the world-famous Miss Jane Addams of America. We have received from the British Section of this Women's International League for Peace and Freedom a copy of recent resolutions passed by it on the present situation in India and a statement drawn up on July 7 by its Executive Committee. We appreciate the League's friendly action and are grateful for the same. We reproduce below two of its latest resolutions.

March, 1930. "In order to show that the British Government is in earnest in its intention to grant dominion status, we urge.

(1) that the Indian members of the Round Table Conference promised by the British Government to formulate a constitution on a Dominion Status Basis, shall be nominated by the Indian Legislative Assembly :

(2) That an amnesty be granted to all political prisoners . . . . "

May, 1930. "This Executive Committee urges H. M. Government to make a definite announcement that the object of the Round Table Conference is to formulate a scheme for full responsible Government for India."

The League's statement on the situation in India urges once more an amnesty for political prisoners, and contains, among others, the following expressions of opinion :

"We believe that at the earliest possible moment responsible Government should be handed over to the Indian people in accordance with an agreed plan, which we trust may be worked out in good-will and friendship at the Round Table Conference. We fully realize that, if India remains an integral part of the British Empire, it can only be of her own free will and accord."

"We believe that no representation of Indian people today would be complete without a proportion of Indian women, and we, therefore, demand that representatives of organized Indian women should take their place at the Round Table Conference."

"At the present time the severity of police action against non-violent crowds is daily making the hope of peaceful settlement more remote."

The following telegram has recently appeared in the dailies :

LONDON, AUG. 14.

THE Women's Freedom League has addressed a letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier, urging that the inclusion of both British and Indian women at the Round Table Conference "will be of invaluable assistance in the search towards a solution of the present unhappy difficulties between the two countries" and emphasizing that "British women are deeply concerned in the future of India, and the Simon Commission's Report which states that the women's movement in India holds the key to progress."

Societies supporting the plea include the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, and the Women's International League.—*Reuter.*

Some days ago we received a letter from Berlin stating that the German section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent in May last a cable to Mr. Wedgwood Benn urging him "to release Gandhi and all political prisoners."

We have received a big placard of the Irish Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which contains the exhortation :

"If you want to serve Ireland, imitate Gandhi, who sacrifices himself but refuses to take the life of another. Join the W. I. L.

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and help to abolish the whole vile institution of War."

—

"I am Proud of My People"

In an interview in Berlin, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore spoke of the position in India: "In the Indian endeavour to pursue the ideals of the Mahatma in the fight for freedom," he said, "success may or may not be achieved. But I am proud of my people that they fight for higher ideals. India must be an example to the whole world."

—

"We Must Resignedly Accept Misrepresentation"

Some citizens of Great Britain, belonging to both sexes, try to know the real situation in India from official and non-official sources and base their words and actions on such knowledge. Others—and they are perhaps the majority—misrepresent India because of ignorance or prejudice and set purpose. So there is an appalling amount of misrepresentation of India in Great Britain. This accounts for the following passage in Rabindranath Tagore's well-known article in *The Spectator*:

"The people of England appear doomed to remain ignorant of the true state of things that prevails today in India. For in critical times like these, governments which have their faith in the short cut of punitive force for the speedy solution of their problems become more afraid of the higher spirit of their own people than their enemies themselves. And, therefore, they create in the surrounding air the smoke screens of obscurity and calumny in order to hide their own method of action and discredit that of their opponents. This has been amply proved in the late War. The organized power has the organ of a magnified voice; but we who have no proper means of publicity nor the bond of kinship with the British people to make it easy for us to gain credence, must resignedly accept all misrepresentation as the bitterest part of our national penance, the unavoidable penance for our own long history of weakness. Yet I cannot allow this occasion to pass by without declaring that, with few exceptions, forbearance, which in the present atmosphere of panic and insanity of soul, India in this trial has maintained her dignity of soul."

This passage has been reprinted and published by Birmingham Council for India Freedom in the form of a leaflet for free distribution. The presence of the Poet in Birmingham for some time has obviously greatly stimulated interest in the cause of India's freedom in that city.

—

"Why They Resign"

Another leaflet, with the heading "Why They Resign," published by the same Council states:

"Several hundreds of elected Indian Officials have resigned their positions. This has puzzled many British people. So we print here what Munshi Ishwar Saran (member of the Indian Assembly) gave as his reasons, when he sent his letter of resignation to the Viceroy":

Then follows a passage from the letter, briefly mentioning various acts and methods of repression. The leaflet concludes with the following words:

"The British Government can stop these imprisonments, flogging and other .....actions.

"Send your protest to your M. P. and the Secretary of State for India *at once*, to-morrow might be too late."

—

Public Meetings at Birmingham

Public meetings are being held at Birmingham under the auspices of its Council for India Freedom, the handbill of one of which is reproduced below."

BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL FOR
INDIAN FREEDOM.
A
PUBLIC MEETING
Will be Held in the
TOWN HALL,
BIRMINGHAM.
on
THURSDAY, JULY 17th, at 7-30 p. m.
INDIA—What is the Truth?
Suppression of Free Press.
Arrest Without Trial.
Public Meetings Prohibited.
Shooting Unarmed People.
SPEAKERS:
DR. ANNIE BESANT.
FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.
C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.
C. JINARAJADASA.
REGINALD REYNOLDS.
Chairman HORACE ALEXANDER, M.A.
ADMISSION FREE. Doors open at 7-0 p.m.

—

British Attitude towards India

We have not printed the above note to produce any hope of any such meetings leading a large number of British citizens to take up the cause of India. We just want to tell our readers what some Indians in Britain and some Englishmen are doing to draw attention to the Indian situation. The prevailing British attitude appears to have been correctly read by *The Manchester Guardian*, which, according to *The Leader*, remarks in a leading article published in its issue of July 21 that 'the Simon Report has convinced most Englishmen that it is impossible for India to attain anything which can honestly be called Dominion status with or without reservation.' And since India 'insists on having at least the name

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of Dominion status at once' it is 'difficult to expect anything but disaster from the London Conference.' This observation means that the majority of Englishmen have made up their minds and that the British delegation at the Round Table Conference is bound to oppose proposals for giving 'the name of Dominion status'. If Lord Irwin is optimistic because he thinks that 'he more than any man living has the 'power of calling up the right spirit in the hearts both of Indians and of his own countrymen' he should know that 'that power unfortunately, he cannot 'communicate to others'. So far as the *Guardian* is concerned, it does not think that the London conference will lead to a solution of the Indian problem. There are many in India who are of the same opinion in view of the general British attitude towards the minimum Indian demands.

The attitude of this important organ of the British Liberal party is in keeping with that of its leaders like Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Reading and Sir John Simon himself.

—

Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill

A new Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill has been prepared by the Minister for Education, which he wants to rush through the 'de-swarajized' Bengal Legislative Council. His propaganda tour through Musalman districts and the semi-mysterious resignation of the only Hindu Minister, have given a communal tinge to the Musalman Education Minister's attempt to pilot the bill through the Council. But we will not say anything on its real or alleged communal aspects.

We have always opposed the levy of any new cess in Bengal for extending primary education. For Government gets the largest amount of revenue from Bengal and gives it for its public purposes less money than any other major province gets. If Bengal got as large a proportion of what Government collects from it as the other provinces, there would be plenty of money for introducing free and compulsory universal education in it for both boys and girls. Not to speak of other sources of revenue, if Bengal got only what is collected in the shape of duty on Jute, which is its monopoly, there would be 4 crores of rupees for education, whereas the Minister wants to raise only a little more than a crore by fresh taxation.

It has been said by him and others—we are not quoting their exact words—that as it would not be possible to make the Government of India disgorge now or abstain from swallowing in future what extra-large amounts it appropriates from Bengal, there is no means left for the Bengalis to get universal education except paying fresh taxes. But the "Meston award"—pure and simple or modified—is not unalterable like a Law of Nature. If Bengalis are men, they must get justice for their province. If they are not men, would a little knowledge of reading and writing make their children man-like?

It may be said, "Bengal may get back her own in some distant or near future. Are her children to grow up into illiterate and ignorant men in the meantime?" Not necessarily, we reply. If, as Mr. Minister Nazimuddin says, the Bengal farmers and ryots are willing and eager to pay a cess for the education of their children, why cannot they or their leaders form education committees in each village, tax themselves, collect such tax and have and manage their own schools? Such an endeavour would result in those who pay the piper also calling the tune; whereas, according to the Ministerial bill, the villagers and their landlords and some others are to pay but the Government is to determine what kind of education the children are to have in order that the prescribed brand of mentality may be developed in them.

It will be objected that our suggestion is unpractical and impracticable. We know, for a certain type of mind it is easy and practicable to pay only when payment is compulsory. But we do not think every bit of idealism is "unpractical." And besides, we are taking the Education Minister at his word that the rural population of Bengal are willing and eager to pay for education.

If the present bureaucracy remain in power, and if its education department controls the funds, the methods, the curricula and text-books of the proposed new rural education, that education is sure to be such as would produce a mentality in favour of British dominance and Indian subserviency. If a "brown" bureaucracy succeeds the British bureaucracy, the brown gods also will seek to be worshipped.

Let us now see what provision the Minister wants to make for universal rural primary education for boys in Bengal. We say 'universal,' for in his Rotary Club speech that gentleman said:

"If the Bengal Primary Education Bill is enacted into law, within seven years every boy in Bengal between the ages of six and eleven will be attending a primary school."

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According to the census of 1921, the population of British-ruled Bengal is 4,66,95,536. It is predominantly rural. Counting even eighteen of the localities which contain a population of less than 5,000 each as towns, the urban population of Bengal is only 32,11,304. Consequently one would not be far wrong in holding that the Bill would have to make provision for the primary education of practically all children in Bengal between the ages of 6 and 11.

In his Rotary Club speech the Minister said that the Bill would provide for the education of 27,00,000 boys and 10,00,000 girls. At present, no doubt, a far smaller number of girls than boys receives education. But when provision is being professed to be made for all boys, a similar provision ought to be made for all girls also, though at first it may not be possible to make all of them attend school.

The Minister appears to think that by providing for the education of 27,00,000 boys, he would be educating "every boy in Bengal between the ages of six and eleven." And the girls of that age to be educated are 10,00,000. The census report does not give the figures for children between 6 and 11; it gives the figures for those between 5 and 10. There would not be much difference between the two sets of figures. According to the census of 1921, boys between 5 and 10 numbered 38,01,542, and girls 36,86,676; total 74,88,218. So the Minister would provide education for 37,00,000 children out of about 75,00,000, that is, for less than half. If only boys are taken into account, only 27,00,000 would be provided for out of 38,01,542. If girls alone were counted, only 10,00,000, would be educated out of 36,86,676. It cannot be said that the Bill would provide for these 27 lakhs of boys and 10 lakhs of girls in addition to those at present receiving education in primary schools. For according to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1928-29, 20,50,098 boys are already enrolled in primary schools. If these 20 lakhs already provided for, were added to the 27 lakhs to be provided for, the total would come up to 47 lakhs, which is 9 lakhs more than the total number of boys in Bengal between the ages of 5 and 10! Surely, the Minister has not been making provision in excess of present needs in anticipation of a future rapid increase in the number of boys!

That his estimate includes the present number of schools and pupils would appear also from the details, furnished by him, of how the scheme is to be financed. He includes in his estimate what the Bengal Government at present spends for primary education, as would be plain from the following passage from his Rotary Club speech:

"The money to be found is Rs. 1,32,00,000 and the Government propose to find it as follows.

"At present Rs. 22 lakhs is the contribution made from provincial revenue to primary education in rural areas. It is proposed to continue this contribution. A cess 1¼ times the road and public works cess, is proposed to be levied in the same manner as that cess and the proceeds are expected to amount to rupees one crore. In addition, certain taxation is proposed on persons in rural areas who are engaged in trade, business or professional activities.

"This tax is provided for in clause 34 of the Bill and is estimated to realize approximately 10 lakhs of rupees annually. Further, it is proposed to meet the cost of the inspecting staff and the training of teachers from the provincial budget, so that no part of the expenditure under this head will have to be met from the new taxation."

It is clear then that, though the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill would authorize the collection of the education cess from all rural areas in Bengal, it would not be able to provide schools for all such areas; for, it would provide education for only 27 lakhs of boys out of 38 lakhs and 10 lakhs of girls out of 36 lakhs. If it cannot establish and maintain schools in all areas, why should the cess be paid by tenants and landlords in all areas? If some districts and areas are to be favoured and some to be discriminated against, what principle would underlie such treatment?

Again, Bengal is inhabited by both men and women, including boys and girls. Why are girls to be discriminated against? Surely the Minister does not want an anti-education-cess movement among Bengali women. He must have noted that Bengali women are becoming increasingly self-conscious and ready for sacrifice and suffering in the public cause.

—

Unwarlike Bengal

The reader must have noted from the articles published in this *Review* on the martial races of India that these did not contribute any soldiers to the East India Company's army in the earlier stages of its military operations. Consequently, it must also have been clear that when the

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Company conquered or in any case defeated the martial peoples, it did so with armies consisting for the most part of soldiers recruited from among the present-day non-martial peoples.

This fact may lead same readers to investigate why some peoples become or are made unwarlike. We do not, of course, suggest that in war in general there is anything peculiarly commendable except courage. And there are higher forms of courage than that displayed in war.

So far as the military history of Bengal is concerned, the history of the independent chiefs of Bengal—Moslem and Hindu—known as the "Bara Bhuiyans" the Twelve Chiefs), has not received sufficient attention. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum, contributed a learned paper on the subject, entitled "Bengal Chiefs' Struggles," to Vol. XXXV. of *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1928. The following passage is taken from that paper :—

At the same time, I cannot but say that the thirty-eight years' (1575-1612 A. D.) struggle for independence of the Bengal Chiefs has not received the recognition it deserves. Rana Pratap of Mewar spent his whole life in fighting Akbar and ended his days sword in hand and independent. We have almost deified Rana Pratap and there is no name more honoured from one end of the country to the other than Rana Pratap's. But what then have the Bengal Chiefs done to deserve this oblivion? They did the same: they fought with the greatest generals of Akbar, the very generals who had fought Rana Pratap. Rana Pratap was strong in cavalry, the Bengalees were strong in war-boats. The imperial generals were defeated again and again and driven out of Bengal. Bengal was never at peace, and constant guerilla warfare was maintained throughout the reign of Akbar, with occasional disasters to the imperial arms. It was not before 1613, in the reign of Jahangir, that Bengal was completely subjugated. And all these the Bengal Chiefs accomplished with the children of the soil of Bengal and not with hirelings from Nepal or Rajputana. Yet Bengalees are a non-military race unworthy of receiving a soldier's training, though their Chiefs and their forefathers had fought and maintained their independence for more than a third of a century.

Mr. Bhattasali's object is not to minimize the glory of Rana Pratap Singh but to give the Moslem and Hindu chiefs of Bengal in the heyday of Mughal rule their due.

—

Rice Cultivation in Bengal and other Schemes

According to a Simla despatch,

A scheme for the improvement of rice in Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Burma at an estimated cost of Rs. 12 lakhs, has been sanctioned.

This is one of the schemes which were discussed and sanctioned at the meeting of the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, which concluded here yesterday.

The following schemes, among others, were also sanctioned :

The establishment of a botanical sub-station at Karnal, at a cost of Rs. 1,41,940, for five years; and another sub-station, in the same place, for sugarcane cultivation, at a cost of Rs. 82,000.

It was agreed to contribute a total sum of £500 to the Imperial Bureau of Entomology, and to expend a total sum of Rs. 2,05,000 for agricultural meteorology.

The appointment of a sugarcane specialist for Bihar for five years was also agreed to, as well as the establishment of a Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence.

Altogether 22 schemes were sanctioned, at an approximate cost of over Rs. 20 lakhs. All the money sanctioned represents the total expenditure involved in five years.

These schemes are good in the abstract. But they cannot bear appreciable fruit until the Indian agricultural population has become at least literate, if not also educated.

—

Japanese Enterprise and Indian official and Non-official Lethargy

It is reported that in the shallow waters round the Andaman Islands are beds of a mollusc called Trochus Turbo. For several years enterprising Japanese have come in light vessels from Singapore, harvested the molluscs and returned with their boats full of the shells, which make agreeable mother-of-pearl ornaments.

"From the next fishing season, which begins in October, the fishers will have to take out a licence and pay a 10 per cent royalty on their catches to the Government. The revenue from this source is expected to be Rs. 40,000 a year, which will be a net gain to Government, as hitherto the Japanese fishers have not contributed a pice in taxation to the authorities in whose waters they operate.

"As it was feared that the beds might be so depopulated as to leave no fish for breeding purposes, Dr. B. Prashad and Dr. S. L. Hora recently visited the Andamans on behalf of the Zoological Survey of India, and as a result of their report to the Central Government it has been decided to send an officer of the Survey to the Andamans for five years to investigate the condition of the fisheries and take steps for their preservation."

This decision shows that the Central Government has done part of its duty. But one would like to know why it has not done anything to train and enable Indians to make all the profits from these fisheries which the Japanese have been making.

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As regards our own countrymen, it must be said that as they live much nearer the Andaman Islands than the Japanese, it was their want of enterprise which has led to a profitable industry passing into the hands of foreigners.

—

"Vast Majority of Law-abiding and Peace-loving Citizens"

In the course of his concluding article sent from India to *The Daily Herald* of London by its special correspondent, Mr. George Slocombe, he writes :

When one sees the enormous crowds that flock to meetings, or march in processions under the Congress flag, and hears the same opinion, sympathetic to Congress and hostile to the Government, from Sikh or Mohammedan, Hindu or Parsee, high-caste Brahmin or sweeper of depressed classes, one wonders where that "vast majority of law-abiding and peace-loving citizens," so often referred to in Government declarations, may be found.

Growing Enmity

Hostility towards Britain is steadily growing, but beyond one or two trifling acts of hooliganism the tiny English community has lived, and is still living in the midst of this teeming population in perfect safety.

The attitude of most crowds, however vast, to an isolated Englishman, who ventures among them, is one of silent reproach rather than of open resentment.

Nevertheless, our position in India is not reassuring.

At one time Indians' attitude to us was about equally compounded of fear, respect, and dislike. Then the second factor in their attitude disappeared.

The first is rapidly disappearing, and soon, unless the situation is dramatically altered, dislike alone will dominate in the bearing of Indians towards Britain.

Such is my profound and melancholy conviction on the eve of my departure from this country.

—

Womanhood of India

'India wants her womanhood to take her place in the forefront of the modern civilization, along with her sisters of the West," said Professor A. C Chakravarty, of Santiniketan University, Bengal, who lectured on the New Women's Movement in Bengal, at an At Home, held under the auspices of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, at Trinity Hall, Dartry Road.

In the first part of his paper the lecturer gave a picture of the ancient Hindu civilization, which was based on spiritual values, and which depended for its welfare on the sharing of mutual social responsibilities by India's men and women.

India in the past tried to organize social life in the light of the complete ideal of religious life, and therefore women had a special function to fulfil in the shaping of her civilization.

Modern Age

In the modern age, however, the peace and seclusion of India's past was no longer possible.

The ancient social system had broken up and the pressure of economic difficulties had rendered the joint family system and the harmonious working of different social groups impossible.

India's womanhood had faced this new age which had brought the different races and civilizations of the world together, and was fast trying to evolve the psychology that would help her in contributing to the growth of a new social order.

India's Future

The new woman of Bengal was conscious of her tremendous responsibility in shaping India's future, and her great endeavour now was to harmonize the living traditions of her spiritual past with the dynamic civilization of the West.

The ideal of social service which is operative in the West must blend with the conception of the fundamental values in life that the East has realized, and the new woman's movement in Bengal had achieved that harmony of cultures through diverse social, educational and cultural activities.

The lecturer spoke of Bengal in particular, because his experience is confined mostly to Bengal. What is true of Bengal is true of most other parts of India, too.

—

Trouble and Advance

In the course of a speech made in England the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have said that the Irish got what they wanted because they made trouble and that there could be no advance without trouble. He is said to have added that the trouble made in India was not of the right kind. These observations are calculated to rouse one's curiosity to know what in Mr. Sastri's opinion is trouble of the right kind and why he has not been making that kind of trouble. As he is an eminent leader of the party which is entirely in favour of taking only constitutional steps for winning freedom for India, he would confer a great boon on his fellow-countrymen by showing them a way to freedom through trouble which is *unquestionably* constitutional and therefore quite safe to adopt.

—

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Replies to Simon Commission Report

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been rendering yeoman's service to the cause of India by his activities in England. It is said that he is engaged in writing a book to be published shortly, which would in effect be a reply to the Simon Commission Report. It is also said that Mr. C. F. Andrews is also engaged in writing a similar book. Both the authors are quite competent to do the work they have taken in hand. And it is good that their works would be published in Great Britain, and would not, therefore, be suppressed because of the inconvenient truths which they are expected to contain. Perhaps these books would be published before the so-called Round Table Conference meets in London.

—

Official Review of "The" Movement

Week after week the official review of the Satyagraha movement, called in English the civil disobedience movement, records on the whole a gradual weakening of it. This has synchronized with bringing new areas under the operation of some ordinance or other promulgated to combat it or some already existing criminal law. These two facts have to be harmonized by the historian of contemporary events in order to understand whether the movement is really weakening.

—

Picketing of Educational Institutions

We have all along been against the picketing of educational institutions. Our opinion that the education imparted therein, though defective and even harmful in some respects, is not on the whole an unmitigated evil, may not be accepted by Non-co-operators. They may also discount the fact that there are no adequate substitutes for these institutions. But the picketers and their leaders ought to admit that they have not got from the body of students they have prevented—at least temporarily—from attending their classes, a number of workers at all commensurate with the time and energy spent in picketing. Our opinion is that they could have got more workers for the national cause by argument and persuasion, if the educational institutions had been allowed to go on as usual.

It is to be regretted also that in many cases there has been coercion of some kind or other. Those who claim to be fighters in freedom's battle ought not to interfere with the freedom of others.

Though we have been against the picketing of educational institutions, we disapprove of the calling in of policemen to prevent peaceful picketing, and we strongly condemn the assaults on picketers and spectators, such as those which have taken place in front of the Calcutta Presidency College or near the locality.

—

Prominent Leaders Join Congress

As ex-Presidents, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Annie Besant and Dr. Ansari had all along been ex-officio members of the Indian National Congress. But as repression has gradually stiffened they have one by one actually joined the present Congress movement, though at first they were not identified with it. This is significant.

—

Mr. Thompson on "India in Bondage"

Mr. Edward Thompson, who was for some time Professor at Bankura, Bengal, in a missionary college and was known as the Rev. E. J. Thompson and who has been doing mischievous anti-Indian propaganda work in America, perhaps at India's cost, has recently contributed three articles to the London *Times* on "America and India." The last of these three articles is devoted to a criticism of "India in Bondage" by Dr. J. T. Sunderland, who, he admits, "is a generous and enthusiastic man." These three articles have been reproduced by a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper. Three clippings of the third articles have been sent to me from England by different persons, obviously in the hope that I might answer Mr. Thompson's criticisms. One has sent me the other two also. I, however, labour under certain difficulties. At the end of each of the three articles there are the words, "Copyright Reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part forbidden." This prevents the quotation of Mr. Thompson's criticisms verbatim. Another difficulty is that Dr. Sunderland's book, having been proscribed in India, is not available for reproduction of passages here. But as the bulk of the book appeared in *The Modern Review* and as I read it in manuscript, I remember the substance

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of what he wrote, and as the aforesaid Anglo-Indian paper reprinted the passages from it quoted by Mr. Thompson, I may be allowed to refer to them. This Imperialist method of controversy is eminently fair. You first suppress a book and prevent people from knowing its main lines of argument; and then you publish criticisms of it, forbidding even partial quotation of them. How, then, is an effective rejoinder possible? The last difficulty I shall mention is that at the place I am writing this reply, all the historical works and other literature required are not available.

At the outset, I should ask the reader to bear in mind the fact that Dr. Sunderland attempts to show four things in his book. He tries to show the evil effects, in his opinion, of the British occupation of India, including the harm done by it to Great Britain also. He tries to refute the objections of the opponents of Indian self-rule. He exposes the claims that Britain is a trustee of India, that she has been training Indians in the art of self-government, that without her there would not have been any social reform in India, etc., etc. And, lastly, he shows the fitness of Indians for self-rule.

Mr. Thompson's criticisms are all of them criticisms of a few details in Dr. Sunderland's book. Not one of them weakens or invalidates the main or subsidiary arguments contained in it. So, even if it were admitted that the inaccuracies pointed out by the critic were all real mistakes, the book would remain substantially unanswered. I shall not repeat these remarks at every step;—the reader will judge for himself whether they are true with reference to every passage criticized by Mr. Thompson.

Dr. Sunderland states in his book that the splendid Indian army turned the tide at the first battle of the Marne, beating back the German advance and saving Paris from capture. Dr. Thompson points out in criticism that the Indian army could not have done it as the battle of the Marne was fought between September 5 and 11, while the Indian Expeditionary Force was still on its way to France. In this he is certainly right. For the last Indian detachments did not reach France till the last week of September. But that hardly affects Dr. Sunderland's principal argument. We do not wish to make any extravagant claims for the Indian Corps in France. But there is hardly a serious historian who will dispute General Sir James Willcocks's opinion that the arrival of the Indian Army Corps, just when it did come, was a most welcome respite sadly needed by the British armies on the Western Front outnumbered and all but overwhelmed as they were by the Germans, or try to maintain that the services rendered by the Indians at Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Festubert and other battles were insignificant or unimportant. The exact words of General Willcocks are well worth quoting:

> "Here was a great country," he says, "with 48,000,000 of inhabitants, and yet it was found necessary to summon a few thousands from Asia to defend our cause at our own gates. I have heard it said that the Indian Corps was only sent to France to give India a chance of taking her part in our Empire war: maybe that was partly the idea of those who first originated it, but the fact remains that the arrival of the Army Corps, just when it did come, was the respite so sadly needed by the brave men who had wrought deeds of almost superhuman devotion, but were then outnumbered and all but overwhelmed by the German hordes." (Gen. Sir James Willcocks— *With the Indians in France*, p. 182).

Besides, the passage criticized occurs in the chapter devoted to showing that a free India would be able to protect herself, as Indian soldiers are good fighters. As Lord Curzon, Sir Valentine Chirol, General Allenby, General Sir Ian Hamilton and many other competent authorities have highly praised the soldierly qualities of Indian sepoys, Dr. Sunderland's argument remains as strong as ever even though Indian soldiers did not arrive in time to take part in the battle of the Marne.

Dr. Sunderland is quoted by Dr. Thompson to have written in a Boston paper, *not* in "India in Bondage," that "the shocking Amritsar massacre and all the terrible Punjab atrocrities" were perpetrated under dyarchy. The critic says that these things happened in April 1919 and Dyarchy passed the House of Commons in December 1919 and came into operation in 1921. So it comes to this that Mr. Thompson admits that *these events did happen*, though not literally *under* Dyarchy. Does that matter very much? Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that these terrible events happened *when Dyarchy was already on the anvil* and the Reform Scheme had been adumbrated two years previously by the Declaration of August 20, 1917. So the "Punjab atrocities" were perpetrated when a new spirit, resulting in the Reform Scheme (which included Dyarchy), was

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supposed to have been influencing the British rulers in India and Britain.

The next point sought to be made by the critic is that Dr. Sunderland's authority says that "the losses in some of our Indian battles of conquest were about double the loss at Waterloo. The loss in our Sutlej battles in 1846 was much more severe than that of Waterloo," though the actual figures are claimed by the critic to tell a different tale. Mr. Thompson fails to mention that Dr. Sunderland's quotation is from a book called "Government of India under a Bureaucracy" by John Dickinson *(Junior)*, M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S., published in London in 1853 ; and so he is not responsible for the opinion expressed in it. The critic himself does not say from what book his own figures are taken. "Much more severe loss" does not necessarily imply a larger *number* of killed and wounded ; it would be quite accurate to use those words if the casualties were greater in proportion to the number of soldiers engaged in battle. It is not clear, too, whether Dickinson used "loss" to include the wounded also. Moreover, the actual Sikh casualties are not known. But let us examine Dr. Thompson's own Waterloo figures. He speaks of "the 15,000 British and 7,000 Prussian casualties at Waterloo." But according to Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, the *British* casualties at Waterloo were—killed 1,328, wounded 4624, and missing 558 ; total 6,510. There is some difference between 15,000 and 6,510, is there not ? Perhaps Dr. Thompson includes the casualties among the Dutch-Belgian and German contingents under Wellington's command to swell the figure of the *British* losses.

But supposing Dr. Thompson is quite right in his correction, does it dispose of Dr. Sunderland's facts and arguments relating to the kind of "peace" Britain has given India ? The American author may be right or may be wrong, but some defective or ambiguous statistics given by the critic without quoting his authority cannot dispose of the many extracts given by Dr. Sunderland in the chapter referred to, which, I am sorry, neither myself nor any other Indian is in a position to reproduce in India.

Mr. Thompson quotes the following passage from "India in Bondage" :

"Mr. Tagore had been friendly to the British regime and had freely co-operated with it, in recognition of which the British Government had conferred upon him the Order of Knighthood."

I know quite well where this passage occurs and could at once point it out, if given a copy of "India in Bondage." It is where the author describes what Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore did with reference to the terrible events in the Panjab in 1919. I am sure also that Mr. Thompson has quoted the sentence in a mutilated form. This passage has made the critic very "indignant." But he has misunderstood the words "friendly" and "co-operated." I know Dr. Sunderland has used the words "friendly" and "loyal" with reference to Mahatma Gandhi's past career also, and he is right in doing so. If Mahatmaji can be, and that rightly, styled friendly and loyal in spite of passive resistance in South Africa, Tagore can also be called friendly in spite of his occasional opposition to Government. When it is said that Dr. Tagore has co-operated with the British regime, it is simply meant that he has *not non-co-operated* with it. In proof thereof it may be stated that Tagore's University sends up students to an official University's examinations, Mahatma Gandhi's Gujarat Vidyapith does not ; and Tagore's Rural Reconstruction Department accepts a Government grant, Mahatma Gandhi's institution does not. Mr. Thompson says what every one knows, and Dr. Sunderland knows, *viz.*, that Tagore's knighthood was a distinction to literature. But I doubt whether it would have been conferred upon him if he had been an extremist like Aurobindo Ghose or a Non-co-operator like Mahatma Gandhi. As all Governments do similar things, I do not mean any "insult" to the British-Indian Government—and certainly not to the Poet—when I conjecture that the knighthood was conferred upon him for an additional reason, namely, to make him more "friendly" and more "co-operative" and keep him in that frame of mind ; though the Poet's response to that "gesture" may not have been what was officially expected. I agree with the critic—and Dr. Sunderland would also agree, I am sure—that the title "was neither bought nor sold." The question of any commercial transaction does not arise

The critic asserts that Dr. Sunderland's premises are grotesquely false, and gives the following sentence from the latter's book as an example :

"I repeat India is a vast land—almost

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continent—rich in resources of every kind—agricultural products, forests, fisheries, minerals."

What is grotesquely false here? The critic says, "India is nothing of the sort." Let us see.

When it suits the purpose of our opponents, they point to the large area of our country and its many languages, creeds, etc., to prove that we are not a nation but a congeries of peoples. But when a friend refers to the vast area of India, why, it becomes a grotesquely false statement! However, the Englishman's latest Gospel, the Simon Commission Report, says the same thing, only in different language. That work (vol. i, page 10) speaks of "the sub-continent which we call India," and states (vol. i, page 11) that "India is as large as the whole of continental Europe without Russia." What is the tremendous difference between these words of the Simon Commission Report and Dr. Sunderland's "almost a continent"?

As for the description of the resources of India as "rich," Dr. Thompson says that "her resources are vastly exaggerated." But "rich" is a relative term. What is "rich" to us may not be rich to Dr. Thompson and his countrymen, who originally came and still come to our poorly endowed country undoubtedly to bestow some of their riches on us from the vastly richer natural resources of their vastly larger motherland known as Great Britain.

The critic takes exception to Dr. Sunderland's statement that the abolition of suttee is "due quite as much to the eminent Indian leader, Rammohun Roy, as to the British Government. Indeed, the Government would not have acted at all except for strong pressure from a powerful Indian movement." Mr. Thompson's remark on this is, "Rammohun Roy thought the prohibition injudicious and premature." There is both *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* in that single brief statement. A full exposure of the enormity of this British writer's misrepresentation of the great Indian reformer cannot be attempted in this note. Suffice it to say that Rammohun carried on a ceaseless campaign against suttee in English and Bengali, thereby endangering his own life, that his arguments and almost his very words were reproduced in the Anti-Suttee Act, that when the orthodox Hindus submitted many petitions against it, he presented a counter-petition, and when Bentinck allowed the orthodox to appeal to the King in Council, Rammohun expedited his departure to England in order to be there in time to fight the cause of Indian womanhood. If at any stage of the movement for the abolition of suttee, he thought prohibition by law "injudicious and premature," it was because of his "constitutional aversion to coercion," and because "the reformer's method went deeper, as he tried to remove the cause by enlightening the national mind. He wanted to root out and not simply to stop the evil." (N. C. Ganguly.)

Montgomery Martin, a contemporary of Rammohun, who was not at all disposed to be too modest in claiming for himself the largest possible share of the credit for the abolition of *suttee*, writes thus:

"The efforts which I made in India (and which before I left Calcutta were successful) for the abolition of this horrid rite, by the publication of a journal in four languages, addressed to all castes of natives, is one of the most gratifying events of my life. It is justly due to the memory of the late Rammohun Roy to state that to his aid, in conjunction with that of the noble-minded Dwarkanath Tagore and his able and estimable cousin Prusunno Coomar Tagore, I was materially indebted for the success of my labours in 1829."—*Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 497. Published in London, 1883.

Says the Rev. Dr. Macnicol:

"If the credit of putting an end to these horrors belongs to any man," says the late Justice Ranade, "that credit must be given to Raja Rammohun Roy." —Macnicol's *Rammohun Roy*, (Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1919), p. 19.

Again:

"Had it not been that there was at that time in Rammohun Roy one resolute to express the better spirit of his countrymen and in Lord William Bentinck a ruler not less resolute to take action *in accordance with it*, this practice, revolting as it was, might have remained for many a day still further to brutalize the people and bring dishonour on the land."—*Ibid*, p. 21.

Rammohun's fame can take care of itself. Dr. Sunderland's reference to what he did in relation to *suttee* is meant to show that Indians are capable of discerning their own social evils and combating them, and hence, even if British dominance were gone and India became self-ruling, the cause of social reform would not suffer. Every unprejudiced and well-informed man knows that the abolition of suttee, the legalizing of widow-marriage, legalization of inter-subcaste and inter-caste marriages, civil marriage, the abolition of the *devadasi* system, the legal restrictions placed on child marriage, etc., have been brought

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about by Indian initiative. And it is Indians who are fighting for the right of the depressed classes to enter temples and use public ways, wells and schools and for the introduction of free and compulsory universal elementary education.

Dr. Thompson quotes the following passage from Dr. Suuderland's book without any comment, but probably because he thinks the statements contained therein wrong :

"Wherever in India the British are most in evidence, there the riots are usually worst; wherever the British are least in evidence, there riots are generally fewest. Before the British came to India, there seems to have been little hostility between Hindus and Moslems; everywhere they seem to have lived together for the most part peacefully and harmoniously."

As Dr. Thompson does not make any specific remarks on this passage, I also need not do so. I will, however, quote the following words from the Simon Commission Report bearing on Hindu-Moslem riots:

"The comparative absence of communal strife in the Indian States today may be similarly explained." Vol. i, page 29.

Lastly, the critic quotes the following passage :

"For more than 2,500 years before the British came, the Indian nation was one of the greatest, the most influential, and most enlightened in the world."

Dr. Thompson's comment is :

"For him these golden millenniums, rich in every art and science and form of material wealth, are unquestioned facts, as they are coming to be for that section of the American public that forms its mind from the lecture-platform."

If, according to the critic, the facts were the exact opposite of what Dr. Sunderland states, why in a bygone age did the foremost nations of Europe try to monopolize as much of the trade of India as they could ? Did they come to shower *their* wealth on India ?

These are all the passages in a book of more than 500 pages which Mr. Thompson has criticized.

Ramananda Chatterjee

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Official Propaganda

A batch of Bengali leaflets sent by the president of a Union Board to one of its members lies before us. The Bengali covering letter runs as follows (in translation) :

Sir,

I send you these propaganda leaflets ("*prachar patrika*") in accordance with the honourable Circle Officer's letter dated 3—8—30. Kindly give these leaflets to distinguished gentlemen to read, and disseminate their purport systematically among the common people.

The signature and designation of the Union Board President follow. The leaflets have the following captions : "Our imminent danger," dwelling on what anarchy, plundering by hooligans, ravishment of women, killing of innocent men, etc., would befall the country *if there were no policemen* ; "Clothing", entirely devoted to belauding the practice of importing foreign cloth, with not a single word in appreciation of the indigenous mill and handloom industries ; "Swaraj," as based on the Union Boards ; "Making cat's-paws of others," which is too precious to be summarized ; "Excise," in praise of the Excise policy of the Government ; and "Education as the foundation of Freedom," which contains a dictum falsely attributed to Mahatma Gandhi and another saying attributed to the poet Rabindranath Tagore, resembling some sentence of his changed beyond recognition. These leaflets contain some half-truths and more falsehoods. And these are being circulated through the members of the Union Boards, who are assumed to be the pillars of self-rule.

Three of these leaflets are printed at the Bani Press, two at the Apurba Press, and one at the Surya Printing House—all of Calcutta. We do not know the proprietors of these presses. Those who know may ask them if they would agree to print replies to these leaflets.

If we are not mistaken, the law relating to presses requires the name of the printer and the address of the press to be printed even in leaflets printed there. These leaflets do not fulfil these requirements, though they are published under official auspices. Moreover, they do not bear the name of the publisher. Even Government Gazettes fulfil these legal requirements. Is the hidden hand of the official propagandist above all law ?

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Bombay Tilak Day Prosecution

When Non-co-operators are brought to trial on some charge, it is usual for them to refuse to plead and defend themselves or to take part in the proceedings in court in any other way. They have their own

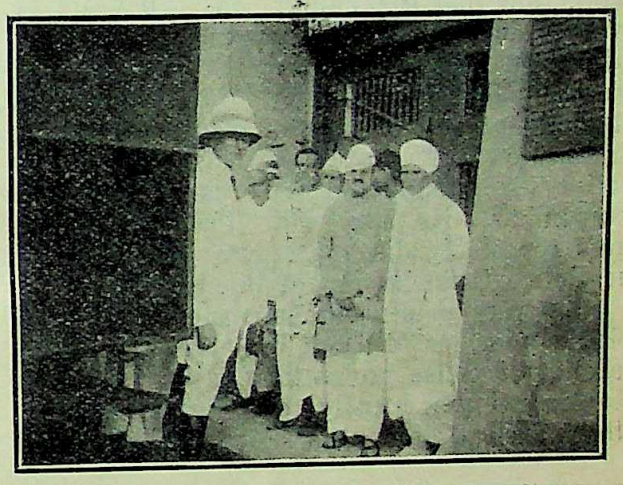
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reasons for doing so. So far as trials and punishments go, they would not recognize the Government willingly. And generally, so far as mere conviction or discharge or acquittal goes, their participation or non-participation in the trial would perhaps produce the same result. But it is known that sometimes persons have been punished for offences connected with satyagraha, although they were not even present on the scene of occurrence when the offence was said to have been committed. In such cases, the putting up of a defence might have resulted in acquittal. It is true, conviction in such undefended cases shows up police methods and lays bare the real character of the convicting law-courts. But a defence would do so as well, though that might involve some trouble, and some expense, too, generally. It would, moreover, serve the cause of truth, and also put to the test repeatedly Government's profession of acting according to the law.

Sometimes a defence and an appeal may result in the vindication of important rights and principles. For instance, the judgments of Mr. Justice Pandalai of the Madras High Court in relation to the wearing of Gandhi caps and the hoisting of the national flag in private buildings have established the right of private individuals to dress in any way they like, provided of course they do not do so in an indecent manner, and also the right of flying the national flag in houses belonging to them and used for private purposes.

In the Bombay Tilak Day case, there were altogether seventeen accused. All except Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya refused to take any part in the proceedings of the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court, where the trial was held. The Pandit cross-examined the witnesses and addressed the court, in consequence of which the Magistrate had to admit that important points of law had been raised, and many facts became public which would have otherwise remained unknown. It has been made clear, at least to the Indian public, that the Bombay Police Commissioner's request or order (whatever it was) that the Tilak Day procession should not proceed along Hornby Road was unjustifiable. The leaders asked to be allowed to proceed along one side of the road by fours or even twos. But the Commissioner would not alter his order. In consequence the processionists remained squatting on the wet road for fourteen hours, including all the hours of the night of the 1st August, thus really, though unintentionally, obstructing what little traffic there was, for which the Commissioner was to blame. They were neither allowed to proceed, nor arrested, nor dispersed. It could not be contended that there was considerable traffic throughout those fourteen hours, and even after midnight. It was only after the arrival from Poona, in the morning, of Sir Ernest Hotson, the Bombay Home Member, and after consultation with him that the Commissioner ordered the arrest



At the door of the Byculla Jail

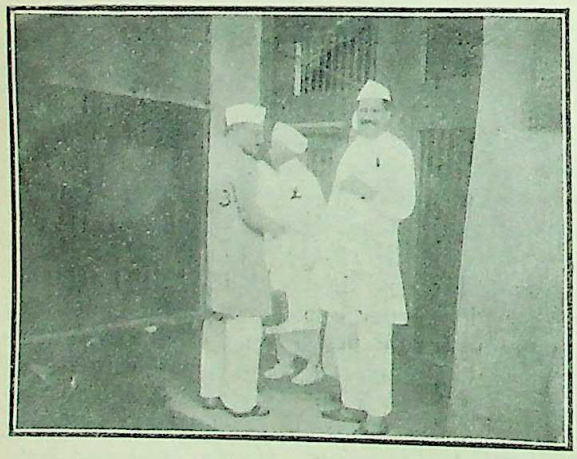
of the leaders and some others and the dispersal by force of those who did not go away of their own accord. As the Police Commissioner had previously assured Messrs. Lalji Naranji and H. P. Mody that he would not use force to disperse the processionists, as he consulted the Home Member in order to share responsibility with him (as deposed in his evidence before the Magistrate), and as the arrests and dispersal took place after this consultation, it really became a political instead of a police prosecution. Hence, as asked for by the Pandit, Sir Ernest Hotson should have been summoned to appear as a court witness. But the Magistrate refused to do so. Of course, it also became clear that the Commissioner had broken his promise not to use force to disperse the crowd. The *lathi* charge resulted in the disabling of more than two hundred unarmed, unresisting and inoffensive persons.

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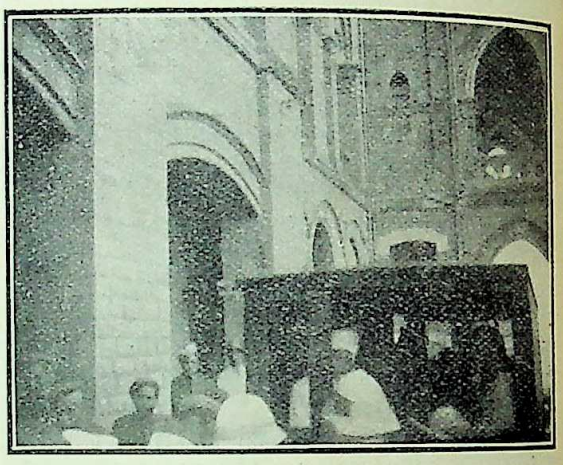
The trial, such as it was, resulted in the conviction of all the accused. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the four ladies were fined Rs. 100 each, in default of payment of which they were to undergo fifteen days' simple imprisonment. The remaining accused were sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment each. Some forty more ladies had been arrested, but were released. The four who were convicted had been as little or as much guilty of any offence as the forty released, and the four had played only a passive part. Their conviction was, therefore, unjustifiable. There was no reason for giving to Mr. Malaviya a lighter sentence than to the remaining accused. The magistrate had, no doubt, said that the Pandit was 70 years of age and his motive in disobeying the Police order was different from that of others; hence the lighter sentence. But the Pandit, after coming out of prison, declared that the Magistrate had misrepresented him, as his motive was exactly the same as that of his companions. He also said that he would again repeatedly disobey orders like that of the Police Commissioner of Bombay.

One very painful circumstance connected with processions led out or meetings held in defiance of police prohibition is that, whereas the leaders are usually only arrested, most others, instead of being arrested, are assaulted



Mr. Sherwani, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram at the prison gate

with *lathis*, in consequence of which large numbers of them have to go to hospital, and a few have died. There is no just reason for treating the leaders and the followers differently in this way. If by holding these meetings and processions any offence be committed, the leaders are certainly more to blame than the followers or passive listeners and spectators. So, if arrest and trial are what the leaders deserve, the others deserve nothing worse. But grievous hurt by *lathis*, sometimes resulting in death, is undoubtedly a severer punishment than a tern of simple or rigorous imprisonment.



The leaders being taken in a prison van to the Byculla Jail

It is plain, of course, to all that it would not be possible for any Government to accommodate and entertain in jails hundreds of thousands of processionists and listeners at meetings. So, only some persons are sent to jail and others are dispersed by force, some receiving serious injuries. But justice requires that the leaders also should be subjected to *lathi* charges. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in court that he would have preferred being beaten like hundreds of others The feeling of all true leaders would undoubtedly be similar. But even the diehards among those who constitute the personnel of what is known popularly as "Government" in this country would not like to face world public opinion after a *lathi* charge on Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, or the like, particularly if any of them died in consequence, as Lala Lajpat Rai died, or were even disabled permanently or for a time.

Perhaps for these reasons of expediency, those who are more responsible for "illegal" processions and meetings are lightly dealt with and those who are less responsible are more severely dealt with.

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A question has been raised as to whether, when a fine, or imprisonment in default, is inflicted, the condemned person should pay the fine. Those who are not Non-co-operators generally pay the fine if they can, as they may prefer to be outside gaols to make the best use of their time and energy they can. Besides, no useful purpose, in their opinion, is served by subjecting themselves voluntarily to physically and morally harmful conditions when there is an alternative of a different kind left to their choice. In the case of those who are non-violent Non-co-operators, at least for the time being, the principle which is observed is that they will not do what Government wants them to do except under compulsion. Their property may be seized or sold to realize a fine—they would not resist—but they would not willingly pay a fine. Similarly they would not resist



The leaders being taken down from the Prison Van

when arrested or conveyed to jail. The reasons which stand in the way of a man's paying a fine himself, would also lead him to object to anybody else paying it for him. No doubt, men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya can, *to all outward appearance*, spend their time more usefully outside than within gaols; but conformity to principle on their part may be thought to have more intrinsic value than outward activities.

If a man has the choice of either paying a fine or going to jail, he may also choose according to an inner rule. If he be afraid of going to prison, he ought to go to jail—he should not avoid going there by paying the fine. Going to jail would cure him of his fear. If he be not afraid, he may pay the fine if he can. Whether he had really acted according to this inner rule, would be known only to himself and his God.

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Major Graham Pole on the Situation in India

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 31st of July last, Major D. Graham Pole observed in relation to the Simon Commission Report:

To say that the report gives us an up-to-date knowledge of Indian conditions and circumstances is simply foolish. The report of the Commission states that they have not taken into consideration the events of the past few months. It is over a year since the Commission left India and therefore the report they have issued cannot have taken into consideration anything that has happened in that time during which the whole situation has changed. Consequently, to that extent, the report is out of date.

The report is not only out of date, it is very seriously defective. We do not refer to its conclusions or recommendations, however much we may condemn them. What we mean is that the Commission had not before it any evidence given by the Congress and the National Liberal Federation through any of their members and by members of some other representative bodies, as they had all boycotted the commission. To think that a report can be an adequate survey of Indian conditions without the "reporters" having before them the evidence of the most important bodies of representative Indians is highly absurd.

Major Pole then proceeded to lay stress on one of the criticisms with regard to the report:

One of the criticisms which has been made in India with regard to the report of the Simon Commission is that there is too much insistence on points of difference, and too little insistence on points of unanimity. We have been told of the large number of different religions in India, but we must not forget that there is a large number of different religions in this country. There are 320,000,000 people in India, and 285,500,000 of them are either Hindus or Moslems. Quite a number of different languages and dialects are spoken in India, but the point to be stressed is that there are at least 100,000,000 people in India who speak Hindi and 50,000,000 who speak Bengali.

He went on to show that the success or failure of the Round Table Conference would promote or injure Britain's material interests.

We want to make the round table conference a success, and one would have thought that this would appeal especially to hon. Members opposite, because, if we do not make it a success, we are going to lose all our trade with India. A day or

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two ago the Simla correspondent of the "Times" said :

"On the other hand, there is a disturbing increase in the movement to boycott British goods, which is spreading to an alarming extent throughout the country."

That kind of thing is bound to go on until some settlement is arrived at which satisfies the Indian people. The Simla correspondent of the "Morning Post" states, in that journal, on the 11th July :

"The total of cotton goods imported from England during April and May, compared with the total for the corresponding period last year, showed a decrease of 23½ per cent."

No wonder that there is unemployment in Lancashire. The Simla correspondent of the "Morning Post" goes on to say :

"Foreign cloth shops in most of the larger towns have been continuously picketed, and it has been difficult for importers even to honour contracts made with Lancashire before the outbreak of the movement."

Only the other day the "Morning Post" pointed out that

"India normally takes about one-third of Lancashire's production of cotton goods. At the present moment scores of spinning mills and weaving sheds in the county have been closed, and there is no hope of re-opening them until active trade is resumed with India."

In conclusion, the speaker suggested on what conditions Indian representatives might be induced to attend the Round Table Conference.

Whether we like it or not, there is a danger of creating in India the impression that the Government are going back on the agreement which has been announced to India and that the Round Table Conference might be dominated by members of the Statutory Commission.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy :—How do you know that ?

Major Pole : I know that it is so, because I am constantly receiving a large number of letters and cables from India which lead me to that conclusion. There was great difficulty in getting the Indian representatives to agree to come to this country, and it is very difficult to get them to co-operate with us, because they do not believe in the sincerity of a three-party Conference. Recently we have seen some signs of an active attempt at co-operation which I hope we shall really help and not hinder. There is a feeling among the Indian people that we are inclined to depart from our undertakings, and that we are going to limit the scope of the Conference. In another place, it was said the other day by a member of the Commission :

"That Sir John Simon's letter was exclusively confined to adjusting the relations between British India and the Indian States."

The Chairman of the Commission and the Prime Minister realized that it was necessary to deal with the whole problem of the Indian States and British India and the Constitution and not merely to adjust our relations with the Princes. I hope nothing will be said in this debate that will make it more difficult for us to get Indian representatives to attend the round-table Conference. We want the Indian people to realize that they are coming to a free conference and that they are not dominated by one report and one report only. They should understand that anything which they wish to lay before the Conference will be sympathetically examined, and that they will have a chance of presenting their own views before a scheme is adopted for all sections in India. I want to ensure that the Indian representatives will get a fair hearing for their suggestions and that they should be convinced that there is no intention of putting one point of view before them the whole time.

While what the speaker wanted to ensure should be ensured, that will not be enough. Those among Indian nationalists who have worked hardest for the public cause, have suffered most and made great sacrifices are unwilling to go to London just to plead for India, just to "get a fair hearing." They would be willing to go to London only to settle the details of a Dominion Constitution for India.

—

Under Lock and Key

The Calcutta Police had been hitherto making daily searches and arrests at the offices of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Calcutta District Congress Committees, and the All-Bengal Students' Association. They have recently put these offices under lock and key. As Non-co-operators do not seek relief in Government law-courts, this action of the police will not be challenged by them. But it is all the more necessary for all Government servants concerned to act strictly according to the law, if Government is not merely to rule somehow but also to be respected by all sections of the public. It is not statesmanlike also practically to compel an open movement to become a secret one.

We do not know of any law or ordinance which empowered the Police to lock up the offices of any associations which, like those spoken of above, had not yet been declared unlawful.

—

Pandit Motilal Nehru's Illness

Pandit Motilal Nehru's illness is a matter of serious concern to the people of India. Millions fervently desire that he may recover early. As Drs. Sir Nilratan Sircar and B. C. Roy have been called to his bedside he will have the best medical advice. But

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a jail is not a proper place for good medical treatment and nursing. So the eminent patriot ought to be released—at least until his recovery, if necessary on his word of honour.

—

Making Legal Hay While Subserviency Shines

At present the Bengal Legislative Council contains a majority of members subservient to the bureaucracy. Consequently, there is great haste in getting "laws" enacted which an independent Council would have certainly rejected. One of these "laws" is the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1930, arming the Executive with power of arrest and detention without trial, for a further period of five years.

The main ground upon which the measure was justified by the Government was the Chittagong incident, and, replying to critics, the Home Member said that the revolutionary movement had continued for 25 years and had gained in volume. He refused to believe that it would die out as a result of political concession.

We do not possess any personal knowledge of a terrorist *movement* in Bengal. But assuming that there is one, it is perhaps right to hold that it would not die out as a result of political *concessions*. *Concessions*, as they are called, will not do Political enfranchisement, resulting in perfect citizenship, is the only remedy for revolutionary movements. The right to self-rule must be recognized in practice before it is too late. In the meantime the ordinary laws and methods of trial are quite sufficient to adequately deal with all actual crimes.

If concessions will not do the trick, neither will any "lawless law," such as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill is, which is against the most elementary and fundamental principles of justice. At the time when the Chittagong incident happened the Executive had exactly the same powers as this new Act arms them with, and they had an army of spies and secret police to assist them. Yet they had not even an inkling that such a thing was going to happen.*

* The foregoing sentences in this note were written and set in type before the occurrence of the attempt on the life of Sir Charles Tegart and the subsequent bomb outrages. These appear to show that there is at least a gang of terrorists, which fact is greatly to be regretted. Such deeds of violence cannot serve any patriotic purpose. They can only strengthen the hands of the Imperialist die-hards

The Present Bengal Council

Constituted as the present Bengal Legislative Council is, it was only to be expected that Mr. S. M. Bose's motion relating to Dominion status and the selection of delegates to the London Conference, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's motion for a Committee to enquire into allegations of police excesses, and similar patriotic efforts should fail. A considerable number of subservient and communalism-ridden Muslim members form the main props of the reactionary policy of the Government. And yet when self-rule would be obtained through the sufferings and sacrifices of Hindu and Muslim patriots, these very men would clamour the loudest for a lion's share of the advantages expected from it.

It is satisfactory that even in Bengal there are many wholehearted Muslim nationalists. And Sir Abdur Rahim's latest utterances show that he has again partly veered round towards nationalism.

—

The Afridi Inroads

What exactly has led the Afridis and others to invade the Peshawar district we do not know and are perhaps not likely to know very early. Some Anglo-Indian and British papers aver that Congress is at the root of the mischief. Great, then, must the influence and efficiency of a body be which can induce the Pathan tribes to run the risk of being bombed and shot down! Would it not be quite as fantastic to suggest that militarist die-hards had somehow brought about the inroads to prove how entirely dependent India was on them for her safety?

—

Martial Law in Peshawar District

The only justification for proclaiming martial law in Peshawar District that we can find in Lord Irwin's statement on the subject is that "the Afridis have received food, shelter and active assistance from some elements at least amongst the villagers" in some villages. That this is a sufficiently strong ground for the proclamation of martial law in the whole district, to be extended to other areas also in the Province if thought necessary, is not a self-evident proposition.

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It is apprehended by many that the provisions of the latest martial law ordinance may be misused by the local authorities to crush manifestations of nationalism in Peshawar district and in other areas, too, of the North-West Frontier Province, as the ordinance can be extended to them simply by notification in the Gazette of India.

—

A Curious Reason for not Punishing Plunderers

Sanjivani is a Moderate Bengali weekly of 48 years' standing. It writes :

Srijut Satis Chandra Chaudhuri wanted to know [in the Bengal Legislative Council] why *all* the rioters [who had looted many villages in Kishoreganj sub-division in Mymensingh district and committed other crimes] had not been arrested. The District Magistrate of Mymensingh says on this subject. "If all the Musalman rioters had been arrested and sent to jail, then land could not have been cultivated owing to lack of Musalmans [to do so], and there would have been terrible famine in the land." (Translation).

On this *Sanjivani* observes, in part :

If the reason given by the Magistrate for not arresting all the rioters were followed, then it would be necessary to release many satyagrahis. What has the District Magistrate to say to this ? (Translation).

This Magistrate's line of argument might lead hooligans to conclude that the more widespread looting, burning and slaying were, the greater would be the chances of these crimes being committed with impunity. A supplementary question ought to have been put as to why *lathi* charges, prescribed for non-violent Non-co-operators, had not been prescribed for violent rioters. That would have obviated sending the rioters to jail, while vindicating to some extent in an indirect way the majesty of law.

—

Terrible Situation in Sukkur

Sukkur town and district have been witnessing scenes which are a combination of what have taken place in Dacca town and district, Contai sub-division and Kishorganj sub-division in Bengal. People in foreign countries have been told what terrible things would happen if the British rulers of India withdrew to their own country. Those foreigners might, therefore, naturally conclude that that calamity had already overtaken Sukkur.

—

"Lathi" Charge at Amritsar

According to *The Tribune* of Lahore, "About 700 persons are reported to have received injuries as a result of a *lathi* charge by the police at Amritsar."

As the Punjab is inhabited by the most warlike people in India, it would be only fitting if the alleged beating turned out to be true, and if thereby the Punjab police fulfilled the general expectation of their being the most heroic in the land.

—

Picketers and Molesting in Bombay

The following letter, signed by 48 Bombay firms, has been addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay :

Moolji Jetha Cloth Market,
Bombay, 14th Aug., 1930.

To the Commissioner of Police.

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned cloth merchants of the piece-goods Bazars, beg to invite your attention to the fact that some Congress volunteers were arrested today for picketing. We protest against their arrest as we do not require any interference of the Police in the matter and we will settle the matter directly with them if any necessity arises. We further beg to add that no trouble has been created or harassing done by them to us or to any of our customers, and such being the case, we shall request you to withdraw the Police lodged in the vicinity of the markets forthwith.

"We further beg to bring to your notice that if the Police force is not withdrawn forthwith from the surroundings of the cloth markets, the result will be that all the cloth markets and other markets will be totally closed, which means a heavy loss to us. We, therefore, earnestly request you to take prompt action and withdraw the Police force.

"In case a particular gentleman or gentlemen think that he or they are troubled by Congress volunteers by picketing, you may help them according to their wish and desire, but you should not create trouble for the cloth market."

—

Muslim Indians and Other Indians

Those who want that Muslim Indians should be unlike other Indians so that Indians may not be able to present a united front, must go on repeating that Muslim Indian politics is entirely different from other Indian politics in spite of events happening every day to give the lie to such assertions. The latest of such events is the arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, ex-president of the Congress, for a speech delivered by him at Meerut some time ago.

Muslim Indian ladies, too, are not entirely unlike other Indian ladies. The names of Mus-

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Lukhmani, Mrs. Sami, Mrs. Hasan Imam and others are known to the public. But other Muslim Indian ladies who are not prominent in the public eye are behaving like ladies belonging to other Indian communities, as the following news-item will show:

Bannu, Aug. 5.

The authorities of the Jamait-ul-Ulema at Bannu is reported to have informed the Jamait-ul-Ulema-behind that the picketing at foreign cloth shops has been going on for the last three weeks. The volunteers are being shown the way out of the town. The gates of the town have been closed to prevent the entry of the volunteers to the town. Moslem ladies have taken the field and are picketing the liquor shops in the town. The first batch of Moslem lady pickets being arrested the second batch has stepped in and is carrying on picketing at the liquor shops.

In Bombay bands of men and women go along the streets and lanes in the morning singing songs. They are known as *Prabhat Feries*. Recently in certain quarters inhabited by Muslim Indians, Muslim ladies have formed *Prabhat Feries*. They go their morning rounds singing national songs.

—

Causes of the Present Economic Crisis

Opponents of Indian self-rule are trying to make political capital out of the prevailing unsatisfactory economic conditions by laying all the blame on the satyagraha movement. The real causes have been pointed out in a statement made to the press by Mr. G. D. Birla. He does not maintain that the political unrest is not making its contribution to the existing depression. It undoubtedly is.

"But what I do maintain is that the main cause of the present distress is the ruinous financial policy of the Government and the political unrest is only aggravating it."

"The outlook, therefore, is not at all cheerful unless we get an honourable political settlement and with it our unquestioned right to lay down our own fiscal policy to suit the interests of India."

With the boycott of foreign cloth, Indian cotton mills ought to have had a good time. But what do we find instead? The stock of mill-made cloth is accumulating and the mills are experiencing serious difficulties in disposing of their products. One naturally asks for an explanation for such a situation. But the reply is very simple. The purchasing power of the agriculturist has dwindled to an extent never experienced before and as the prosperity of the people, commerce and industry must naturally depend on the economic condition of the cultivator, their present plight is having an adverse effect on trades and commerce.

"To put it in a nut-shell, our present trouble is only a reflection of the distress of the agriculturists.

"Jute is sold in Bengal at Rs. 4 per maund. Wheat was sold in the Punjab at Rs. 2-6 per maund until recently—an unusually low price. Cotton in the Central Provinces was being sold at Rs. 125 per candy. These are prices much below the cost of production.

"Can any one reasonably expect the agriculturists under these circumstances to consume much when his produce does not fetch him even the cost price? And I wonder how, by any stretch of imagination, one can prove that the absurdly low prices of agricultural produce are the result of the present political unrest in the country.

—

Patiala Enquiry

As instead of appointing a Commission, as laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, to inquire into the allegations made against the Maharaja of Patiala in the "Patiala Indictment," a political officer named by the Maharaja was appointed to conduct the enquiry and as also certain other conditions which could have made it satisfactory were not fulfilled, the authors of the "Indictment" and the Indian States' People's Conference at whose instance it was made, did not place any evidence before the enquiring officer. Hence, though the conclusions arrived at by him and accepted by the Government of India may logically follow from what evidence he got, they will not be accepted by the public. The Maharaja does not stand exonerated. It is only a full, free and public enquiry of a really acceptable character which can free him from all blame. The public may wait till then to make up their mind.

—

"India in Bondage"

The above is the title of an address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Walter Walsh, D. D., on Sunday morning, June 15th, 1930, on behalf of "The Free Religious Mevement towards World Religion and World-Brotherhood," being No. 351 of Free Religious Discourses. It is "a pulpit review of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's book bearing that title," and is priced 3d. per copy. Dr. Walsh has also spoken on "Gandhi and Free India."

—

India and Imperial Defence

We have previously pointed out in these columns that in our opinion, the main function of the Army in India was no longer the defence of the North-West Frontier of India against an aggressive foreign power but

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the maintenance of British imperial interests in the Far and Middle East, and it was in this fact that was to be sought an explanation of the anxiety of British Imperial anthorities to put the Indian Army wholly outside Indian control. It is, therefore, a pleasure to find a military autho.ity admitting the contention, though in an indirect way.

"India," writes Major R. J. Wilkinson, O. B. E., in his little book an Imperial defence to which Major-General Walter St. George Kirke, till very recently the Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India, has contributed a preface, "is the key position of the Indian Ocean. Any other naval power in possession of India would seriously threaten the safety of the British Imperial lines of communication between Aden, Singapore, and Freemantle.

"It is therefore not unnatural that the defence of India should be a matter of special concern to the Imperial Government. Indeed, it is not too much to say that one of the main functions of a standing army in England is the reinforcement and relief of the Army in India. At the same time, it is fortunate that India is largely self-supporting and offers every kind of terrain suitable for training."

This is a new and terrible menace to the political aspirations of the Indian people. India is becoming too organically woven into the fabric of imperial defence. To the economic stake of the British Empire in India is being added another formidable obstacle in the shape of the strategic requirements of the Empire.

—

The North-Western Frontier

No less interesting are the views of this writer on the problem of the North-Western Frontier of India. Here, too, we note with satisfaction, that he agrees with our view that it is largely a question of policing, civilizing and educating. Major Wilkinson writes :

"At last, however, the Government of India realized that poverty and hunger cannot be cured by punishment or the threat of it. As in the case of Scotland two or three hundred years ago, it was realized that the only way to cure these diseases is to provide the inhabitants with the means to earn money. In other words, to design a system of roads to open up the country, then to employ the tribes to make the roads, to employ tribesmen to guard the roads, and eventually employ them to drive motor transport on the roads. The opening up of the country stimulates trade and the production of flocks and crops, and in so doing renders the dangerous sport of raiding less and less profitable and more and more unattractive. There have been no raids in British territory since 1925, and there is reason to believe that they are now almost as much a thing of the past as the border raids of Cheviot and Tweed.

"What was once the most savage part of the Frontier is now controlled by Civil Power. Tribal police guard the roads and scouts patrol the country off the roads. The regular garri-ons are there as covering troops in case of external aggression."

—

The Frontier Troubles

What then about the troubles on the Frontier which have been raging there for the past three or four months ? It is difficult to speak with confidence on this subject, as the news from the frontier is strictly censored, and we have no means of ascertaining the truth about the real causes of these raids. But this much we believe we can say with confidence that the troubles of this year are in a sense exceptional. They have nothing to do with the traditional causes of frontier raids. They are the reflection, in a typically Pathan form, of the political turmoils within the frontiers of India, and so far as purely Indian interests are concerned, possess no particular significance, if they do not actually prove the solidarity of the Cis and the Trans Frontier.

—

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray on Swaraj and Swadeshi

On August 25, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray delivered an address on the occasion of the opening of the Classified Trade Exhibition, Bombay, in which he pleaded eloquently, as he always does, for Swadeshi. What Acharya Ray says about the mineral resources of India is particularly valuable :

"...I have just time enough to indicate briefly the broad lines on which we ought to proceed in order to turn to account the geographical features of India, and the inexhaustible raw materials of this country belonging to the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms.···

Aluminium wares and utensils are coming largely into use but the sheets, which, after all, constitute the important item in them have to be imported from America, which has harnessed the Niagara Falls. In 1929-30, 1 crore and 42 lacs worth of sheets and ingots of this metal were imported. Bombay and Mysore have now got hydro-electric installations and there is no reason why we should not be able to manufacture metallic aluminium from the almost inexhaustible supply of the mineral bauxite round about Jubbalpore. Electro-metallurgy, which is again based on the hydro-electric power, should play a prominent part in the future industrial development of India.

Coming to other chemicals not dependent on electricity, we may turn our attention to bichromates from the Indian chromites ; magnesium chloride from sea-water ; stoneware, earthenware, porcelain goods, and refractory bricks from Indian clays. India-rubber goods, for which there is a growing extensive demand, should also claim our attention—it is *pre-eminently a chemical industry*

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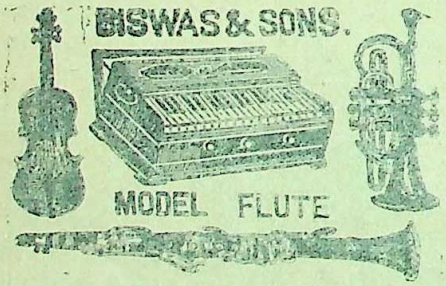
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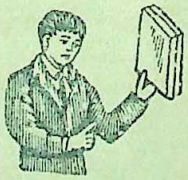
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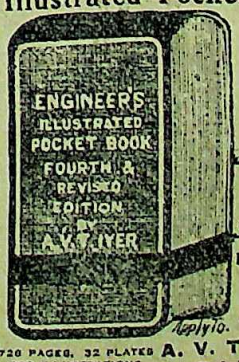
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पहला भाग

इसमें कविवर श्री रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुरकी कुल अठारह कहानियाँ हैं, जो हमारे समाजकी परिस्थितिपर काफ़ी प्रकाश डालती हैं। अनुवादक धन्यकुमार जैन। कपड़ेकी सुन्दर और मज़बूत ज़िल्द। मूल्य १।) रु०, डाकखर्च ।) आना।

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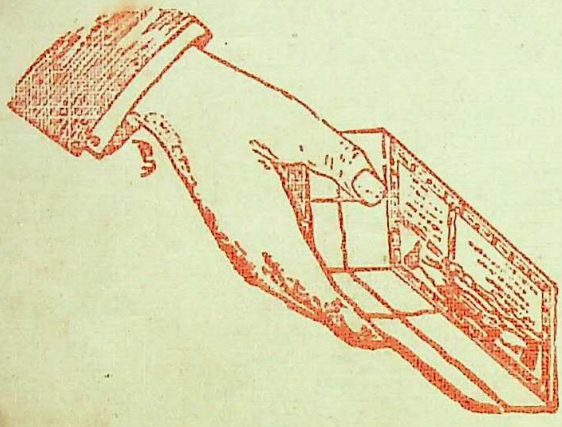
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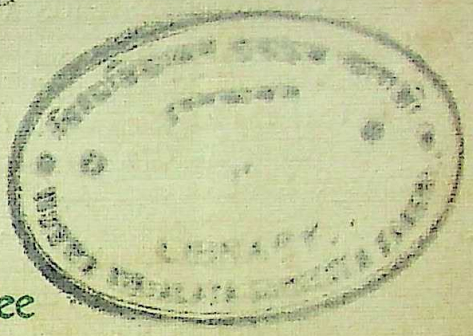
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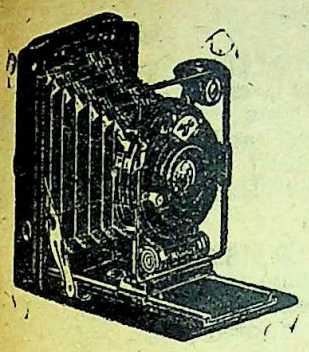
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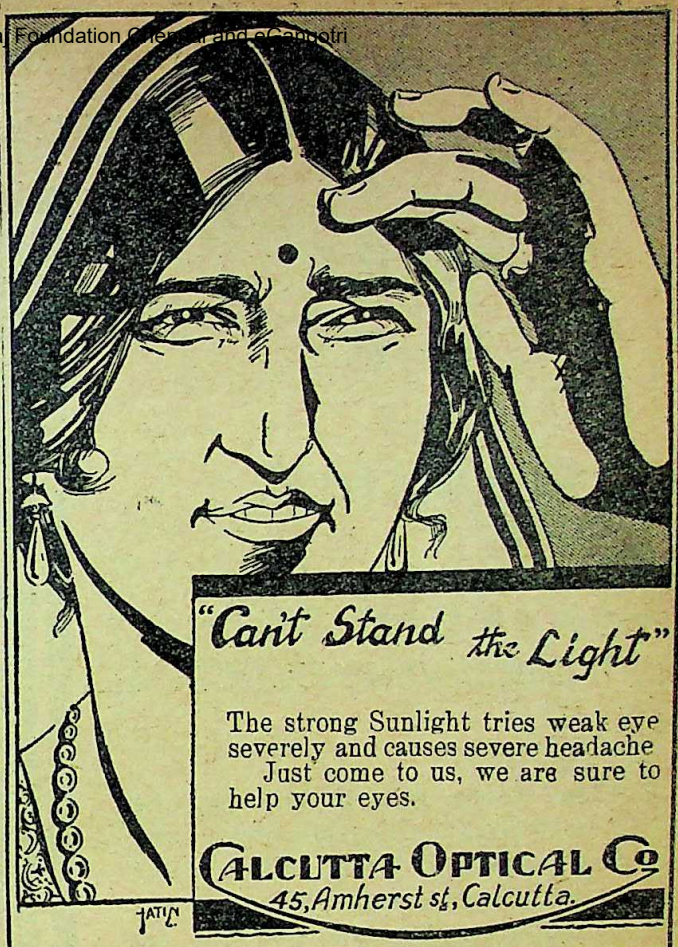
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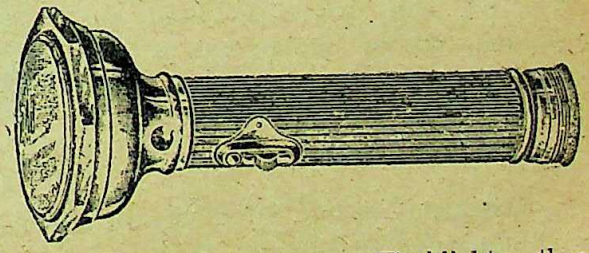


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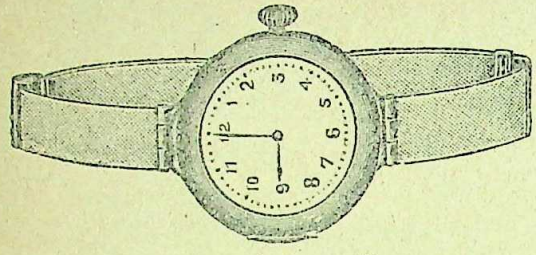
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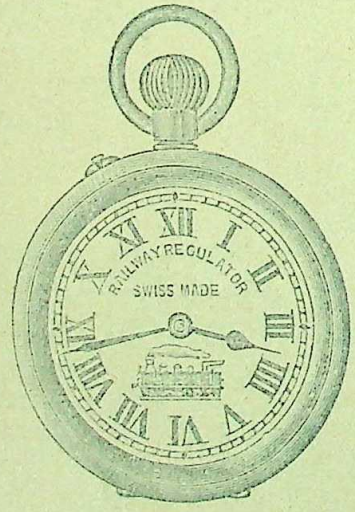
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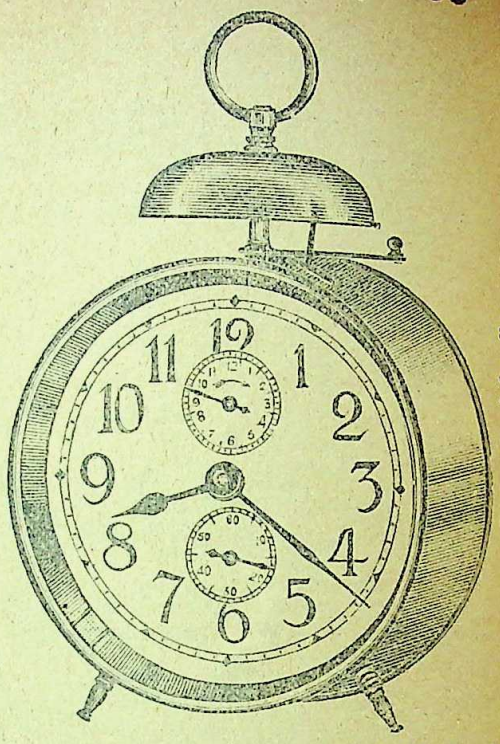
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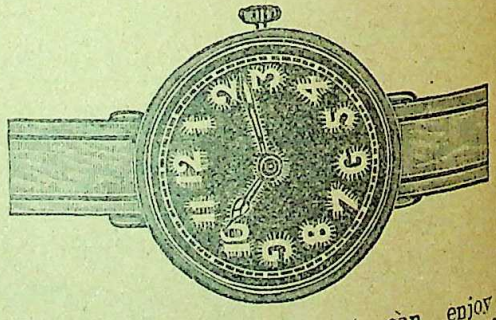


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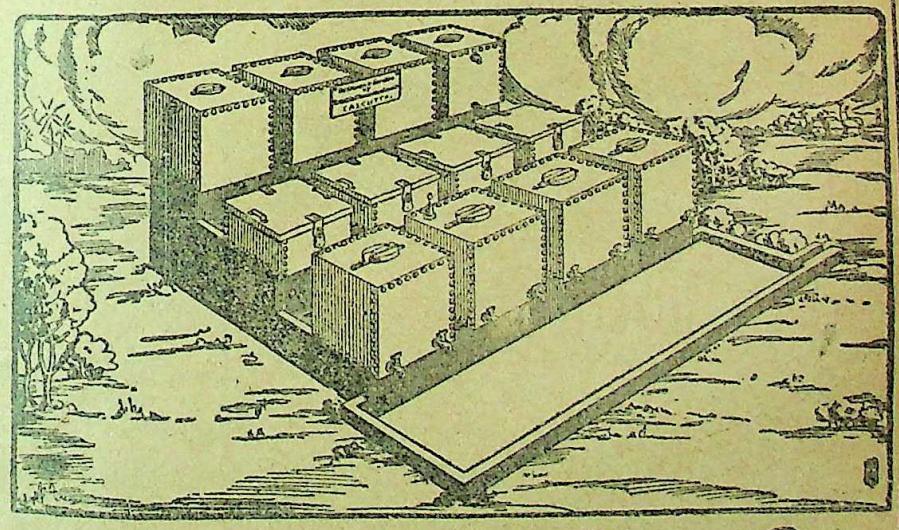
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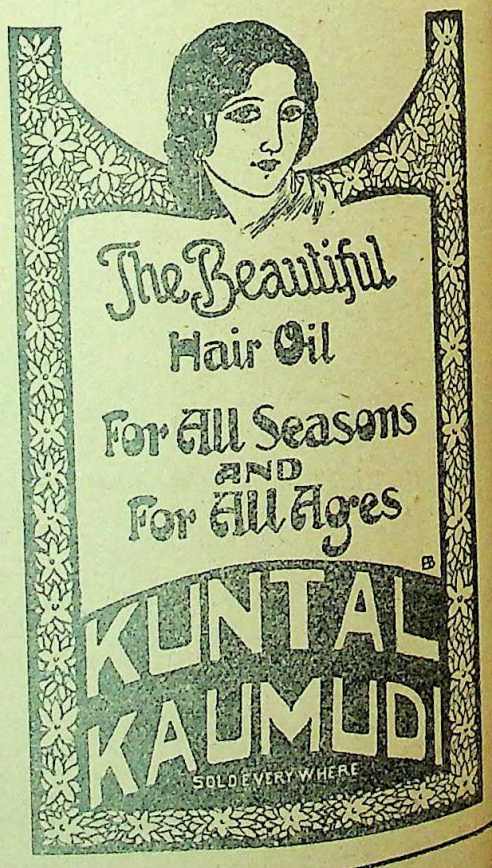
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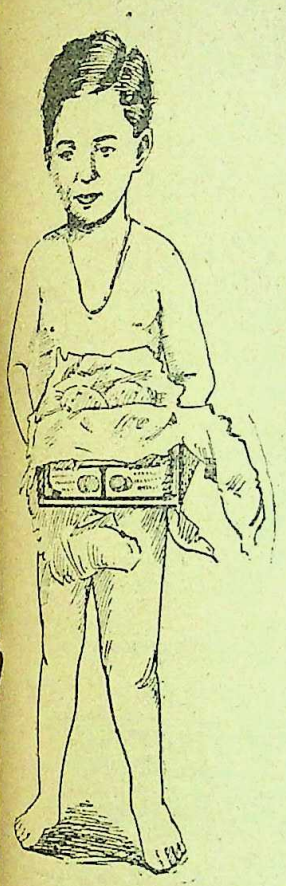
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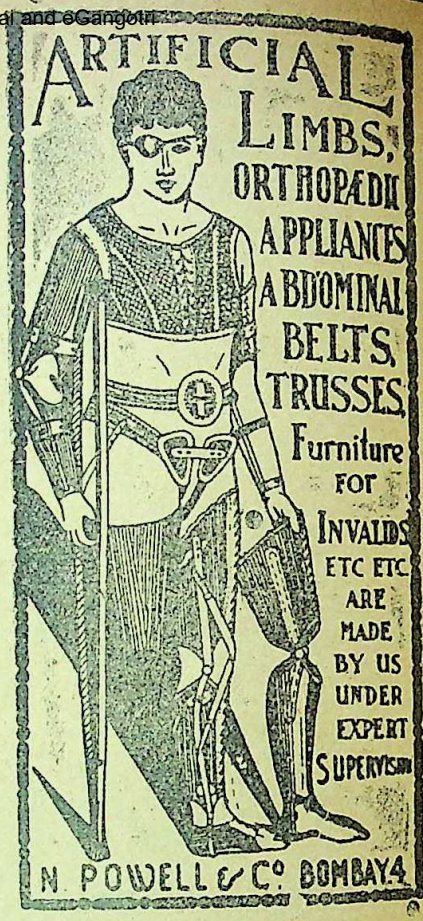
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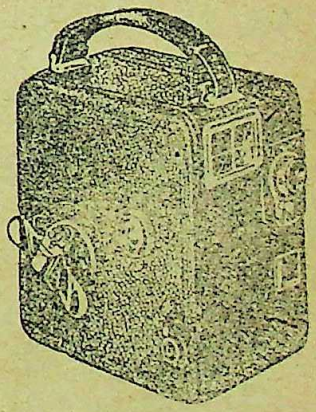
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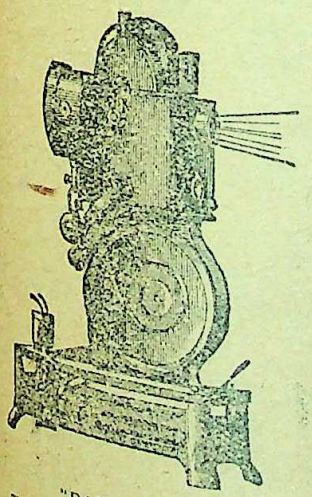


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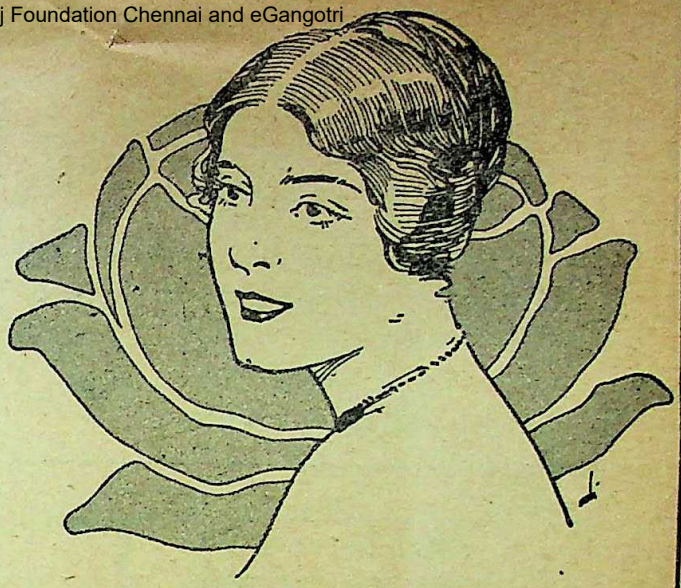
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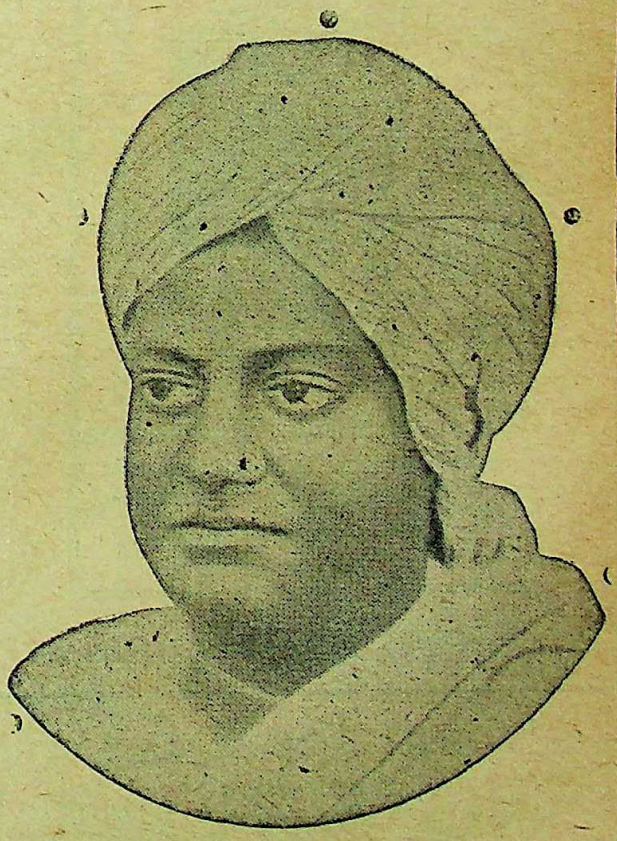
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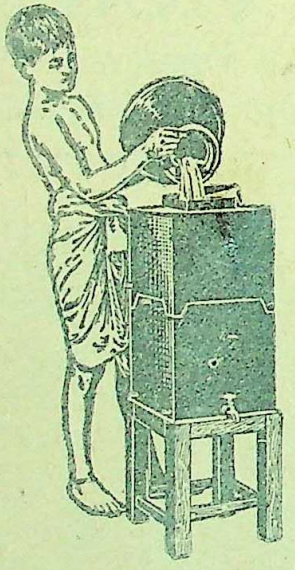
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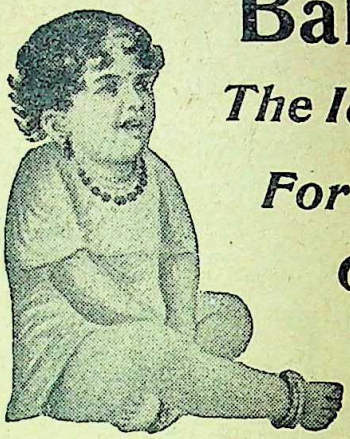
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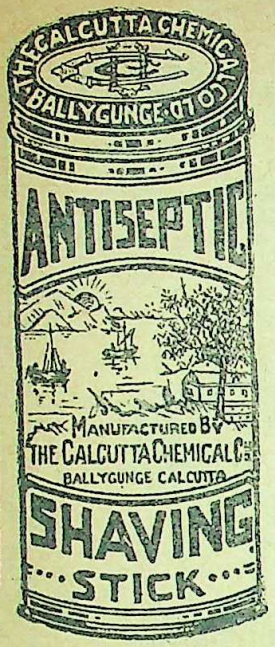
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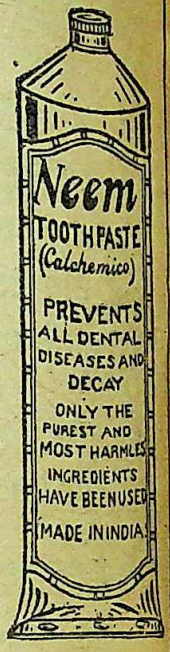
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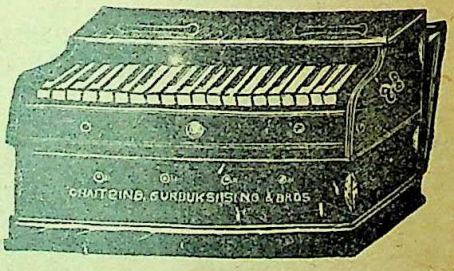
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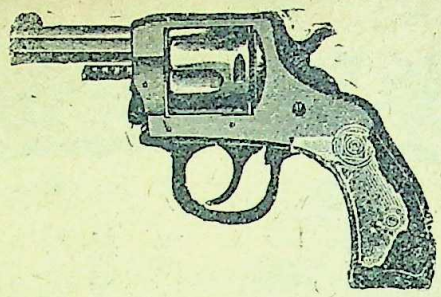
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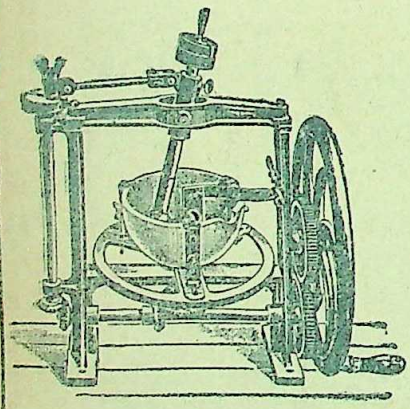
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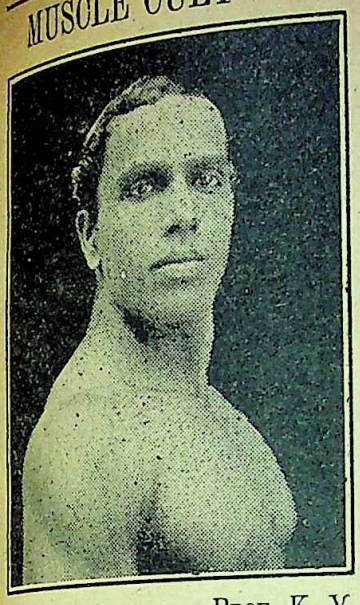
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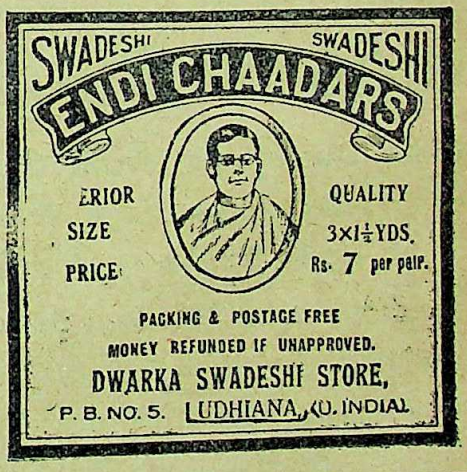
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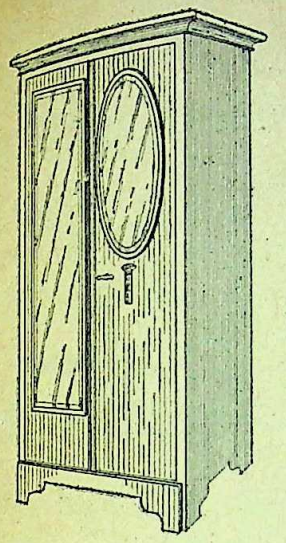
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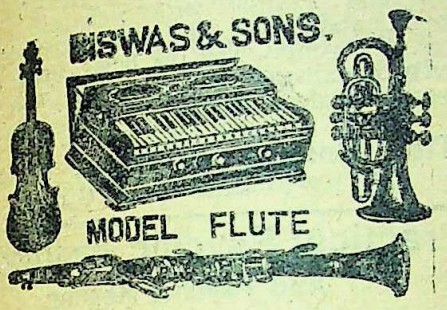
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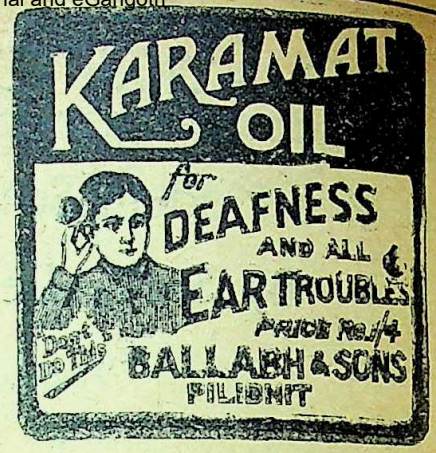
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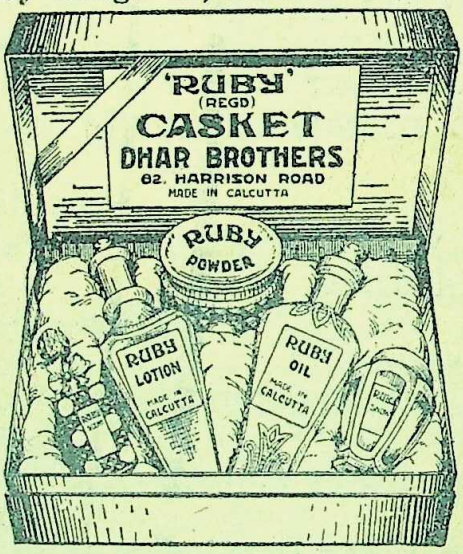
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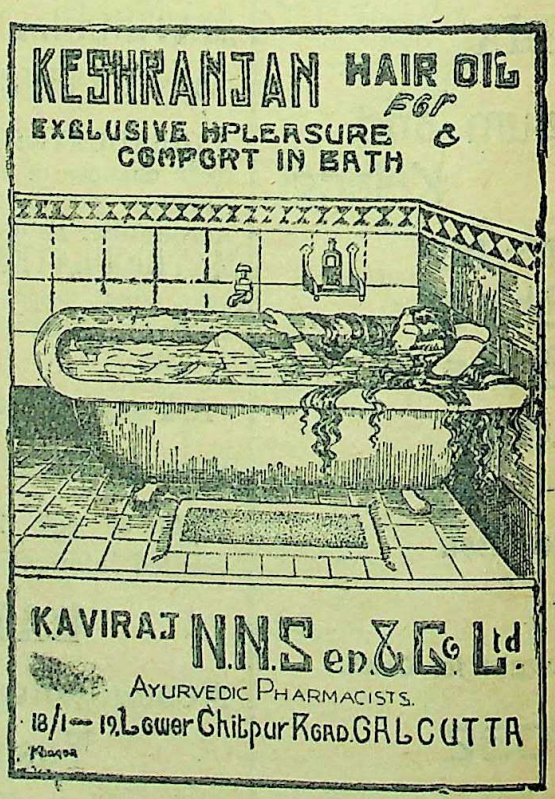
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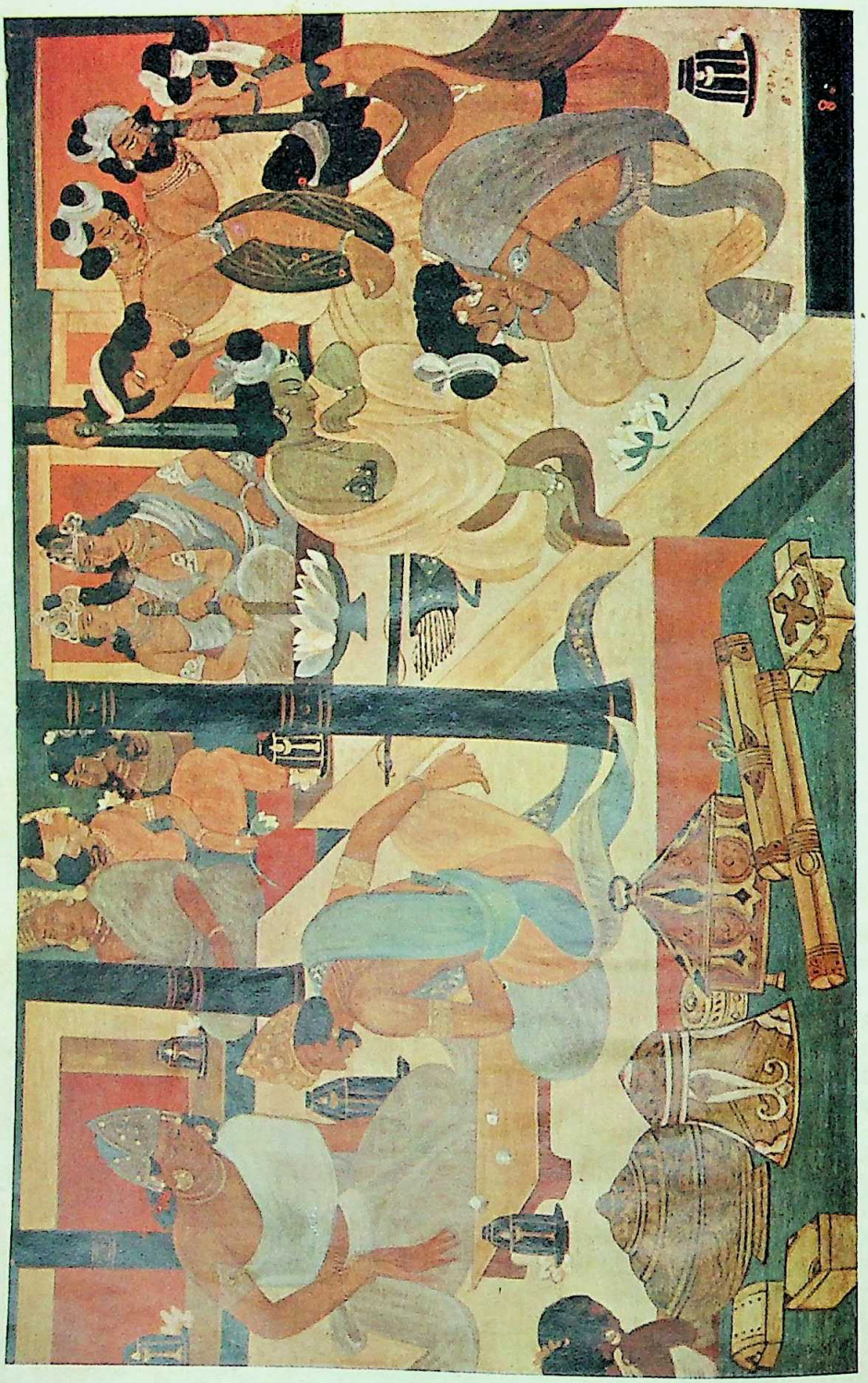


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YUDHISTHIR PLAYING THE GAME OF DICE WITH SAKUNI

By Nandalal Basu

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII NO. 4 | OCTOBER, 1930 | WHOLE NO. 286

Some Unpublished Letters of Florence Nightingale

[These two letters, kindly communicated to us by Professor Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University, were written by Miss Florence Nightingale to the late Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen, Vakil and Attorney of the Calcutta High Court, about fifty years ago. They will show how dearly she loved the peasants of Bengal and how closely she studied the trend of affairs here. There are a dozen more letters written by her in the possession of Professor Sen who is the son of Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen. Out of them only two are being published at present in the hope that they will prove to be of topical interest and will also help us in appreciating Miss Florence Nightingale's character and temperament. Evidently her philanthropy was not confined within the four walls of the sick room but reached us across the ocean waves. Ed.—*M. R.*]

I

Private

APRIL 4-78
10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of Feb. 21, and for your marked copy of the "Arrears of Rent Realization Bill" and the discussion upon it in the Bengal Council.

I have made what use of this I could. From enquiry here, it appears as if this new Bengal Rent Act were not yet passed. Could you let me know whether it is so tho' alas! in that case it will be too late?

The difficulty is that in all these cases, the Zemindars are strongly represented in the Bengal Council, while the Ryots are not at all, except in so far as the official men protect them.

I know there was a strong protest against a previous proposal (before the time of Sir Ashley Eden's Governorship) to make a radical change in the rights established by Act X of 1859; and it was understood that this should not be carried out.

With regard to the Bill, it should certainly be a part of the scheme that there should equally be a summary remedy by process within the reach of the Ryots against attempts to exact more than the established rent without any regular legal enhancement. The fairness of the arrangement altogether depends on an adequate provision of that kind.

On the side of the Ryots the boon which Sir A. Eden proposes to give them is to make their hereditary tenures freely saleable and transferable in the market.

But here comes in the broader question whether the right of sale, and consequently of running into debt and pledging their properties, might not be as fatal a gift to the ryots as it has been to the small proprietors of the Deccan.

But the Bengal men are more accustomed to the law.

It is a very difficult question and till the Bill is in the shape in which, after discussion, it is proposed to pass it, and opinion could scarcely be offered here.

It is most irritating that the Bill should be recommended as being "Tenderness itself" compared with the landlord's powers under Reg. VII of 1799 and Reg. V of 1812, which

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were "engines of oppression" indeed in the Zemindar's hands and for that very reason repealed by Act X of 1859. It is rather hard to go back beyond 1859,—as if Act X, which has done so much for the Ryots, is or ought to be repealed.

At the same time it may be admitted,—may it not?—even by the best friends of the Ryots, that there is need of an easier and less expensive process for realizing undisputed rents, in the interests of the tenants who have to pay costs but on condition that there should equally be a summary remedy by process within reach of the Ryots, as above said.

It is most remarkable,—the British testimony given in the Bengal Council to the flourishing condition of the Ryots under the Rajah of Benares.

And I would suggest that it would be most useful if you were to obtain *facts*—trustworthy and individual *facts*—about their prosperity and its *causes*. That would not only be most interesting but would lead to great and practical good.

The British tribute to the Ryot that there is no more zealous improver of the soil, "when his tenure is assured"; even when "his rent is crushing," is also remarkable. And I would again venture to suggest that you would be doing an enormous good, if you were to collect and give facts—individual and personal histories of Ryots—as to this his zeal.

A great statesman not now in the Cabinet, said to me the other day that the time was now come, bad as some of the means had been to bring it about, when India's interests must "force their way *to the front*"—meaning, particularly, in the British Parliament.

2. It seems that the fairness or otherwise of a very summary adjudication of rents depends entirely on the nature of the evidence accepted as to pass payments—does it not? If the old laws requiring a regular register of these payments by official accountants (Patwarees and Canoongoes) were put in force, would it then be objectionable?

The *Road Cess* returns have indirectly furnished a register, if they are accurately kept up—have not they? *N. B.* Is the Rule adhered to that half the Road Cess is paid by the Ryot, and half by the proprietor?

Many of the provisions of the Bill which you notice *do* certainly seem far too severe and one-sided.

Neither the Backergunge nor any other Ryots are nearly so bad as they are painted. On the contrary, it is a good sign that they learn to stand up for their rights. Only let them do so by lawful means. And remembering that, besides the wickedness of murder and robbery, such evil deeds do the greatest possible harm to their own cause and their country's.

I thank you again and again for your extremely interesting letter. I shall have much to say to it some day, but there is no time this mail. Thank you again for your this Bill *and your remarks*, and pray believe me, wishing you success, ever your and the Ryot's faithful servt.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

P. K. Sen, Esq.

II

Private London, Dec. 20-78

SIR,

I have very many thanks to offer you for your kind note of Sept. 16 and for your valuable pamphlet which accompanied it on the "Bengal Land Question,"—as also for one on the "Rent Question" by Mr. P. C. Roy and for Mr. Dutt's most interesting little book on the 'Bengal Peasantry' with which I was already acquainted.

For each and for all of these pray accept my hearty thanks: as for the copies of the 'Bengal Land Question' which I am circulating among men who care for India and who have influence.

Your subject is one of such surpassing interest to me, (as you will readily believe) that I had already been occupied in collecting information, which could not be successfully challenged, upon the very questions,—land tenures, connection of Zemindar and tenants, illegal 'abwabs', condition of peasantry, which you touch upon: as well as upon the history of the Permanent Settlement.

What you say about agricultural earnings in Bengal—about the dispersed character of petty holdings, and the impossibility of having "model farms" is of intense and piteous importance: so also about the decrease in *amount* of produce: and the agricultural ignorance of rotations of crops and manures: and the tenants being unassisted by the Zamindar's providing anything, either capital, seed or cattle. The introduction of "competition" and its effects are ably pointed out.

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You will not wish me, I know, to take up time and paper with idle, tho' well-deserved compliments, when the object of both of us is one of such pressing, such vital importance.

I would earnestly request you to put down narratives of individual ryots, (with time, name and place), in this connection. English people will not read Reports in general nor generalities, abstractions, statistics, or *opinions*, such as most Reports are full of. They want facts: individual facts concerning particular instances, real lives and effects.

Give us detailed facts. We want to rouse the interest of the *public*: for behind the Cabinet in England always stands the House of Commons and behind the House of Commons always stands the British public. And these are they we want to interest: and these can only be interested by narratives of real lives.

With an ignorant or indifferent public what *tells* are: individual facts about individual ryots with name and place: taken for instance, in the relations of

—Land Assessment and Land Tenures:
—As to the Ryots' condition
a. under the Zemindari tenure;
b. under different methods of agriculture;
c. under Land or Rent Unions, (as in Eastern Bengal);
d. Also where as in Sir G. Campbell's time, I believe, a voice to tax themselves was given locally to the people.
—As to the dwellers
a. Under Irrigation or none:
b. Under water communication or none:
c. Markets or none.
—As to the daily food and habits.
Real facts,—not only the Reporter's own opinions or generalities:

This is what is wanted to interest the people of England and make a Government work for us.

Give us some particular type village by name: some particular type biography by name:

It is true that villages are "mere dots." Let them cease to be, "mere dots," to us in England thro' Mr. P. K. Sen's pen.

May I venture to urge you most strongly to give us facts concerning the following points: for instance:

Under the "*Permanent Settlement*" of Bengal:

1st Point: There were to be no cesses: *i. e.*, no arbitrary taxes levied at the pleasure of the Zamindar (abwabs) upon the Ryot.

What is the fact?

2nd: The taxes were to be paid by the Zamindar: and not out of the rent.

How has this been observed?

3rd: The Zemindars were not to raise their rent and on this condition the taxes on them are not to be increased.

What do you tell us about this?

4th: The Zemindar is to undertake roads, lesser public works, etc.
Has he done so?

Does he not rather avail himself of public works undertaken by the Government as a reason for raising his rents?

5th: The Ryot was to have redress in case of exaction.

What redress does he ever obtain?

6th: The Governor-General promised Regulations for the protection of the cultivators of the soil.

Were they ever enacted?

7th: The Zemindar was to give leases.
But are leases granted?
Or is there any proper system of sub-letting?

It would be of unspeakable importance if you could give us *facts*, real facts and narratives upon these and similar points.

[I would venture to point out the Report on the "Deccan Riots" by the 'Commission' appointed to enquire, as the only official Report from India (I have ever seen) which gives facts and narratives, with name, date and place before the summing up and conclusions in a way that would interest an English public.

[I wrote an article on it, in the "XIX Century" for 'August' last, which gives many extracts from it which is very much at your service, if you have not the Report itself at hand.]

I venture to suggest this Report as a model for what we are seeking as to the *Bengal Peasantry* to know.

It seems like a Providence that you should have written on this subject and kindly sent it to me at the very time that we were seeking for information on the above points.

As you request it, I feel bound to promise, God willing, that, if you will have the great kindness, as you have the power, of writing and sending us the accounts and facts which I venture to suggest to you, I will write a paper upon a subject which

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I may almost say interests me as it does you according to your desire.

Would you be kindly willing to collect the facts, but there should arise some difficulty as to the expense of putting them in print, perhaps you will kindly let me know. I had meant to make this letter much longer, by asking questions and dilating on various points connected with the above: but am unable to do so by this mail. I may trouble you with a letter by next mail *perhaps*. Pray accept my excuse or rather my true reason for my delay in answering your kind letter, *viz.*, severe pressure of overwork and illness. I am and have been for years a prisoner to my room from illness

But none the less—rather the more—do I earnestly feel for the people of India—and dedicate my poor efforts to their service—calling down God's blessing on all the faithful friends of India and on their exertions in her cause.

Again thanking you most warmly for your invaluable pamphlet,

Pray believe me (tho' in haste)
Sir,
ever her and your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

I had omitted to say there will be no time lost if you kindly undertake to do this. At this moment people in England are so absorbed by the Afghan War in one way or another, that they cannot spare attention for the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there which took place but one brief year ago in Southern India, for the permanent State of Bengal.

It is best to wait in order to have peoples' minds at the service of our subject.

India has lost a true friend in our Princess Alice. Everything good she set herself to learn. She never came to London but she went to see herself all the best and most practical methods of doing good. She went about among the poorest London streets to know the people for herself, without any one knowing that she was a Princess. She was known and loved at my Training School for Hospital Nurses. She had established one, and was to establish one on that model as soon as she was Grand Duchess. Our trained nurses are sending a white wreath for her grave.

Poor Children! Poor Darmstadt!

F. N.

Rabindranath Tagore in Munich

THE Deutsche Akademie of Munich has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore had been in Munich and was given a wonderful ovation by almost all the representative bodies of the capital of Bavaria. The poet is now making a tour of Germany following the numerous invitations that are coming from every part of the country. Previous to coming to Munich the poet had been in Berlin and Dresden, where his lectures and exhibition of pictures were highly appreciated. This is the poet's second visit to Munich. The profound feeling of respect and admiration which stirred the whole population of Munich nine years ago, when he first set foot in Munich, is still fresh in our memory. Times have changed, the post-war agony of Germany in 1921 has now given way to the grim joy of rebuilding in the face of a thousand difficulties, but Rabindranath's place in the mind of the German public remains unchanged, as was amply proved by the events of the last month.

Following the invitation of the International Students' Association, Rabindranath reached Munich on the 19th July early in the morning and was received at the station by Geheimrat Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, and representatives of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle and the Hindustan Club of Munich. A member of the last-mentioned body, Dr. Kalipada Basu, garlanded the poet at the station in right oriental fashion.

The same day in the afternoon the poet motored to Oberammergau through Ettal, where he visited the famous monastery situated in the midst of idyllic natural surroundings. The whole of the next day was spent in Oberammergau, where the poet attended the world-famous Passion Play.

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A Drawing by Rabindranath Tagore

True to their oath, the bearded and untutored peasants of this unassuming village in South Bavaria have staged the life of Christ at the regular interval of ten years during the last three hundred years as a mark of gratitude to God who saved them from a devastating pestilence in the year 1633, and such is the success of their spontaneous flow of piety and devotion that even Rabindranath, one of the greatest creative minds of the world in the field of art, patiently watched the performance from eight in the morning till six in the evening, when it came to end, and bore testimonial to the fact that the Oberammergau Passion Play is really enchanting.

The same evening the poet returned to Munich.

On Monday, the 21st of July, the poet received some of the distinguished personalities of Munich, including several renowned professors of the Munich university, those representative men of our country, who in all cases voice forth the true sentiment of Germany. Notable among those present were Geheimrat Professor Foerstor, Geheimrat Prof. Schermann and others.

In the afternoon Rabindranath paid a visit to the International Students' Home, where in the course of a short speech he drew a parallel between the Students' organizations in India and in Germany and compared the emphatic creeds which now obtain among the Indian students to the generous idealism of the German youth movement It came as a surprise, for the Indian students are not generally known in Germany to be devoid of the sentiments of idealism, nor are the German students in any sense free from the mire of political strife.

In the evening the poet delivered a lecture on the principles of art in the Auditorium Maximum of the Munich University. In spite of the exorbitant price of the tickets, the big hall was full, and even though the

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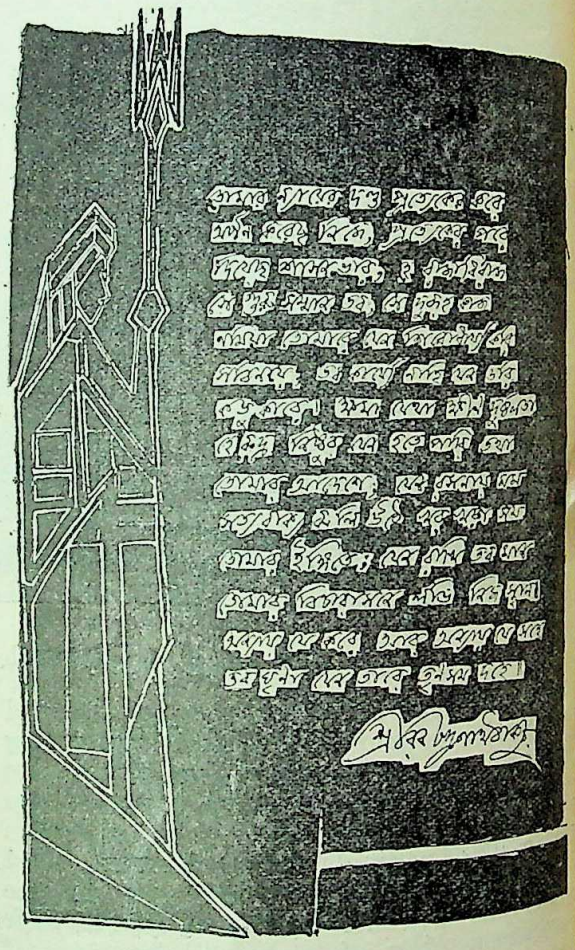
poet spoke in English he was perfectly understood by the audience, and every stroke of humour in his speech was acompanied by signs of appreciation.

Rabindranath spoke for about one hour and a half. The guiding principle in art, he said, should never be anything subjective. Every individual is unique, but at the same time a unit of the universe, an inseparable part of the whole. To place the individual unit in this universal perspective is, according to Rabindranath, the function of the true artist. The speech, needless to say, made a deep impression and was highly spoken of in all Munich papers.

On the next day, too, the poet had to face a busy programme. In the morning he was invited by his Excellency Oskar von Miller, the founder of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. The poet reached the museum towards midday and his Excellency showed him personally for three hours some of the most interesting collections in his museum. The exhausting tour through the museum was followed by a sumptuous meal in the beautifully decorated dining-saloon at which many distinguished professors and some Indian students of Munich were present. The convivial gathering broke up towards 4 in the afternoon. At seven in the evening the poet was officially received by the mayor of Munich in the town-hall where Rabindranath entered his name in the town-register.

From the town-hall the poet came directly to the Studentenhaus, where Deutsche Akademie had organized a feast in his honour. The main feature of the evening was the staging of Tagore's very popular drama, *Post Office* by the German students. After Geheimrat Friedrich von Müller, President of the Deutsche Akademie, had introduced the poet to the audience, Rabindranath in his short reply expressed his appreciation of the honour thus paid to him and in a few words tried to explain the underlying idea in his *Post Office*. The play was successful beyond all expectation. Many among the audience were visibly moved and all were enraptured. After the play it was some time before the poet could be freed from the army of autograph hunters.

On the following day (23rd July) Rabindranath sprung a surprise on the Munich public. The news that the poet Tagore was exhibiting some of his pictures in the Gallery Caspari came really as a pleasant surprise to all. Punctually at half past eleven the élite of the society of Munich were gathered in Gallery Caspari to hear the opening speech of the poet. In his short but beautiful speech Rabindranath said that his poems cannot be translated into a foreign language in their true form, for all good poetry loses in the process its subtle suggestion and lyrical atmosphere. But pictures require no translation—their appeal is direct. "My poetry is for my countrymen", said he, "my



A Manuscript page with decorations

paintings are my gift to the West." The most remarkable feature of these pictures was their technique. It is quite European. The poet remarked that he is proud of this fact, for this shows that he has been successful, at least to some extent, in bringing about in himself a union of the spirit of the East and the West.

This was the last public function of the poet in Munich. Next day early in the morning he left for Frankfurt. The newspaper comments on Rabindranath were

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throughout sympathetic and favourable, but from time to time some dissenting voices were heard. Some papers commented that the poet aims too much at a scenic effect, but all had to admit, that if at all, the fault in this respect lies not with the poet himself, but rather with those whose business it is only to make fuss over him.

Discovering Needs of Children

AMERICA'S EXAMPLE

By Dr. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M. A., Ph.D.

THE schools of a country should offer to each pupil unique opportunities for acquiring skills, for practice in precise thinking, and for the growth in power of appreciation which are attainable by one of his intelligence. This ideal requires the adjustment of the standards to the activities of the pupils. Every pupil in the ideal school system is judged by the best which he can do and not by the median performance of a non-selected group. In order to adjust the schools to the needs of individual boys and girls, the curricula and courses of study must be markedly different for groups of children who vary in ability. It is important that adjustments be made in terms of the varying abilities and achievements and environmental conditions of children all along the line. It is of surpassing importance to provide facilities which will stimulate the most able children to the attainment of their fullest intellectual development.

American educationists have realized the value and necessity of providing for individual differences. The fundamental attitude toward education in America expressed in the phrase, "equality of educational opportunity," has been one of the great influences in the development of their public schools. The nineteenth-century development of a democracy that accepted the equality of individuals as fundamental, gave impetus and new purpose to that early New England attitude. The demand for a literate citizenry on the one hand, and the growing regard for the individual on the other, offered a cause to which all men could subscribe. It is not surprising that equality of educational opportunity became the watchword in the great struggle for universal tax-supported education.

The inability of class-room teachers to be possessed of all the skills and information required for the adequate diagnosis of needs has led to the development of a variety of special services (agencies). Such terms as visiting teacher, vocational counsellor, school psychologist, school psychiatrist, dean of girls, and director of research and guidance, that have recently come into pedagogical vocabulary indicate some of the directions in which school administration is reaching out to assist teachers. The purpose of this article is to describe the contributions made by such special services in the United States.

The visiting teacher is a worker trained in problems of educational and social adjustment. The aim is to provide an intelligent and sympathetic contact between the school and the home. Her duty is to visit the homes of children who for any reason are not doing satisfactory work in school and to obtain co-operation from the home and an understanding of home conditions, that may throw light upon the difficulties encountered. A somewhat similar function is performed by the trained attendance officers in those school systems that are making the attendance department something more than a bureau for enforcing compulsory attendance laws.

The dean of girls, as a specialist in school extra-curricular activities and in the personal problems of girls, often contributes to the planning of individual educational programmes and the discovery of instructional needs of girls. In some places, she is expected to

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perform some of the duties attacked by the vocational counsellor.

The school psychologist is a product of the Testing movement. He gives mental tests and supervises the development of classes for mentally retarded pupils. Sometimes this officer performs some of the duties of the department of research. Like the work of the school physician, the specialized work of the psychologist is indispensable. It is rare that a teacher is trained sufficiently to give the individual tests that are so essential before making momentous decisions based upon a pupil's mental activity. In the case of small communities, such service is provided by the co-operation of several small communities, or by the state department of education. In Massachusetts, a state clinic for the examination of average pupils, travels from community to community throughout the State. Other places are following suit.

The vocational counsellor is a specialist employed in junior and senior high schools to assist teachers in the problem of planning the courses of individual pupils, in giving vocational advice to individual pupils, and in providing information on occupations with respect to nature of work, training required, and the probable financial rewards. In some places they co-operate with the department which issues working permits, and interviews each applicant at the school before a formal request for this permit is made. The supervision of his employment contacts and training adjustments rendered by this officer, is of great benefit to the youngster. The employer unquestionably benefits either directly or indirectly by this clearing-house for information that is needed and available.

The periodical health and physical examination of pupils by qualified physicians and the general oversight of the school nurse gives to a teacher definite information as to defects that should be corrected by operation, by attention to diet, by corrective exercise, attention to posture and those difficulties that demand special attention in the day-to-day school programme of pupils. In the last group come particularly eye, ear and general health defects. Even if the plan calls for the follow-up of the school nurse or physician, the class-teacher is expected to see that the system functions so far as his pupils are concerned. Cases in India where difficulties have been diagnosed and forgotten, are all too frequent because of the failure to hold any one particular person responsible.

The school principal or headmaster performs almost any of the activities listed above except that of the medical examiner. Even in those schools that have developed staff departments for leadership and co-ordination, the responsibility for carrying out all the suggested plans and adapting them to the individual schools falls upon the individual principals. The principals in turn depend for the success of the services they offer upon the receptive attitudes of the class-room teachers.

The guidance clinic consisting of specialists in behaviour psychology has been organized to meet the need of expert counsel in maladjustment cases. There are occasionally pupils who are outof step with their possibilities. Everything that the parents or teachers attempt to do to arouse their interest seems to fail. Recognizing the burden such pupils place upon the teachers, some school systems have arranged to have those cases studied by specialists. If a 'behaviour symptom' appears in school which has its cause entirely outside of school life the school can find the cause by including in its staff those who are especially trained to make a study of the whole personality and life of the boy or girl. These specially trained workers are a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a visiting teacher. Each one of these contributes to the picture, to the study of the problem. Needless to say, child guidance departments in America are rapidly developing an effective and appropriate technique, and are contributing not a little to the proper understanding and treatment of problem pupils.

There are some planning and co-ordinating agencies which must be mentioned. Some large school systems provide a department of guidance. It seeks to render educational and vocational guidance to elementary and high school pupils. It also tries to find suitable full time employment or summer work for those who are compelled to work. Handicapped children are given special attention. The department follows up the career of the young workers. Constructive criticism is welcomed by both employer and employee. Communities too small to provide such service often look to a larger unit for assistance.

The need of specialist in the development of testing programmes or in the measure-

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ment of results in the supervison of instruction, and in the analysis of the needs of individual boys and girls, was one of the greatest forces that led to the development of research departments. The greatest aid given by research departments is in the development of systematic procedures that will provide adequate information for determining the individual needs of all boys and girls in the school, and make possible the periodic assembling of all such information on each pupil, supply adequate interpretation of this information and the development of individual programmes. In carrying out all such activities the principals and teachers play an important part. Assistance comes from the leadership of the central department, the co-ordination of the activities of teachers throughout the system, so that the work of one can be made available to many, and the provision of special services such as those of the vocational counsellor and the psychologist.

An important aspect of the process of discovering pupil's needs is a programme of testing. It makes information available for the measurement of results in teaching subjects, or the improvement of the teaching of subjects. It also provides objective information on abilities and achievements of individual boys and girls. Without such information the adjustment of schools to the individuals can be only guess work. It should be pointed out here that the tests used are not necessarily standardized tests, although such tests are on the whole easier to handle. Most large cities combine local and standard tests in their testing programmes.

One of the greatest aids in the diagnosis of the needs of pupils is an adequate system of records that will bring to each teacher the results of the analysis made by earlier teachers, the accurate records of important data such as intelligent-test results, and adjustments made in the pupil's programme in the past etc. Over a long period of years there has been an agitation for the keeping of cumulative records of pupils. These cumulative records show important information bearing upon the classification of pupils from all sources, marks and ratings from the teacher's class book, attendance record from his register, and adjustments from his plan book, home information from the attendance department, and characteristic information from other special lists and from the testing programme.

The permanent record card does not lend itself to the form that facilitates the diagnosis of individual needs. The necessity for a separate form upon which all data pertinent to the periodic analysis of needs of pupils could be collected, led to the development of another record card. At the beginning of the term, the pupil takes a blank card and enters all the information except that in the section marked for the class teacher. This teacher then enters the supplementary information, writing any confidential information in code. Then on later occasions he makes a complete copy for each of his new teachers. The original signed by each teacher is returned to the class teacher.

One of the big problems in the high schools was felt to be the gathering in of the judgments of the various teachers. A plan has been devised that provides for a periodic report of needed information about pupils with the minimum expenditure of time on the part of the class-teachers. The accumulation of ratings of teachers from term to term adds to their reliability.

In all these the responsibility of the teacher is fairly obvious. He derives help from the research department in the provision of working materials and in the adjustment of the curriculum. In the case of pupils above or below average, he reports about their personal characteristics, respect for property, manifestations of business ability, part taken in school activities and demonstration of ability displayed in the activities outside of school. Much is being done to help the class-room teacher to meet the new demands of equality of educational opportunity, but the success or failure of any unit of the educational system, it is recognized, depends on him. His success is measured in terms of his ability to meet the great principle that lies at the root of that democracy by making his school a school for individuals. Progressive teachers everywhere are welcoming in these newer demands of modern society a recognition of what has long appealed to them as the true purpose of education not merely the mastery of skills and the accumulation of useful information, but over and beyond this, the development of each pupil in all his potentialities as a happy contributing member of society.

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Miss Katherine Mayo's Latest

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

MISS Katherine Mayo's position among the world's greatest fiction writers is now fairly well established. It was therefore a surprise to us to see an article by the author of *Mother India* published in the August number of the American journal, *Current History*. The article is entitled "Mahatma Gandhi and India's 'Untouchables'." Why the *Current History* chose Miss Mayo as a writer of "history" is unknown to us ;* but the editor of the journal has taken more than ordinary interest in her article. He has given it the second place in the journal as well as published what he calls, "a comprehensive summary of the Simon Report" along with it. Usually India finds a few lines to her credit at the tail end of this largely circulated journal. But, of course, the fame of the model depends entirely on the name of the artist.

Miss Mayo has not fallen off in her style since writing *Mother India*. In this article also, she is the same virtuous virgin walking the Christian path, swelling with righteous indignation and carrying the sacred torch before which the powers of darkness run for dear life. India is a vile place where a few caste Hindus are having an orgy of tyranny, oppression and devilry at the cost of sixty million down, trodden souls whose only friends are the British Government of India and Miss Katherine Mayo of the U. S. A. Mahatma Gandhi is a double dealing diplomat, who renders lip-service to the untouchable millions, but, actually, attempts to aggrandise the caste man's cause. Miss Mayo says :

"In British India every fourth person is a slave held in a type of bondage compared to which our worst Negro slavery was freedom."

If one disbelieves Miss Mayo she cites Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy as having described untouchability as,

One of the most terrible engines of tyranny and oppression which human ingenuity and selfishness can invent."

But Dr. Suhrawardy does not guarantee Miss Mayo's figures. We all condemn untouchability as an extremely rotten system; but we donot agree that there are 60,000,000 genuine "untouchables" in British India. So leaving Miss Mayo's condemnation of "untouchability" untouched let us examine the truth of her estimate of the number of "untouchables" in India. She repeatedly states that there are sixty million untouchables for whose moral, social, mental and political well-being the British must remain in India. On page 40, Part I ch. 4 of the Simon report we find the following.

After studying various figures and analysing the evidence put before us, we have made the best estimate we can of the number of "untouchables" (in the sense of persons who cause pollution by touch or by approach within a certain distance or are not allowed inside ordinary Hindu temples).

The estimated figures are as follows:

	Number in millions	Approximate percentage of Hindu population	Approximate percentage of total population
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent
Madras	6.5	18	15½
Bombay	1.5	11	8
Bengal	11.5*	57	24½
United Provinces	12.0*	31	26½
Punjab	2.8	42	13½
Bihar & Orissa	5·0*	20	14½
Central Provinces	3·3	33	24
Assam	1·0	24	13
Total (Governor's provinces exclu- ding Burma)	43·6	28½	19

The report warns readers that asterisked figures

"Must be read subject to the warning below."

"We must make it plain that the figures in the above table are estimates and in respect of some provinces. have in any case less significance than in others. So far as Madras, Bombay and the Central Previnces are concerned, there is not likely to be much dispute as to which are the "untouchable" castes, and no really material differences exist in the various calculations made. But it is otherwise in the case of Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. *In these three Provinces the connection between theoretical untouchability and practical disability is less close*, and a special investigation might show that the number of those who are denied equal rights in the matter of schools, water, and the like is less than the total given for the depressed classes in those areas

* Perhaps because, as Dean Inge said, the hi storian is a natural snob who sides with the gods ag ainst Cato and lectures the vanquished on their w ilfulness and want of foresight.—Ed. *M. R.*

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In Assam the figure is largely conjectural.....No wide variation for the estimate given for the Punjab has been put forward, but this fact does not necessarily establish the accuracy of the figure.' (Ital. ours)

So that, the Simon Commission, whose report, though unaccepted by the nationalists has been accepted as true by all opponents of Indian freedom, put the *theoretical* number of untouchables in British India at 43·6 millions and not at 60,000,000. Miss Mayo has exaggerated even the theoretical estimate by 50 per cent Next when we read the Commissions "warning" we find the estimates for Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa as decidedly doubtful. This must be so; for we all know that genuine untouchability is very rare indeed in these provinces. Of the total of the estimated 43·6 millions, these three provinces provide 11·5+12+5 or 28·5 millions. If we add to this the doubtful figures of Assam and Punjab we get another 3.8 millions or a total of 32.3 millions of doubtful "untouchables." Not even 10 per cent of these are *really* "untouchables." They suffer from no disabilities or difficulties as apart from such as are inflicted upon all believers in the caste system, Brahmins downwards. They can not be described as "tyrannised, oppressed, serfs, slaves, less than dogs" or as "crawling worms" epithets in which Miss Mayo specializes when writing about Indian untouchables.

So that we get about 11.3 million persons who belong to areas where there is genuine untouchability. This does not mean that these nearly 12 million persons are *all* treated as "less than dogs." Probably one third of them are treated with conventional contempt. The rest are self-contained groups who do not worry about nor suffer from the unconscious arrogance of the Brahmin.

In any case nobody can say that there are more than four or five million "untouchables" in Northern India. There may be about as many in Southern India who are perhaps worse treated than in the north. But nowhere can the "untouchable" be described as worse treated than the "worst Negro" slave. For "untouchables" have never been bought or sold like cattle, nor flogged to death at the whim of the owner, nor treated as objects of white lust, nor lynched and roasted alive, nor allowed to bleed to death slowly for appreciating the charms of an "upper caste" girl. Let there be at least no Americans of British origin to sneer at Indian "untouchability." We are all ashamed of the "untouchability" as found in India. Many of our reformers, both pre-British and post-British have given there entire lives for the destruction of this evil. It is not true, as the ill-imformed Miss Mayo writes that the "first of" the reclaiming forces "was and is" the "work of Christian missionaries" started "some sixty years" ago. For the work began even before Jesus Christ was born, with Gautama Buddha, and was carried on by Chaitanya, Kabir, Ramananda, Nanak and by a host of social reformers, right through the nineteenth century. In Miss Mayo's opinion our social reform movement is a child of our political cunning. Had she studied the history of India carefully, she would not have made such an absurd statement. Long before the birth of the Indian National Congress, the social reform movement was an established force in Indian life. It is no more true that foreigners began or worked the hardest for Indian social reform than it is that they are fighting for the removal of the opium and drink evils from India. In order to prove the value of the work done by the Christian missions during the last sixty years Miss Mayo says: "Of the 5,00,000 present day Indian Christians the large majority are "Untouchable" in origin."

Now, of the 4,753,174 Christians in India in 1921 the majority came from groups which have been Christians for much longer than sixty years. The so called *existing* "tyranny and oppression" of caste have nothing to do with their faith. Moreover the caste system is well marked even among the Christians in India, and the Christians in India are by no means treated as equals by white Christians or "Caste" Christians. Many Missionaries as well as Miss Mayo (for the *Current History*) have had their photographs taken with "untouchable" converts; but these photographs prove nothing beyond what they are. Converts are very often treated as "less than dogs" by the white soul savers as well as exploited and infected with soul killing sophistication and repressions and body destroying diseases. Anthropologists, some of whom are prominent American scholars, have estimated Christian Mission activity as a very costly human experiment and have declared the result of such activity to be extremely injurious to "backward" peoples.

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The second important force which uplifts and protects the "untouchables" says Miss Mayo, is British justice. It is very amusing that she also, mentions in the same breath that the British do not interfere (i. e. keep up the *status quo*) in religious matters. But, she says, the British have given the depressed classes representation in the in the Legislature. So the nett result of this second strongest "reclaiming" force (British justice) is that the existing system of caste privileges and disabilities is kept intact by its agents. It is not merely the "cunning" Mahatma Gandhi who restrains the "untouchables" from using force to better their position but also (and more so) the British police (and soldiers when necessary) who defend the arrogance and tryanny of the caste man with baton and bayonet. Nobody in British India, excepting the Government, has the right to use force for any purpose. The "untouchables" are not exempt from this restriction. So that Miss Mayo can hardly blame Mahatma Gandhi for craftily keeping the untouchables from the effective path of violence for the benefit of the caste men. If the Missionaries or Miss Mayo organized the "untouchables" for a violent attack upon Brahminic strongholds, they would be promptly put into prison by the agents of "British justice." So, do not belaud or condemn in a hurry innocent Katherine! Further discussion is unnecessary to prove Miss Katherine Mayo's propaganda to be false and unfair. She has

1. Innocently and tremendously exaggerated the true number of "untouchables" in India.

2. Painted their condition in colours more gruesome than she would use to paint Negro slavery.

3. Unnessarily deprived Indians of the credit due to them for social reform work achieved since the 7th century B. C.

4. Given too much and undeserved credit to the mission workers of the last 60 years.

5. Blamed Mr. Gandhi for cunning and craft in his dealings with the untouchables. The latter are not so numerous or important as to make such double dealing necessary, even if Mahatmaji were capable of duplicity.

6. Passed off the (government appointed) spokesmen of the untouchables as their *representatives*. These loudspeakers of reform and reclamation are usually as far apart and away from the poor and ignorant people they are supposed to represent as the man in the moon. Some people think that representation of the untouchables is nothing more or less than increasing the governmental vote in the legislature.

Finally since a good many months the "untouchables" have stopped their activities against caste men as a mark of their sympathy with the nationalist cause. Miss Mayo is now as ever the only *unpaid* publicity agent of the untouchables and the British.

On the History and Importance of the Anglo- Persian Oil Company *

By FRITZ HESSE

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company occupies a peculiar position among the great economic enterprises in the British Empire. On the one hand, as it may be said to be the largest English petroleum company second only to the Royal Dutch Shell, a peculiar importance attaches to this company from among all the British petroleum companies of the world; on the other hand, this Anglo-Persian Oil Company has succeeded in procuring for itself in its own field of activity—the Persian Gulf—such a unique position that it must be regarded as the greatest capitalistic enterprise in the whole region of its field of production. In Persia neither the "Imperial Bank of Persia," nor the "Eastern Telegraph Company," nor the "Eastern Telegraph Department" and the great sea-voyage concessions of the English on the Tigris or the Karun can compare with this company in position and importance. And this, quite apart from the fact that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company plays a

* *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik*, Sept. 1929, pp. 805—812. Translated by B. K. Ghosh.

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very important rôle for—if it may not be said to be the decisive factor in the supply of petrolium for the British navy,—a fact the importance of which appears clearly from the consideration that the British navy since the Great War has wholly gone over to oil-fuelling, so that the efficiency of the British fleet largely depends on the supply of petroleum.

The long and interesting history of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company begins with the attainment of concession by the New Zealand millionaire D'Arcy from the Persian Government in the year 1889. In 1929 it had a capital of £1,34,25,000 in shares of which 75 mill. pounds belong to the British Government. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company must therefore be regarded as an organization of the British Government. Yet the British Government out of its own accord has considerably limited its right of interfering in the internal affairs of the Company as the result of its agreement with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company made on 20th May, 1914. The Agent of the British Government has indeed the right of vetoing every decision of the Directors of the Apoc, * but in the covering note of the Admiralty it is asserted that the Government has no intention of exercising their privileges and that the Government will not interfere except on the following points.

1. Guarding over such activities of the Company as may affect foreign relations, the navy and war policy ;

2. Any suggestions regarding the Company's purchase of enterprises or regarding changes in the statutes of the Company :

3. All affairs regarding the management of any new enterprise of the Company ;

4. The selling of petrolium by the Company, but only in case it in any way jeopardises the treaties made with the Admirally :†

In spite of this cautious formulation of the right of interference on the part of the British Government, there can be no doubt that the activity of the Apoc is in a very great measure determined directly by the British Admiralty, which on its part, at the instance of Churchill, had largely determined the course of development of the Company by its active participation in its affairs.

The petroleum fields of the Apoc are situated in Persia, where the chief oil-field of the Company in the neighbourhood of Mesjid-i-Suleiman represented almost the whole production of the Company since 1909. Besides this field the Apoc is now active also in another region near Haftkhel, about fifty miles to the east of Ahvas and about fifty-five miles to the South South-east of Mesjid-i-Suleiman. Here in April 1928 a new field was bored which daily yields 5000 tons. The oil-fields of the Apoc in Persia are connected by a great oil-tube which from Mesjid-i-Suleiman leads towards Abadan near Mohammerah. Near Abadan there are big tanks as well as extensive refineries. The new oil-field of Haftkhel is to be joined to the main line by a special tube near Qutabdullah, a little to the south of Ahvas.

The following table will give an idea of the steadily rising production of oil by the Apoc in this region

	Production of the Apoc	Share of the Apoc in the world production
1913-14	80,000 tons	0.25 per cent
1914-15	270,000 „	—
1915-16	370,000 „	—
1916-17	450,000 „	—
1917-18	640,000 „	—
1918-19	898,000 „	—
1919-20	1100,000 „	—
1920-21	1300,000 „	1.8 „
1921-22	1700,000 „	2.2 „
1922-23	2300,000 „	2.6 „
1923-24	2900,000 „	2.8 „
1924-25	3700,000 „	3.2 „
1925-26	4300,000 „	3.28 „
1926-27	4500,000 „	3.26 „
1927-28	5100,000 „	3.15 „
1928-29	5300,000 „	3.71 „

The great importance of this petroleum production may be comprehended most clearly from a comparative study intended to show what a large share is represented by this petroleum in the total export of Persia and in the total import of England. In the case of Persia the picture is indeed very interesting.

The proportion in value of the petroleum export to the total export of Persia during the last few years is given below :

	Total export of Persia in Million Krans	Petroleum export in Million Krans	Share of petroleum in the total export per cent
1913-14	455·8	10·5	2·1
1920-21	371·2	233·8	63·2
1921-22	502·0	322·7	64·5
1922-23	733·9	428·6	58·7
1923-24	768·4	383·4	49·8
1924-25	1000·2	514·9	51·4
1925-26	1059·4	544·8	54·4
1926-27	1104·1	654·4	58·5
1927-28	1060·4	597·3	56·3

* Apoc-Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

† See Baldwin's declaration in the House of Commons, *Times*, 29 March, 1929.

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It is clear from this table that the export of petroleum from Persia is steadily increasing and leaving the export of other products far behind in value. Now when it is considered that for fear of overproduction the raising of petroleum is considerably throttled by the British Government, and that the present production is only half of what could be produced, it will at once appear how important this petroleum industry is for Persia. And now, as the Apoc imports into Persia products worth 80 mill. Krans, it may be asserted that one-third of the whole foreign trade of Persia is controlled by the Apoc. It is of course a great disadvantage to Persia that the control over the petroleum industry has slipped out of the hand of the Persian Government in consequence of the concession granted to the English company, so that on this, the most important industry, the Government has now no direct influence. The Persian Government is quite helpless before the restrictive measures of the Company which may be necessary for political reasons.

This peculiar position of the Apoc is, however, partially turned to the profit of Persia by reason of the fact that the Government gets 16 per cent of the nett profit of the Company. These sums, the so-called 'Royalties,' are of very great importance for the budget of the Persian Government as will presently appear from a comparison of the figures for the Persian budget and for the sums remitted by the Apoc :

	Total revenue of the Persian Government in Mill. Krans.	Remittances made by the Apoc	Share in p.c.
1922-23	228·7	28·0	8·0
1923-24	231·1	23·2	10·0
1924-25	237·5	17·4	7·5
1925-26	222·6	25·0	11·0
1926-27	213·4	43·0	20·4
1927-28	213·8	44·0	20·9
1928-29	230·2	46·6	20·1

The intrinsic importance of these remittances from the Apoc for the Budget of the Persian Government—one fifth !—may be clearly understood from the fact that in the proposed budget of the year 1929-30 the deficit of about 100 Mill. Krans was met by the accumulated royalties from the concession for the previous three years which altogether amounted to 125 Mill. Krans. The income of the Persian Government out of the direct taxes is approximately as much as the royalties paid by the Apoc !

There is no other trading company in the world which may be said to hold a similar position with regard to the total budget of a state.

It is also interesting to note that the importance of the Apoc for the petroleum supply of England has not yet been fully appreciated. Although England's demand for petroleum in the pre-war days was almost exclusively met by American oil, the present situation is quite different. The following table will give an idea as to the share of Persian petroleum in the total amount of petroleum imported into England :

	Petroleum Consumption of Engl. in million gallons	Of this come from Persia	Share of Persian Petroleum.
1919	721·4	23·8	3·3 p.c.
1920	879·4	41·4	4·7 „
1921	1161·0	155·7	13·9 „
1922	1213·1	302·5	24·8 „
1923	1325·1	349·4	25·8 „
1924	1570·9	399·2	25·5 „
1925	1613·3	408·4	25·4 „
1926	1913·1	462·3	24·1 „
1927	2051·1	517·5	25·2 „
1928	2112·7	Ca. 500·0	Ca. 25·0 „*

The intrinsic significance of this production of petroleum by the Apoc lies in the fact that the oil-fields of the Apoc are at the disposal of the British Admiralty in case of war, whereas in former times and even during the Great War the Admiralty was in this respect largely dependent on U. S. A. The demand for petroleum by the fleet and the army of England, which amounted to between eight and nine million tons per year in 1917-18, can now be fully met by the capacity of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which in case of need may produce ten mill. tons per year.

It is no accident that the demand for petroleum in the British army and navy can be met, essentially, by a single company under the control of the British Government. As will appear from the active interest taken by the British Government in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which has been already explained above, the British Admiralty has from the very beginning clearly and consciously striven to achieve this end, for the geographical position of the petroleum fields of the Apoc at the end of the Persian Gulf—far from all the European states, quite unapproachable to America and almost as unapproachable to France and

* Exact figures yet unknown.

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Russia—offers a unique geographical security hardly possessed by any other oil-field in the world. It is, therefore, no wonder that in 1914 England too declared war in the Orient when the petroleum sources of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were threatened by a party of Arabs at the instance of Enver Pasha.

Even now we have not exhausted all the details about the great importance of the Apoc, for, to understand this, we must consider also the activities of the daughter organizations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The most important of them are.

1. The Irak Petroleum Company, formerly called the Turkish Petroleum Company. The Turkish Petroleum Company was founded with the specific purpose of exploiting the petroleum districts in the Mossul region and originally the shares of the Apoc in it amounted to 50 per cent. After the contract of 1928 Apoc's shares now represent only 23·75 per cent. But as still, of the remaining shares of the company 23·75 per cent are in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons (belonging to English concern Royal Dutch Shell) and 5 per cent in the hands of the Armenian Gulbenkian (through the English concern Participation and Investment Co.), and both on their part may well be friendly to the Apoc, the indirect influence of the Apoc on the Irak Petroleum Company is extremely great. As is well-known, in March, 1925, the Irak Petroleum Company received a concession from the Irak Government to the effect that for sizty years it can exploit the oil-fields in middle and north Mesopotamia by paying four rupees per ton as indemnity. Now as the Mesopotamian oil-fields are said to be unusually promising, the fact that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company possesses almost one-fourth of the total shares of this concern may one day play a very important role in the oil-politics of the world. At present however the influence of the Apoc is acting rather as a drag on the Irak Petroleum Company instead of helping it in tapping the oil resources of Mesopotamia. The far-reaching importance of this fact can be appreciated when we consider that the economic development of Irak largely depends on the development of these Mesopotamian oil-fields.

2. The Khaniquin Oil Company, a daughter organization of the Apoc which was founded in the year 1926 with the purpose of tapping the oil-fields of Naftkhane. These oil-fields lie about 40 KM. to the south of Kasrshirin on both sides of the Perso-Irakian boundary. On account of this peculiar position of this oil-producing area the Apoc was compelled to try for two separate concessions for this geologically homogeneous district, and it got them—one from the Persian Government in 1913 and the other from the Irak Government on the 15th June, 1926. Both these concession areas are now being exploited by the Khaniquin Oil Company since 1927 under one plan. As these fields were opened up only a short time ago, the production as yet is of course very small; but still, already in 1929 the Khaniquin Oil Company produced 39,300 tons of unrefined oil.

3. The Consolidated Petroleum Co. Ltd. This Company was founded in October, 1928, jointly by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Asiatic Petroleum Company, the manging agents (*Arbeifsgesellschaff*) of the Royal Dutch Shell, to sell petroleum in the whole region of Indian Ocean and the Levant on a homogeneous plan. The Royal Dutch Shell was till then, to some extent, a rival to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company; but with the foundation of this new company it is assured that the competition between these two English companies ceases and therewith a new organization is called into being which may prove to be a formidable rival to the American and Russian competitors in these markets.

At the present time excluding others, two more companies belong to the Apoc: The British Oil Bunkering Company and the National Oil Refineries Company employed with the bunkering and refining of the oil products. Moreover, the Apoc has its own fleet of tank-steamer managed by the British Tanker Company which on a moment's notice, can float 83 vessels of the total capacity 77,0000 tons. The Apoc has also shares in various other companies which are to assure markets for its products, for instance, in the Olex in Germany and in India in the Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Company of India.*

Finally, it has still to be mentioned that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is operating also in Scotland, Albania, Argentina and New-Foundland, where, with the permission of the respective Governments it is carrying on experimental borings for petroleum. Yet

* Cf. The annual report of the Company in the *Times* of 26th June 1929, 7th November 1928 and 3rd November 1927.

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however satisfactory results on a large scale were obtained only in Argentina, where 1,23,000 tons of petroleum were raised in 1928.

This short review of the activities of the Anglo Persian Oil Company at once creates the impression that within certain limits anything more magnificent is hardly imaginable, for, in short it may well be said that the Apoc not only assures the supply of petroleum for the world empire of Britain in case of war, but is now also preparing to take the control over all the petroleum districts and petroleum markets in Western Asia as well as the petroleum markets in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. At the same time it exercises a great influence on Persia, and that particularly from the view-point of national economy without any exaggeration it may well be said that the whole economic development of the southern part of Persia, specially the Karun region which is exceedingly promising depends on the prosperity and development of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Over and above this, the great power enjoyed by the Apoc exercises to some extent a decisive influence on Russo-Persian relations. Through the Anglo-Persian Oil Company the English Government is so highly interested in the economic development of Persia that it must always be on the alert to try to keep down Russian influence in Teheran as much as possible. England will certainly be uneasy if such a government comes to power in Teheran as will be extremely friendly to Russia or follows a socialistic revolutionary policy, for thereby England's own position in South Persia will become insecure. As it is the existence of the Anglo-Persion Oil Comnany is to some extent a guarantee that the extension of the proletarian world-revolution will receive a check in Persia. It is of course quite understandable that the war between England and Russia for Persia, which at present is mainly considered as a field of exploitation, will not now be fought by open means, and it is also clear that such a great organization as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is without doubt itself in a position to carry on such a struggle even without the direct support of the English Government. That is to say, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company may well be regarded as the instrument of a definite imperialistic policy, and, as this essay is intended to show, quite a formidable one.

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Era-making Trials

The Trial of Jesus Christ

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

JESUS Christ was tried only once and he was condemned to death by crucifixion. For centuries afterwards the Jews were persecuted by Christians in utter disregard of the teachings of Christ in almost every country in Europe for having compassed the death of Jesus. The entire race for generations was cruelly ill treated, hunted from place to place and placed under all manner of civil disabilities. It was forgotten that the earliest disciples and followers of Jesus Christ were Jews and the apostles themselves were Jews. In the time of Jesus the Jews were a subject race, they had no courts of their own and they had no power to punish an offender. They certainly accused Jesus and clamoured for his death. They shouted, "His blood be upon us, and on our children." But the power of life and death lay in the hands of the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate, and he need not have yielded to the clamour of the populace at all. At a word from him the Roman legionaries and centurions could have scattered the Jews like chaff and assured the safety of Jesus Christ. The truth of the matter is in the eyes of the Roman rulers Jesus was a man of no consequence and it was perfectly indifferent to Pilate whether he released Jesus or Barabbas. A Jew more or less did not matter at all.

It must be remembered that the Gospels were written while Rome still ruled Israel and it was a rule of iron. The Roman eagle hovered over Judæa on its outspread wings. It would have been as much as their lives were worth if the writers of the Gospels had ventured to accuse the Roman Governor of injustice and putting Jesus unjustly to death. The result has been that the actual responsibility for the death of Jesus has been considerably minimized and all the blood-guiltiness has been placed upon the Jews.

In order to understand clearly the accusation and trial of Jesus Christ certain preliminary facts require to be elucidated. Jesus was born in the days of Herod the king, called the Great, and the wise men from the east declared that the infant was born king of the Jews. Herod was alarmed and slew all the children in Bethlehem, but Joseph, the father of Jesus, had been forewarned in a dream and taking the young child and his mother fled into Egypt. Shortly afterwards Herod died and his son Archelaus reigned in Judæa, and Joseph with his wife and child returned to Israel. Thus the birth of Jesus portended evil to the Roman ruler, as he understood it, just as the birth of Sri Krishna presaged danger to Kansa the king. The Jews could not have had anything to do with the massacre of their own children, but Herod certainly feared that when Jesus grew up he would overthrow the Roman rule.

Evidently this Herod was not the tetrach of that name of Galilee, by whose order the head of John the Baptist was presented on a charger to Salome, the daughter of Herodias, and before whom Jesus was sent by Pilate. All the four Gospels are silent about the whereabouts of Jesus, his movements and his doings between his twelfth and twenty-sixth years. When Jesus was about thirty years of age and was tempted by Satan Tiberius Caesar, a ferocious tyrant, was Emperor of Rome, Pontius Pilate, Governor of Judæa, and Herod, tetrach of Galilee. Jesus was an unknown and humble Jew, Herod the king of Judæa was long dead, and the Roman rulers had no reason to suspect Jesus of any revolutionary designs.

The ministry of Jesus Christ was very brief, for he was crucified at the age of thirty-three. When Jesus began to preach he must have offended the priests at once for he was not one of them and had no authority that they recognized. He gave greater offence by preaching directly against the Old Testament. The God of Moses and of the Old Testament was a God of wrath and vengeance; Jesus preached a God of compassion and love, with only a faint echo of the old terrible doctrines. He openly denounced the Pharisees and the publicans, and exalted renunciation and poverty. Above

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all, he infuriated the priests, the sanhedrim and their followers by claiming to be the promised Messiah, the Christ, the Anointed, whose coming had been prophesied by the ancient Hebrew prophets. Perhaps the priests and the Jews thought the Messiah would be one like Isaiah or Jeremiah, but greater, with words that flowed and scorched like molten lava. When John the Baptist, whose meat was locusts and wild honey, came out of the wilderness and said "to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, 'O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come'?" the people heard the thunder of the old prophets and mused in their hearts whether this was the Christ, the Messiah that was to come. John, reading their hearts like an open book, said unto them all, "I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." This prediction referred to Jesus but the majority of the Jews rejected it. In his humility Jesus usually spoke of himself as the Son of man, but he affirmed he was the Son of God, the Christ. He said he was greater than Solomon. Now Solomon was not only one of the wisest of Jews but the greatest King of Israel, and a greater personality than any Emperor of Rome. The words of Jesus might readily lend themselves to the interpretation that he was thinking of a kingdom on earth. It would have been an utterly wrong inference but the priests and the Pharisees were quite capable of making it. When Jesus was seized at night and taken before Caiaphas, the high priest, the latter adjured Jesus to declare by the living God whether he was the Christ, the Son of God. "Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Whereupon the high priest rent his clothes and said, "He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses?" The next morning before being placed before Pilate Jesus was brought before the council of the priests and scribes and was asked, "Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe; And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth."

Before this the Pharisees and the Herodians had attempted to tempt Jesus into seditious speech against Caesar and had failed. They were subtle of speech and praised Jesus saying he was true and taught the way of God in truth, and cared for no man. Then they tried to inveigle him into a compromising admission, "Tell us, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, whose is this image and superscription? They said unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The tempters were silenced and went away. Jesus had barely three years in which to preach his doctrine and he never thought of calling upon the Jews to throw off the Roman yoke.

What charge was preferred against Jesus when he was brought before Pilate? So far as the priests and their followers were concerned Jesus had offended in that he had claimed to be the Messiah, the Christ of God, and had taught against the old scriptures, but of this no word was spoken before the Roman Governor. Nothing whatever was said about the questions put to Jesus by the priests and his answers. Why? Because the proud patrician would have laughed the whole thing to scorn and sent them all about their business with a flea in their ears. What cared he for the religion of the Jews, their God and their Messiah? In the eyes of the Roman the Jews were merely barbarians, their ancient civilization was of no account and their religion a fantastic superstition. It is doubtful whether any Roman ever read the Old Testament. The Romans and the Greeks had their own gods and goddesses who swarmed on the heights of Olympus and indulged in unrestricted pleasure. Bacchus was their favourite god and revelry was his worship. The religion of the Jews had no appeal for the Romans, neither did they listen to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

If, therefore, the Jews had accused Jesus of blasphemy, and had complained that he

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claimed to be the Messiah and the Son of God they would have obtained no hearing from Pilate, who would have simply driven them out of his presence. He knew nothing about the kingdom of heaven and a charge of blasphemy against the Jewish religion would have constituted no offence in Roman law. But Pilate understood treason and sedition, and this was the offence with which the priests and the rabble charged Jesus. All the four Gospels agree in the account that when Jesus was brought before Pilate the first question that the governor asked him was, Art thou the king of the Jews? That is to say, Hast thou proclaimed thyself a king and set at defiance the authority of Caesar? Art thou guilty of treason? The accusation against Jesus is clearly set forth in the Gospel according to St. Luke :— "The whole multitude began to accuse him (Jesus) saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a king.... He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place." These charges were manifestly false, for Jesus had explicitly declared that the tribute to Caesar should not be withheld, and his lofty teaching had nothing whatsoever to do with rebellion or revolution. But the multitude was there to bear false testimony against him and to have him condemned to death like a common criminal upon a charge of high treason.

The attitude of Jesus Christ at this trial, the most memorable in the annals of humanity, was remarkable. He made no attempt to defend himself, he took no part in the trial. For the most part he maintained silence and a wondrous calm. "When he was accused of the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing. Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee? And he answered him to never a word." He stood serene and silent, grave and calm-eyed. He knew the end was near, but after the agony in the garden his tribulation had passed from him. That night he had told three of his disciples, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death." Alone, he had fallen on his face and prayed, saying, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." At the time of the trial the spirit of Jesus had withdrawn within itself and was holding communion with God the Father. The lips that had preached the Sermon on the Mount were mute. He might have called his faithful apostles, excluding Judas and Peter, as his witnesses to testify to the purity and spiritual nature of his teaching; he might have called the men and women he had healed, and Lazarus, whom he had called back to life from the grave. He did nothing: he was being tried for his life but he stood aloof and unconcerned, a figure of silence and supreme dignity. For him the bitterness of death was already past.

Yet was not Jesus wholly silent before Pilate. Exasperated by the refusal of Jesus to answer questions Pilate thought the accused was insulting him by refusing to speak to him and he angrily said, "Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." St. John writes that though Christ did not defend himself he made a statement and this must be quoted at length to correct the impression that Jesus spoke no word during the trial. Apparently, the Jews had power to deal with offenders against their law, but they could not inflict the penalty of death. This could be imposed by the Roman Governor alone. When Jesus was first led unto the hall of judgment Pilate asked the Jews to take the culprit away and judge him according to their law, but the accusers replied that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death. They desired his death but were powerless to pass the death sentence. They went so far as to use a tone of menace towards Pilate. "The Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar."

It is not difficult to understand the thoughts that were passing in Pilate's mind. He attached no importance to the accusation that Jesus was stirring up the Jews to rise in rebellion against Cæsar. The Roman grip upon Israel was far too strong to be lightly relaxed. There were no signs of unrest among the Jews. Jesus was an unknown and insignificant person, poorly clad. He had neither the air nor the assurance of a pretender. When, however, the Jews refused

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to deal with Jesus themselves Pilate had Jesus brought before him. "Then Pilate entered into the judgment hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?" Thereupon Jesus made the famous statement to which reference has been made. "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice."

Pilate was not inclined to condemn Jesus to death. He told the accusers of Jesus, "Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go. And they (the Jews) were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed." Just before this Pilate had sent Jesus to Herod, the tetrach of Galilee, who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time. To the many questions put by Herod Jesus gave no answer. "And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate."

It has to be borne in mind that from the time Jesus was delivered to Pilate to the final crucifixion the Jews had no opportunity of laying hands on Jesus. All that was done was done by the centurions and Roman soldiers. While Pilate was trying Christ his wife sent for him and told him, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." Pilate followed this advice by washing his hands before the multitude, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." But he passed sentence of death all the same.

Not only so, but there is clear evidence that Pilate took an active part in the punishment and crucifixion of Christ. "Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and they put it on his head and put on him a purple robe and a reed in his right hand; and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, king of the Jews! and they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him upon the head. . . . . Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!" Were not these words uttered in mockery? Pointing to the thorn-crowned and purple-robed Jesus Pilate told the Jews, Behold your king! When they shouted that Jesus should be crucified Pilate asked, shall I crucify your king? Further on it is written:—"And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews. This title then read many of the Jews; for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek and Latin. Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The king of the Jews; but that he said, I am king of the Jews." The priests were afraid that they might be charged with treason and complicity in a conspiracy, and to guard against it they had already declared, 'We have no king but Caesar.' Pilate refused to change the writing, saying, 'What I have written I have written.'

Jesus was crucified by the Roman soldiers, who mocked him with the populace. On the cross Jesus said, "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do." These words of intercession were intended as much for the Romans as for the Jews. From the evidence in the Gospels it is impossible to acquit Pilate of responsibility for the death of Jesus. True, he did not of his own initiative charge Jesus with treason and condemn him to death by crucifixion. He was not bloodthirsty like the two Herods, the slayer of children and John the Baptist. The Jews desired the death of Jesus and they delivered him to Pilate for that purpose, but there was no need for the Governor to yield to their clamour. It was his clear duty to refuse to be coerced by the insistence of the mob. The Jews could not have forced his hands, for his authority was backed by the formidable soldiery of Rome. Jesus was in the hollow of his hand, to save or slay at his sovereign will. Because Jesus was unjustly accused was he to be also unjustly put to death? Pilate was weak, indolent and fond of pleasure like

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the patricians of Rome. He made a few feeble efforts to save Jesus from the penalty of death, but he made no stern stand for justice. He knew Jesus was innocent, but was only an obscure, wandering Jew, and it was hardly worth while saving a Jew if his own people vociferously demanded his life. If the Jews sought the life of Jesus it was Pilate who sent him to his death.

The Roman archives of the time contain no mention of the trial of Jesus Christ. He was condemned like a common criminal and executed along with other criminals. Subsequently, his followers were persecuted and hunted with full Roman rigour and brutality. They were quite inoffensive, humble and meek, but they were treated like the worst criminals, harried and killed without compunction, and thrown to the lions. The time came when the Romans began accepting the new faith and the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter sat in the Vatican in Rome. The cross became the symbol of suffering and devotion. As the centuries rolled by the mockery of Pilate, the Roman soldiers and the Jewish mob, who had robed Jesus in a purple robe and crowned him with a crown of thorns, and hailed him as king of the Jews in derision was exalted to the living faith of Christendom and the crucified Christ is now acclaimed as the King of kings. Not in real sooth, for Jesus lives only in the hearts of the meek and the faithful while Rome still holds the crown and the sceptre. In Europe today the rulers are the Caesars, the Herods and the Pilates of old and if another Christ were to come into the world he would be hauled up before the men in power and receive the same justice that was meted out to Jesus of Nazareth by Pontius Pilate. Christ lived and died in vain so far as the rulers in Europe are concerned.

Back of the Wailing Wall in Palestine

By N. B. PARULEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

As soon as you land in Haifa you feel as if you are once again back in India, the situation is so much alike. In the first place, there is the same omnipresent and omnipotent British official ruling over the "natives." Many I had a chance to talk with had their background, I should say their start and their training, in India. About a few hundred British officials consume in Palestine forty per cent of the entire civil service salaries. Then there is the Wailing Wall, which was apparently responsible for starting so much of the recent disturbances. The Wall is sacred to the Jews, who visit it in prayer, but at the same time it is under Moslem proprietorship. It reminded me of the quarrels between Hindus and Moslems over music before mosques in India. There is the C. I. D., that essential part of the British system, which was called by the same name here as in India until very recently, and of course doing the same work. You have also the British law-courts, the increasing demand for English-trained lawyers, and multitudes of young men being trained to speak English at the expense of Arabic, because their masters refuse to use any other but their own language. Only one thing struck me as a bit different from India. It is the policeman. The Arab policeman shows a sterner backbone than his Indian comrade. He does not so easily *salaam* every *Sahib* in the street. Besides, he is not afraid to salute his nation's leaders and to show them respect wherever he can.

It would, however, be misleading to think that recent troubles in Palestine were due to any religious differences between the Jews and the Moslems. So much has been said and written about the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, a bald, broken but massive wall which was once a part of King David's building and which therefore is a relic of the past for the Jews and so sacred,—yet it only represents one of those small bickerings which help to inflame public feelings. One morning as I went to see the Wailing Wall, I found there neither the Jew nor the Arab

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wailing, but instead, a British Tommy kept on guard, who was actually wailing! The poor fellow was homesick and he told me that there was yet a year of service ahead of him.

There are three principal parties whose interests at present are colliding with one another. First, the British, who want to hold on to Palestine because it prevents any other European power from coming close to the Suez Canal, the gate of Asia. Then they want to control a land route which will take them straight to the Persian Gulf and then on to India, the pride and the pivot of the Empire. Lastly, they are anxious to get hold of as many mineral resources as possible from this virginal territory, especially oil, the motor power of modern industrialism. The port of Haifa which is now being constructed for over a a million pounds (at the expense of Palestine people), will supply the British with one of the best ports on the Mediterranean and a formidable naval station.

The next group interested in Palestine is the Jews, who are anxious to build a Jewish national home in Palestine, which they left or rather were forced to leave some two thousand years ago. The Zionists or those among the Jews who are responsible for this project, want to build a Jewish nation much like any other nation to give to their scattered population a territorial basis without which they think the Jewish race and its culture would be absorbed in other races or cultures, or at least they may not be independently creative as a distinct people. "The significance of Palestine to the Jew," says *Davar*, the Jewish labour paper of Tel-Aviv, Palestine, "is of an altogether different gauge. His grievance against the world is that nowhere is he master of his destiny, nowhere can he shape the conditions of his life and imprint the best of his personality upon his surroundings. Zionism alone affords him a chance of building a home which will be entirely of his own making and for which he may be deservedly praised or blamed. It means an opportunity of leading a life of collective responsibility." When I went to see the editor of *Davar*, he presented to me his little son and said with pride, "He is Palestinian. He is born in Palestine."

The third group, who are the majority, over 80 per cent, is the non-Jewish native population Arabs, Christians and Moslems alike, who are opposed to any such Jewish State in Palestine, because it is their State. They do not want a foreign nation to be built up in their country. The present conflict in Palestine is a conflict between two nations, one Jewish, to be newly created, and the other Arab, already existing, though so long dormant but now awakened as to its future; then there is the British Empire, whose policy is to help the Jews to build their national home, because for them it is the best excuse in the international world to keep the mandate and to help themselves.

Though there exist no barbed wires, no barricades, nor dug-out trenches, that actually separate the Jews and the Arabs, and though they live side by side as two communities in any other part of the world, yet the feeling that exists between them is much more formidable than any other line of physical demarcation. Within the last ten years there have been three popular uprisings, and Mr. Duke, the acting High Commissioner during the last disturbances, said before the British Inquiry Commission that there is always a likelihood of trouble in Palestine. The present boycott between the two communities is not merely economic but social and moral as well. To my mind the every foundations of neighbourly living, the mutual trust between the two communities, has been destroyed and in its place suspicion of each towards the other prevails.

A leading Arab told me that they do not feel safe in talking over the telephone, because they are being overheard by the telephone girls, who are always Jewish. So they send messengers. One is not sure in buying medicine from a drug-store belonging to the other community. It was publicly stated that the Jewish butchers of Tel-Aviv, a newly built Jewish town, do not feel safe in going to the slaughter-house of Jaffa, a neighbouring town, where there are Arab butchers. They went on strike rather than get their animals slaughtered from Jaffa; consequently the residents of Tel-Aviv were forced to go on a vegetarian diet for weeks. My Arab taximan would not dare enter Tel-Aviv by night. So he would let his customer go rather than take that risk. Even a stranger, who is neither a Jew nor an Arab, feels the necessity of making a number of apologies and explanations before moving from one community to another. Official inquiry committees bring forth each day fresh

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memories and additional feeling in so far as every statement before it helps to uncover and to expose one more wound. If a Jew or an Arab is stabbed or murdered, the crime is suspected to be from the other community and for a political reason. And the pity of it is that there is little in sight that may help to overcome the estrangement and start a new era of mutual understanding.

If, however, one element can be singled out as doing the greatest possible mischief in Palestine, it is a sense of superiority among the Zionists towards the natives of the land. Over and over again one hears from their side a set of arguments running through all of which is the common thread, that they are trained in the West, infinitely more civilized, superior and well-equipped in contrast to the Arab population and that they, therefore, are indispensable to the land. The Arab must recognize it. To put it in the words of Dr. Weizmann, the head of the Zionist organization, "The Arabs need us with our knowledge and our experience and our money. If they do not have us they will fall into the hands of others, they will fall among the sharks."

I am emphasizing this point, because it is to a large extent at the root of the present intellectual insularity of the Zionists in Palestine. It does not permit the majority of them to recognize anything like patriotism, self-sacrifice, or idealism among the Arab opponents. Their remedy for peace, therefore, is government by force, and they sincerely believe that if the British Government can gather enough courage to lay hands on a few leaders and quash them, there will be peace in the country and the Arab mob will be saved from its instigators. Indeed one is surprised at the colossal ignorance among the Zionists as to what actually animates the native population in the country, who are living so close to them. For example, the Zionists do not realize the significance of Christians being one with the Moslems in their opposition to the Zionist programme. From the beginning of the British occupation the Christians are with Moslems in the Congress and in the Executive. In every town there is a Moslem-Christian association. During the last disturbances the Christians were with the Moslems and many were killed and wounded. They contributed more than the Moslems towards the expenses of the Congress, the committees, and the movement.

There are more Christian newspapers in the country than Moslem, and all without exception are nationalists. In such an important centre as Haifa you find four Christian papers to only one Moslem. In other words, the brunt of the newspaper agitation is borne by the Christians. When the movement to boycott the Jewish shops was started, it was found out that shops selling women's hats were all Jewish and that not a single non-Jewish shop existed in the city of Jerusalem, though just recently one was opened by a Syrian. So most of the Christian women began to wear georgette crape like the Mohammedan women rather than buy hats from Jewish shops. The secretary of Arab Women's Congress is a Christian lady, Mrs. Mogannam.

Now, this whole movement, combining Christians and Moslems in one sentiment is brushed aside by the *Palestine and Near East Economic Magazine*, a Jewish fortnightly for trade, industry, and commerce, which says: "It may be profitable to a limited class of Christian Arab shop-keepers, but, continued, must ultimately have disastrous results for the bulk of the Arab population, the fellaheen, who cannot lose the only profitable market for their products offered by the Jewish population."

It is obvious that the tremendous feeling now sweeping over the country cannot be explained as a trick of the Effendi (the educated or upper class Arab), over the fellah or the farmer. And yet such is the sincere belief among Zionist circles. A Jewish cartoon caricatures the Effendi as haranguing a wild Arab mob armed with knives, clubs and rifles, and puts this inscription underneath: "The Instigator:—For every Jew killed, ten cigarettes Mabrouk." *The Palestine Bulletin*, a Jewish daily, featured a dialogue under the caption, "Satan and Effendi," in which a Jew succeeds in proving to the fellah that Satan resides in Effendi who is the sole enemy of the fellah. Zionist educators, politicians, industrialists, as well as labour leaders are unanimous in their opinion of the Effendi as the sole mischief-maker, who should be severely dealt with, and blame the Government for laxity. The case of the British officialdom in Palestine, reproached by the Arabs and the Jews alike, reminds me of the old man in Æsop's fable who had two wives but no peace.

On the other hand, the awakening in Palestine

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is going on with Bedouin swiftness. During a period of two months, over and above the annual session of the Arab National Congress, three different groups organized themselves and met for the first time in conferences. They were the women, the business men, and the farmers. One is particularly struck with the speed of women's work in Palestine. They summoned delegates by telegrams, held sessions, organized a women's protest parade, sent a deputation to wait upon the High Commissioner, appointed an executive committee of twelve to carry on the work for the year, swore Christians on the Bible and Moslems on the Koran Sherif that they would do everything in their power at the sacrifice of their family needs to promote their national goods and to boycott Jewish commerce, and all this within six days of their decision to move collectively in the matter.

The customary veil came in the way of Moslem women: How could they present themselves before the High Commissioner, a stranger, with faces uncovered? They went to the Mufti for permission; but when they found him hesitating in inviting more trouble, the women took upon themselves to deal with the veil and the tradition just as they thought fit, and twenty-one of them, seven Christians and fourteen Mohammedans, appeared before the High Commissioner all unveiled. The effect of the women's decision to boycott Jewish business has been almost instantaneous, as most of their finery, lacework, embroidery, robes, even lamp-shades were supplied by the Jews. Thousands of dollars worth of warm clothing imported in advance by the Jewish merchants for the winter season is lying in warehouses and will have to go back, as there exist no customers for them.

It is, therefore, a blunder of the first magnitude not to be able to grasp the motive forces of a movement in which differences of custom, sex, religion, and economic interests seem to break down as with one stroke. The Effendi, whom the Zionists consider to be an instigator, exploiter of the fellah, self-seeker, and so on, is, in fact, the existing intelligence, organization, and effort among the Arab population trying to express its sentiment. It is futile to wait for an order when the Effendi will disappear, leaving the fellah alone to understand and appreciate the benefits of Jewish immigration.

Effendi, or no Effendi, there is little chance of peace in Palestine so long as the Zionist's policy continues to fail to arrive at a mutually satisfactory programme with the native population in respect of immigration, Government reform and a policy of how best the economic resources of the land can be utilized for the profit of the whole population and not merely for one section. On these points the existing Zionist opinion is extremely reactionary, self-conceited and mainly motivated by its own end at the expense of the native population. In the matter of immigration they do not admit that the Arabs have any right or say, as they want to be the sole dictators until, in the words of Dr. Weizmann, Palestine becomes "as Jewish as America is American or England is English." In other words, they are anxious to outnumber the present 80 per cent of the population, Christians and Moslems, by a rapid immigration. As for Government reform, they are opposed to any substantial measure of self-government in Palestine, so long as they themselves continue to be in a minority, even though they were granted all the minority privileges to be had in any other part of the world.

Naturally, they are looked upon by the Arabs as enemies of constitutional progress and political self-determination. The Arab points out that his political rights are less today than they were under the Turkish rule and the contrast becomes much more enhanced when he sees that in Iraq, in Egypt, *i. e.*, in other Arabic countries, Britain is inaugurating a more liberal policy, which the Arabs in Palestine cannot expect so long as the Zionist opposition continues. Lastly, through a system of Government favouritism, such as concessions, monopolies, high tariff, etc., the Zionists have come to control the industrial future of Palestine, much as any capitalistic group would do, and the Arab is afraid of being forced to live as an alien in his own country.

In an area of 1,000 square miles there exists today a population of 8,16,064 out of which 1,54,330 are Jews, whose number has been nearly trebled during the last ten years mainly by immigration. In 1925 more than 33,000 Jews came in, that is, equal to the total gain in Jewish immigration during the preceding five years. Nobody knows how much of the economic crisis in the years 1926-27 was due to this forced immigration in a comparatively small and poor country. During

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that crisis "the sources of credit all over the country failed, building activities were suspended and thousands of hands occupied therein were thrown out of employment." The British Government in its report to the Council of the League of Nations says that in 1927, "unemployment among the Jews was a more serious problem and affected a population of not less than 5,000," and that, "with a view to relieving Jewish unemployment and alleviating distress, the Administration of Palestine accelerated the execution of an extensive programme of public works at an aggregate cost of £66,000." The Government was at the same time advancing grants and loans of £37,000 to the Local Council of Tel-Aviv, a Jewish body, to help relieving unemployment and distress among the Jews. Nevertheless, during those two years more than 15,000 Jews came in though thousands of them were leaving the country in economic distress.

When the lands are bought from the absentee owners, the original Arab tenants are driven out to make place for the immigrant Jew and there are hundreds of Arab families wandering in the land in poverty and distress. Jewish industries, especially in soap, salt, oil, match, and cement, backed up by protective tariff, custom exemptions, concessions and other means have deprived many of their means of livelihood who were either dealers in foreign articles or producers of their own. A new industrial enterprise may dislocate the existing order but if it is national it tries to absorb the native workers and the population may put up with the temporary loss in view of future benefit. But in this case, the Jewish immigrant deprives the native workers of his chance to work while the population has to pay heavily to keep the high tariff under which Jewish industries are being promoted.

The case of cement is a good example to illustrate the point. In order to help the Portland Cement Co. (Nesher) at Haifa, the Government raised the import duty from 20 piastres to 60 piastres, which was further increased to 85 piastres per ton, or equal to about 42½ per cent of the value of a ton of foreign cement arrived c. i. f., *i. e.*, cost plus insurance plus freight. The Nesher sells cheaper in Syria than in Palestine in spite of the additional freight charge of one pound per ton from Haifa to Damascus. In Haifa, where the factory is located, a ton of cement is 330 piastres. In Damascus it is sold for 270 Turkish gold piastres, which is nearly 250 piastres in Palestine money. About fourteen different brands of cement have been wiped out from the market. To put it in other words, the cement excess in price paid by consumers is 500 mils per ton, loss of Government in the form of duty 300 mils, loss by boatmen and porters 250 mils and the loss by the merchants in the way of trade profit is 150 mils, the total loss being about 1,500 mils or a pound and half per ton. Now the annual consumption of cement in Palestine is roughly 60,000 tons; so the total loss by Government and the population is about £90,000 annually, apart from the loss of Government in exempting from customs duty coal, empty bags, machinery, etc., for the protection of the said industry.

Add to this a number of industrial enterprises such as Palestine Electrical Co. to electrify Palestine and to exploit the water power of the Jordan, the Dead Sea concession to obtain mineral deposits from the Dead Sea, Eastern Oil Industries, Ltd., making soaps, oils, oilcakes, "the largest and most up-to-date factory in the Near East," Athlit Salt Company to produce sea salt by evaporation, Grand Moulin de Palestine of Baron Rothschild to supply flour, and others, promoted by special concessions, high tariff duties, customs exemption and so on. Naturally, the Arab complains that the economic future of Palestine is being deliberately vested by the Government in Jewish hands. He complains that though the Government is maintained largely from the Arab tax-payer's money, it is working against their interest and in the interest of the Jews. He objects to the policy of the Government being dictated by article 2 of the Mandate, "The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, etc."

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The Decorative Art of Orissa

By DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., P.R.S.

MAN is a decorative animal. The desire for ornament is an instinct, which is universal and irresistible in its appeal. The remarkable spontaneity with which man has responded to this divine instinct is at once striking and wonderful. So long, the traditional belief has been that decorative art holds a minor place in the realm of fine arts, that is, it plays and is intended to play a subservient rôle to major arts of sculpture, architecture and painting. But the art of decoration is in no way inferior or less potent, than the other graphic arts to stir the human consciousness to an ecstasic thrill. It is really an independent and not a parenthetical wave of aesthetic impulse in man.

When the primitive man began to shape implements and sundry articles to meet rudimentary requirements, he at once proceeded to decorate them, even when from an utilitarian point of view, there was absolutely no need of such decoration. When he dressed his stone flint, his bone knife or wove his fabric, out of the raw material, they were at once ready to satisfy his purpose fully well; but he was not completely satisfied, and immediately gave the flint a fine polish, beautifully carved the handle of the knife and embellished the apron with a border. And why? Because he could not resist his inner impulse to adorn and beautify. He decorated from the sheer joy of it and not to serve any ulterior motive.

The psychology of primitive man and the psychology of infants, exactly correspond with each other, *viz.*, they are both close and truthful imitators. The early man was an imitator of nature. He minutely copied the animal and vegetable life which surrounded him. Only these two sources inspired his artistic genius and as realistic delineators of animals, the palaeolithic artist is as yet unsurpassed. But when man reached the neolithic age and had the opportunity to come into intimate touch with vegetable phenomena, he gradually grew restless within himself. His developed æsthetic instinct, rebelled against the idea of merely copying nature, he wanted to produce something stamped with the indelible impress of his independent being. So he became a creative artist and produced geometrical and abstract designs, which were foreign to nature, followed subsequently by entirely new, complex and fabulous animal motifs. He certainly drew his inspiration from the animal and the vegetable world, but the concrete forms which resulted from this synthetic appreciation, belonged to quite different and another world. Thus in music when two tunes are combined, it does not produce a third note, but a harmony; and in painting, two colours are mixed to result in a completely new one. Motifs novel in design and charming in conception were created by man in this manner and he continued to evolve decorative forms ere he could conceive the human form in terms of stone or erect magnificent structures.

That sculpture and architecture has overshadowed the art of decoration, in the course of subsequent centuries, does not give any superiority to the former. They are simply different aspects of the one continuous wave of aesthetic impulse, culminating in architecture, which welded all the other forms into a synthetic whole. Indeed, it will not be an exaggeration to say that all the arts are fundamentally decorative.

So it is apparent, that the craving for ornament is inherent in man, and it is to be reckoned with amkng the most primitive savage, as well as the most highly cultured man; only the degree of refinement and expressiveness is liable to vary. This decorative instinct is born, as we have already seen, out of the creative impulse of man, and the stage or progress of civilization does not effectively interfere with this urge of life. The aborigines of New Zealand and the master builders of Egypt and Greece, have alike responded to this. But the mode of manifestation of this particular instinct may vary with age and clime. So, also with other human instincts. The vehicle for the expression of

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

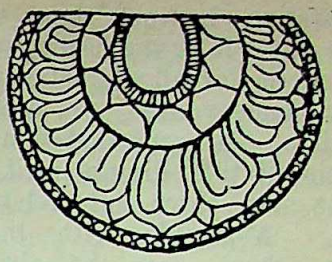


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

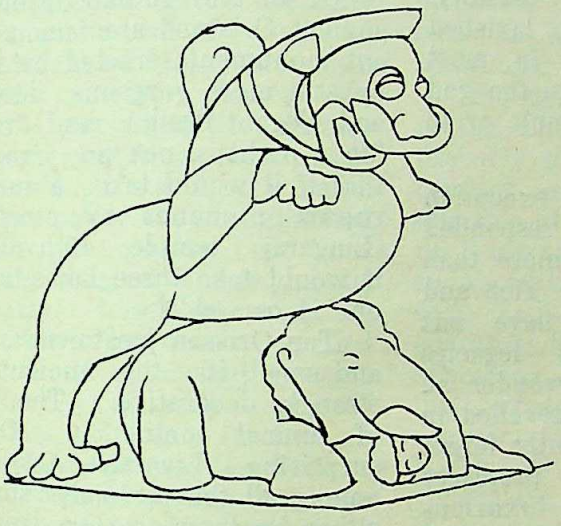


Fig. 5.

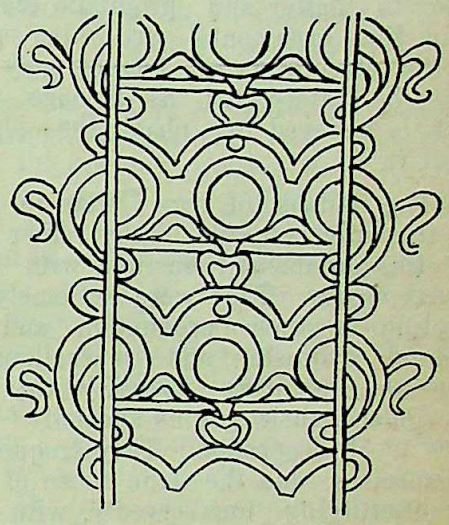


Fig. 6.

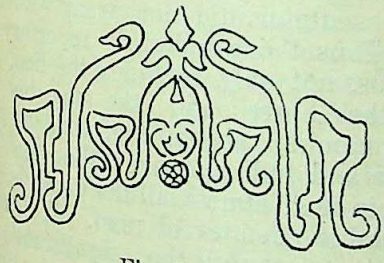


Fig. 7.

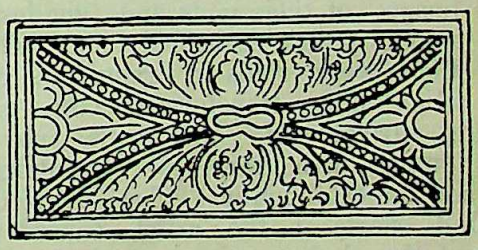


Fig. 8.



Fig. 10.

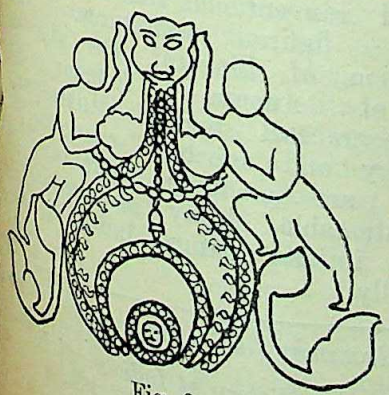


Fig. 9.

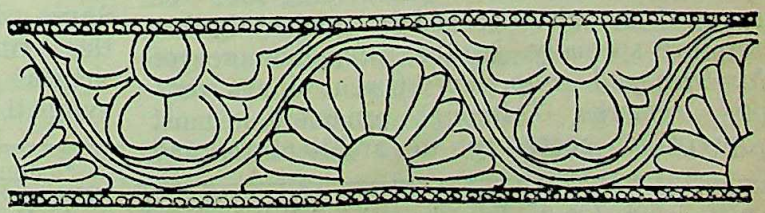


Fig. 11.

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the decorative instinct does not matter in the long run—it is the beauty of form which is the criteria for all aesthetic purposes.

"Man endeavoured to create," observes Yrjo Hirn, "a representation of God, a receptacle of the divine spirit, by means of which he may enter into relations with the divinity. Alongside with this endeavour, however, there can be always observed another tendency, which has been of scarcely less importance in the history of art—the effort to flatter and propitiate the divinity. Thus the ornamental art which is lavished in the decoration of temples may in most cases be interpreted as homage to the god who is believed to inhabit the temple or to visit it."*

The Indians of yore were no exception to the universal rule. They rather responded to this ornamental instinct with more than usual vigour. They were extremely rich and prolific in their production and have left behind exquisite and marvellous legacies for the admiring posterity to wonder at.

Indeed, their genius specially revelled in the art of decoration. They frequently forgot themselves and the true sense of propriety in beautifying unreservedly, with luxurious ornaments of singular charm and graceful variety, the objects most near to their hearts *viz.*, the images of their gods and goddesses and the temples which enshrined them. They poured their very souls in rapturous glee and devotion and transformed the cold and bare surfaces of the walls into a glowing mass, with carvings of intricate variety and delicate fancy. The dexterous and skilful efforts of the artist caused the exterior of the Indian temples to shimmer with a lustrous texture and an intransient play of light and shade, extremely pleasing to the vision. As the devotee uttered the sacred *mantras*, in tireless repetition, to attain the object of his heart's desire and to acquire religious merit quickly and surely, so the pious artist also tried to please his god by embellishing almost every inch of available space with rhythmical and conventional formulas. The abiding love of ornament is also echoed in ancient Indian literature specially in the preponderance of *alamkara* and *anuprasa*. Owen Jones very aptly remarks, "Although ornament is most properly an accessory to architecture, and should never be allowed to usurp the place of proper structural features, or to overload and disguise them, it is in all cases the very soul of an architectural monument; and by ornament alone we can judge truly of the amount of care and mind which have been devoted to the work. All else in building might be result of rule and compass, but by the ornament of a building can we best discover how far the architect was at the same time an artist."*

Of all the Indian people, however, the ancient Orissans are famous for the magnificent monuments erected by them and adorned by still more gorgeous decoration of chaste and elegant design and varied exuberance. "It is perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that if it would take a sum—say a lakh of rupees or pounds to erect such a building (Lingaraj temple, Bhuvaneswara) as this, it would take three lakhs to carve it as this one is carved."†

The Orissan treatment of everything great and small, like the ancient Egyptians, was strongly decorative. The abundant variety of animal motifs in Orissa is indeed surprising. Like the Assyrian master, also, among all the animals that attracted him, either by their size or strength, either by the services they rendered or the terror they inspired, there were none that the chisel of the Orissan sculptor did not treat with taste and skill. Thus the wonderful repertory of animal forms, not only includes the lion, the elephant, the horse and the stag, but also goose, fish, monkey, sheep, dog, frog, tortoise, parrot, boar and bull and even the crab and the lizard—in fact, almost all the docile helpers and redoubtable enemies of man. We should also take into account the significant fact that a large variety of these organic forms were carved with singular power and refreshing realism, which contrasts with the idealistic and conventional treatment of the neighbouring figure sculptures. The remarkable lion of Lingaraj, the vigorous elephants of Ananta Vasudev and Konarak, the graceful stags of Muktesewara and the fiery and spirited chargers of Surya Deul are standing testimonies of the unquestionable ability of the Indian artists to imitate nature faithfully and sympathetically.

* Origins of Art: *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 819.

* Jones—*Grammar of Ornament*, London. 1856, p. 82.

† Fergusson, J.—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, Vol. II. p. 101.

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But as an eminent critic* justly opines, "The craftsmen's designs are not content with a mere artistic appeal to our sense perceptions in peculiarly happy disposition of lines and forms, but are also informed, imbued and scintillating, as it were, with an infinite variety of national ideas and beliefs, religious or mythical, which it would be difficult to find in their artistic elements alone."* Another well known connoisseur of art goes so far as to suggest that ornamental motifs never owed their existence to purely aesthetic considerations and that in all of them the permanent element would be the symbolical meaning, and the mutable element the external form. In the pre-animistic conception of the world, ornamentation has as its principal aim to provide an object or a building with magically protective or strengthening signs or symbols. In the course of time, however, their original magical and symbolic character was nearly forgotten and the ornamental forms were frequently applied as purely decorative motifs with but a vague reminiscence of their originally supposed effects.† It was this inherent instinct of primitive terror in the hearts of the Orissan craftsmen, which led them to safe-guard the sacred dwellings of gods adequately and properly, from profane and hostile spirits and to dispel the all-pervading magic forces by adorning the splendid religious monuments, with mighty, vigilant and aggressive Gaja-Simhas, sharply outlined against the azure sky (Fig. 5); the fabulous Makara heads which decorate the graceful *toranas* and panels (Fig. 1); the grotesque Kirttimukha masks which hediously project from niches and walls in bewildering profusion (Fig. 2); and the ferocious and enigmatic *viralas*, which ominously loom out of the encircling shadows of the dark recesses (Fig. 4). The mystic and enigmatic character of these legendery and fantastic monsters, which had always been an attraction in the eye of the decorator, was largely inspired by the habitual feeling of disquietitude and terror, which was inherited by the mediaeval artist from his remote primitive ancestor.

We have already pointed out above that all Orissan design was strongly decorative. The love of form and of drawing was perhaps a greater force with the Orissan craftsmen than with any other people. The six long centuries from the eighth to the thirteenth saw the beginning of the glorious striving of the artist to express his inner aesthetic realization and decorative instinct in plastic forms, the intense effort to produce something effective and distinctly original, the eventual breaking away from Gupta leading strings with the gradual efflorescence of his native genius and the ultimate culmination in an extremely virile national art, in perfect harmony with the traditional craft designs of India.

The temple of Satrughneswara, the earliest of the Bhuvaneswara group and belonging probably to the opening decades of the eight century A. D, records the initial and crude attempts at the art of decoration by an unsteady and imperfect hand. Parasurameswara shows further progress in the craftsman's skill and workmanship. The beautiful and charming floral designs of Vaital Deul, boldly conceived and effectively designed, betray the gradual awakening of aesthetic consciousness and a true appreciation of the beauty of form (Figs. 3, 8). The decorative vocabulary of the early group of temples is extremely rich and varied in the wealth of geometrical and floral ornaments but as yet undeveloped genius of the artist failed to harmonize the innumerable elements into tune with architecture as a whole. The older structures also unmistakably betray that, as regards motifs and arrangement, they were still under the influence of early Indian convention and inspired by Sunga and Gupta traditions

Mukteswara at the beginning of the tenth century. A. D., stands at the parting of ways. It marks an epoch in Orissan art; as it demonstrates, for the first time, the assertion of the native genius in all its glory and magnificence. (Figs. 6, 9). Fergusson has called it the gem of Orissan architecture. But however richly carved and elegantly designed the ornaments are by themselves, they still remained to be united and co-ordinated in the decorative scheme. It was wonderfully accomplished in the great Lingaraj, within fifty years or so. The astonisting development of the chaitya window from a simple gable-shaped architectural element, into a highly complicated and typically Orissan decorative device, closely resembling the Islamic script, is illustrated on the Brahmeswara *sikhara* (Fig. 7).

The monuments of the middle and late

* Ganguli, O. C.—A Note on Kirttimukha; *Rupam*, No. 1, January, 1920, p. 11.
† Stutterheim, W. F. — The Meaning of the Kala-Makara Ornament; *Indian Arts & Letters*, First Issue for 1929, pp. 28-29.

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mediaeval period, are characterized by the predominance of the beautiful and peculiar Orissan scrolls over all the other forms of decoration. Every discriminating critic will admit that the wonderful skill and decorative feeling displayed in the execution of the various foliage designs such as *phula-lata* (Fig. 11), *patra-lata*, *nati-lata* (Fig. 10), *vana-lata*, etc. unmistakably shows that in this department of fine arts, the Orissan sculptor easily excelled his Greek compatriot.* The appealing beauty and decorative grandeur of the Rajarani temple are pre-eminently due to the luxuriant grace of these carvings. The minutely carved walls, with delicate and intricate details afforded a pleasing back-ground to the exquisite statuary in high relief, and clearly outlined the flowing curves of the summarily modelled luscious nymphs in alluring poses.

The Surya Deul at Konarak in the thirteenth century, however, represents the climax of the Orissa craftsman's search for the beatific vision in the realm of aesthetics and sums up all that is best and the most charming. In the bewildering wealth of ornaments, with their exquisite finish and impressive effect, accompanied by a perfect proportion and the massiveness of its structure, the temple excels all other temples in Orissa, nay, in the whole world. It is the most sublime and splendid luminary in the firmament of Orissan architecture, but sadly the last flicker of the architect's lamp, never to be lighted again to dispel the eternal gloom which soon enveloped the hapless land. It is strange indeed, that within two centuries, when the empire of Orissa stretched from Midnapore in the north to Trichinopoly in the south, and when the powerful Gajapatis defied and often humiliated the mighty Sultans of Gaur, Malwa and the Bahamani kingdom and the valiant rulers of Kanchi and Vijaynagar, even then, when Orissa reached the apex of her glory, the lost supremacy in the field of art, was never redeemed.†

But recent historical research is gradually making it obvious that the activities of this remarkable school of arts were not confined merely within the four corners of Orissa. The influence of this school permeated the arts of the greater Indian lands, in the wake of the adventurous spirit and maritime enterprise of the ancient Oriyas. We find definite evidence of this influence in Burma, Siam, Champa, Cambodge, Java and other Indonesian islands. The interesting fact, revealed by the Burmese texts, that at one time Lower Burma itself was known as Ukkala or Utkala and the modern town of Prome as Srikshetra (Puri), amply testifies to the establishment of colonial settlements in the land of the Irawaddy by the people across the Bay. It is more than probable that the floral ornaments, Kirttimukha masks, flamboyant Makaras and the guardian lions which decorate the innumerable sanctuaries of Burma, are all modelled on mediaeval Orissan prototypes. There are also convincing proofs to show the existence of intimate relations between Orissa or Kalinga and the Malay peninsula and the adjoining archipelago, at one time. Even now, every Indian is usually known there as the "Kling"—a word evidently derived from Kalinga. It will easily explain the surprising affinity of the "Kala-Makara", the ornament *par excellence* of Indo-Javanese architecture, with the Kirttimukha and Makara heads sculptured on the eighth century Bhuvaneswara Deul. The wonderful ruins of Champa also still preserve creeper designs and elephant herds, reminiscent of the best products of Orissa.

In conclusion, we should like to say that it is a matter of great regret, that these splendid decorations of Orissa should still continue to be subject of archaeological research and discussion, without their inherent beauty being adequately appreciated by people at large. In this period of renaissance of our national art and culture, it is high time, that we should try to recover these charming designs from apparent neglect and oblivion and exploit them for all practical purposes in our daily life. We can very easily utilize these ancient Indian designs, which are full of appeal to our national ideas and consciousness, instead of slavish imitation of third-rate and meaningless foreign patterns in drawing, embroidery, architectural decoration and other industrial arts. Another point, which also demands our attention, is that the current popular notion about ancient Indian art is curiously synonymous with the art treasure of Ajanta and Ellora only. But it should be known that there is no dearth of ancient Indian monuments equally magnificent in conception and sublime in execution. Moreover, though

* Gurudas Sarkar—*Mandirer Katha*, Pt. III, Calcutta, 1921, p. 133.

† Banerji, R. D.—The Empire of Orissa, *Indian Antiquary*, December, 1928, pp. 235-39.

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the world-famous frescoes of Ajanta are unique of its kind still it must be admitted that its admirable decorative vocabulary is very limited in scope. On the other hand, if we consider only the Vaital Deul at Bhuvaneswara, and leave alone the scores of temples of the later period, we are sure to be struck by the delightful variety and marvellous display of decorative fancy of the highest degree.

The Vajrayana *

By VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYYA

THE word *Vajrayāna* literally means the 'Vehicle of the Diamond,' *vajra* implying here 'voidness' (*śūnyatā*) as it is explained in the Mādhyamika school of the Buddhist philosophy. There are two reasons as to why *śūnyatā* is called *vajra*, 'diamond.' First, the knowledge of *śūnyata* which leads to *nirvāṇa* and a diamond are both very precious; secondly, both of them are *abhedya*, 'adamant', in the sense that they are so hard, strong, and firm that one can hardly penetrate them. It may also be noted that *abhedya* is a synonym for a diamond.

This system, Vajrayāna, is one of the later off-shoots of the Mahayāna, springing up from one of its branches, the *Mantra-naya* or Mantrayāna. It may be described as the Buddhist Tantricism. The main difference between the two forms of Tantricism, Brahmanic and Buddhistic, lies in the fact that while the former has for its background the Sāṅkhya or the Vedanta, the latter has its base on the Buddhist philosophy, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika, both forms of Tantricism following a path which leads not only to emancipation (*mukti*), but also to worldly enjoyments (*bhukti*).

With all the lofty and noble ideas along with the profound philosophy on the background the Mahāyāna Buddhism suffered an unthinkable degeneration as depicted in the works of Vajrayanism. But what is it due to? We are told by the editor that there are three principal factors mainly responsible for the degeneration. About the first he says: "A great variety of influences which cropped up during the centuries from the time of Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha and the destruction of Buddhism from the Indian soil at the hands of the Muhammadans in about the 13th century of the Christian era helped a great deal in bringing about the degeneration" (p. ix). The first part of it is not quite clear or definite as to what those influences were. Nor can the second part be accepted, for centuries before the Muhammadan attack the degeneration was complete as Vajrayanism itself shows very clearly.

"The second factor is the imposition of the most strict and unnatural rules of discipline amongst the members of the Saṅgha who could follow them only up to a certain extent and not for ever afterwards in exactly the same lines as shown by the Buddha." Most strict were the rules of discipline, no doubt, for they were required to be so in order to keep the Saṅgha intact guiding it properly. But were the rules themselves unnatural, or was it a fact that a large number of unfit persons somehow or other found the gate of the Saṅgha opened to them and made the rules unnatural by their own character? Certainly the Saṅgha was not meant for men with a strong inclination towards worldly enjoyments who were advised to live a householder's life and not that of a Bhikṣu. What was then objectionable in framing the rules of the Saṅgha so strictly? On the contrary, it is quite evident that it was the licence taken by the Bhikṣus that brought about the degeneration of their religion.

The third factor is, says the editor, "the theory of *karuṇā* which required that each individual Bodhisattva should sacrifice everything—himself, his happiness, his family, and children for the emancipation of the suffering humanity." If that was the cause for degeneration, I do not know what the cause was for its progress. What was the best thing in Buddhism that could attract the people of so many lands, far and near, civilized and uncivilized? Certainly it was not the subtle truth of the *dharma* of the Buddha which as he himself is said to have declared, was very deep, very profound, and beyond the sphere of thought (*atakkāvacara*), and which could be understood only by the wise (*paṇḍitavedaniya*). Nor was it the different systems of its philosophy which could hardly be understood by the ordinary people. To my mind, it was the great ideal of the life of a Bodhisattva, an embodiment of compassion itself, whose prayer is to realize *bodhi* 'supreme knowledge' only for the good of the universe (*buddho bhaṇeyam jagato hitāya*), and who sacrifices everything in possession for the suffering humanity, that raised the *dharma* of the Buddha to its zenith. Indeed, I cannot understand how it can be held responsible for the degeneration. The cause should therefore, be sought after somewhere else.

* Two Vajrayāna Works: *Prajñopāyaviniścaya-siddhi* of Anaṅgavajra and *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV, Baroda.

The following abbreviations are used in the paper:

DC=A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Government Collection by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastrī, M.A., Vol. I, Buddhist MSS, 1917.
JS=Jñānasiddhi.
PYS=Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi.
SS=Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, edited by C. Bendall.

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It was only by conquering Māra, 'the Evil One that the Buddha became a Buddha. Mara is nothing but the personification of *kāma* 'desire.' Kama is the root of all miseries and sufferings, and hence it is called *Māra=Mṛtyu* 'death'. Therefore in order to attain to *amṛta* 'immortality' which is the same as *nirvāṇa* one must overcome it. But how can it be done? There are various means suggested and adopted in Buddhist and non-Buddhist systems alike.* But the Vajrayānists found out quite a new course when they boldly asserted, perhaps seeing the weakness of ordinary people, that it is not by avoiding the objects of desire, but rather by enjoying them, that desire can be removed. Bondage is due to desire, no doubt, but it is desire itself that leads to emancipation. † Just as one takes out water from the ear with water itself, or a thorn with a thorn itself, so the wise remove desire with desire itself. § They further say that no action, even though it may be of the worst kind, if done with a pure thought (*aduṣṭena manasā*) or with wisdom (*prajñayā*) brings about downfall; on the contrary, it leads one to success. For instance, poison when taken in accordance with proper method acts like life-giving ambrosia, but even good food, if taken improperly, acts like poison. The good or bad consequence of an action does not depend on the action itself, but on the pure or impure state of one's mind. For, if a man requests his father to go somewhere and the latter falls down and meets then and there with his death, the former cannot be charged with the crime of parricide. Nor can the attendant *bhikṣu* be held responsible for the sudden death of the Arhat suffering from some pain on the neck, at whose request he began to shampoo it. It is, therefore, owing to good or evil thought that there is good or evil consequence of an action. This is a doctrine which, in fact, is the same as found in the teachings of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavat-gītā*. But there is a great difference, for while in the *Bhagavat-gītā* the strict restraint of senses plays the most important part, it is totally discarded in Vajrayānism. The sensual indulgence of its followers helped in its growth and development by the misunderstanding of *śūnyatā* brought about the inevitable degeneration of Buddhism re-affirming the truth given expression to by Manu (II. 94)

> na jātu kamaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati |
> haviṣā kṛṣṇavartmeva bhūya evābhivardhate ||

'Desire is never extinguished by the enjoyment of the desired object, it only grows stronger like a fire with clarified butter.'

Of the degeneration of Buddhism as found in the Vajrayāna system, more than half a century back, wrote Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in his description of the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, in his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* in Nepal, 1882, p. 261:

"The professed object... devotion of the highest kind—absolute and unconditional, at the sacrifice of all worldly attachments, wishes and aspirations; but working it out theories are indulged and practices enjoined which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of, and compared to which the worst specimens of Holiwell Street literature of the last century would appear absolutely pure.... and among the practices enjoined which promote the attainment of perfection, debauchery of the most bestial character, not even excepting mothers, sisters, daughters, is reckoned as most essential." Readers may here be referred also to the extracts from a work called *Ekallavīracaṇḍamahāroṣana-tantra* given by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri in his DC.

The best manual of Vajrayānism is, as far as I know, the *Subhāṣītasaṃgraha* edited by C. Bendall in which both the works, PVS and JS under review specially the former are quoted. Besides the *Citttaviśudhiprakaraṇa** (JASB, 1898, No. 2, pp. 175 ff.), Pandit Haraprasad Shastri has given us a collection of some small Vajrayāna treatises in a volume called *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, GOS, XL, 1927. We are thankful to them as well as to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the worthy son of the latter, who has now presented us with the two books lying before us besides the *Sādhanamāla* already published from which much can be gathered about Vajrayanism. He gives us hope also for another work on the subject, *Guhyasamāja*, which is now under his editorship.

A mere glance at the *Catalogue du fond tibetain* of Cordier will show the vastness of Vajrayāna literature, and from Dr. P. Bagchi's note, *The Sandhābhāsā and Sandhāvacana* in the *Indian Historical Quaterly* just to hand (Vol. vi June, 1930, p. 889) containing an extract from the *Hevajratantra* it is clear that without knowing the contents of such Tantric works Vajrayanism can in no way be studied and understood thoroughly.† And it may be that we shall have to modify our views. It may be noted here that it is clearly said in JS, VII. 6 quoted below with the Tib. version that in the supreme reality the truth is not mentioned in the *Yogatantras* for the happiness of minds of the *yogins*.

Incidentally it may be suggested that Dr. P. Bagchi will do well if he undertakes a critical

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* See my paper *The Doctrines of Ātman and Anātman* read at the Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore, and partly published in *The Visvabharati Quarterly*, 1929.

† Rāgeṇa badhyate loko rāgeṇaiva vimucyate |

§ karṇaj jalaṃ jalenaiva kaṇṭakenaiva kaṇṭakam |
rāgeṇaiva tathā rāgam uddharanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

* This name is not found in the MS from which it was published, but it is ascertained from a quotation in SS, p. 37. The work is attributed to Āryadeva. There are two translations of it in Tibetan. In one it is called *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana* (Sems kyi sgrib pa rnam par sbyoṅ ba), and not *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*. And in another its name is *Cittaratnaśodhana* (*Sems rin po che sbyoṅ bar byed pa*), here the authorship being assigned to Indrabhūti. It was translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna. See Cordier, Part II, p. 136; Part III, p. 232. The fact that these two translations are of the same original work has been brought to my notice by my pupil, Mr. Prabhubhai Patel who has almost finished a critical edition of it together with the Tibetan text. It will be included in the *Viśvabharati Series* which will be started very soon.

† Cf. the passage beginning with *evaṃ mayā* in JS, p. 81, ll 7-12. This is found in several works such as *Herukatantra*, *Ekallavīracaṇḍamahāroṣana-tantra*, and *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, DC, pp. 64 131, 145.

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dition of the *Hevajratantra* of which he has sufficient materials. Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, at his hands.

While the students of Vajrayānism must remain thankful to Dr. Bhattacharyya for his bringing out the two books which give various important information with regard to both the good and bad aspects of the system, one may say that the edition leaves much to be desired. The texts edited by him are full of faulty readings, and as such though they may be used for general information, one should use them for critical purposes with much caution. For instance, let us examine only a few pages here and there.

But before doing so we should like to say a few words with regard to the materials Dr. Bhattacharyya had at his disposal. We wish he had given us a critical textual note on the MSS. on which the edition is based describing their mutual relationship. Of the six MSS. of PVS, in fact, there is only one MS., A, the rest being the copies, but from what original or originals they are made is not known. The editor says ; "As a rule the MSS are defective and full of mistakes." As regards the JS there is only one MS with two copies. Here, too, their relation is not stated. As shown above the materials of the editor were neither good nor sufficient. Consequently in the edition there are numerous defects the number of which could have been reduced at least in some cases, and some readings of the text could have also been consulted had he utilized the material to which he had an easy access; we mean the extract of the PVS given by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri in his DC, p. 110 ff., and the quotations from the PVS in the SS. He was also expected to make use of the *Advayavivaraṇa*, a ṭīkā by Ācārya Padma Vajra on the PVS. An extract of that work is given in the DC, p. 113, and a MS. of it is in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The same MS. (A) of PVS has been used by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri and Dr. Bhattacharyya, but in one case both of them have given different readings. The present edition of PVS, V, 25 (p. 23) reads:

कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधकः ।

But in DC, p. 112 we have :

कामयेत् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्यति साधकः ।

Dr. Bhattacharyya makes no mention of these variants, *viz. kāmayan* for *kāmayet* and *sidhyeta* for *sidhyati*. It shows that in either of the two places the true readings are not given.

The edition under review would have been far better if the Tibetan versions of the texts could have been compared as will be clear as we proceed. Let us now examine a few cases.

The Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi.

I. 3. For *bhāvasaṅkalpanātmakaḥ* one should read *bhāvaḥ saṅ-* partly agreeing with the MS. A and Tib. reading *dños kun tu rtog p'i bdag ñid can*.

I. 5 :

ताभ्यां च मरणोत्पादप्रभृत्यात्यन्तविस्तरम् ।
अजस्रं जायते दुःखमश्रद्धासक्तचेतसाम् ॥

In *b* undoubtedly it is *-prabhṛty atyanta-* for *-prabhṛty ātyanta-* which is a misprint. In *d* for *aśraddhā-* only one MS. E, reads *-sandha-*. But neither of them is the correct reading, it should be *asatyā-* as reads Tib. (*mi bden*).

I. 6 *c-d* :

प्रज्ञाहीनतया तावत् स्व [हितं] परहितं न च ।

Here *d* is metrically defective. According to Tib.:

bdag daṅ gshan phan ga la yod

it is *kutaḥ svaparayor hitam*.

I. 13 :

यथानयोः परित्यागे [संज्ञयो] यदवस्थितः ।
असंसारमनिर्वाणमधुना श्रूयतां बुधाः ।

Here the first half does not give any clear sense, nor are clearly copied the variants of [*saṃkṣaayo*] in (*b*) Tib. reads :

de gñis ji ltar yoṅs btaṅ ba
btaṅ nas gaṅ du gnas pa ni

Accordingly the reading of the first half would be :

yathānayoḥ parityāgas tyaktvā ca yadavasthitam.

I. 15 :

रञ्जत्यशेषदुःखौघानुत्थांस्तु दुःखहेतुतः ।

Here two MSS (DN) read *rakṣati* for *rañjati* in *a*. But how can the latter be properly construed ? Tib. supports *rakṣati*. The reading *duḥkhaughānutthāṃs tu* appears to be not a good one. We read in Tib :

ma lus sdug bsñal ragya mtsho daṅ ।
sdug bsñal las ḥdon* gaṅ yin pa ।
sñiṅ rje sems can la chags pas ।
ḥdod chogs śes† ni bya bar grags ॥

In Skt. it would give the first half as follows :

rakṣaty aśeṣaduḥkhābdhe rāgeṇa duḥkhahetuḥ.

According to it this is to be construed as *rāgeṇa aśeṣaduḥkhābdheḥ duḥkhahetutaś* [*ca*] *rakṣati*. In the second half there is no difference between Tib. and Skt. Taking, therefore, the Skt. text into consideration we should read here according to Tib.

rakṣaty aśeṣadyḥkhaughād rāgeṇa duḥkhahetuḥ ।

I. 16 :

उपानयत्यभिमतं यन्नौकेवानुकूलतः ।
सदानुकूलयोगेन सैवोपायः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

This stanza is quoted in SS, p. 32, and in DC, p. 113 with different readings of which only two may be shown here. In *a* they have *upanayati* for our *upānayati*. But the present edition does not mention it at all. For *b* SS has *yasmān naukevāśu phalaṃ tataḥ*, while DC reads *yasmān naukevānukūlaṃ yataḥ*. Evidently neither of them is right. Dr. Bhattacharyya's four MSS. out of six give us : *yalloke cū* [*py*] *anukūlataḥ*. Why has *api* been inserted here by the editor ? Certainly it is not required as shows the metre. The point to be discussed here is to

* Xylograph *ḥdan*.

† Xylograph *shes*.

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decide as to whether the reading here is with *naukā* or *loka*. Tib. with the four MSS supports the latter, for we read in it :

skye bo mṅon par ḥdod pa yi,
ḥbras bu gaṅ yin[0]

In Skt. it will be :

yallokābhimataṃ phalam ।

Evidently this is the best reading, specially supplying the object of the verb *upānayati*.

1. 17 :

उभयोर्मेलनं यच्च ।

This śloka is quoted in SS, p. 32, as well as in DC, p. 113. For *Ubhayor melanaṃ* three MSS. together with SS read *Ubhayonmīlanaṃ* which is not better. The question here is whether we should read here *melanaṃ* or *mīlanaṃ*. See pp. 76-77 of the present volume where we have not less than five times *mīlanaṃ* in the same sense as of *melanaṃ*. The roots √*mil* and √*mīl* have quite different meanings, yet specially in Buddhist works √*mīl* is frequently used for √*mil*. In a passage quoted from the *Hevajratantra* by Dr. P. Bagchi (IHQ, Vol. VI, No. 2, June, 1930, p. 391) there is *mīlana*. The same word in the same sense is used in the *Nyāyabindu-Ṭīkātippaṇī*, BB, pp. 21,22. In two verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre in two different works described in DC, pp. 153, 163, there is *mīlatu*. In the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* published recently in GOS, p. 73, the same word, *mīlana*, has been employed twice Therefore, the emendations *melana* in the three MSS and *milana* in DC, 113, seems to me to be uncalled for and unjustifiable. And in the present case we should read *ubhayor mīlanaṃ*.

1. 18 :

प्रक्षेप्तुं चापनेतुं च शक्यते यत्र नैव हि ।
प्रक्षेपाय च यदुक्तं धर्मतत्त्वं तदुच्यते ॥

This, too, is quoted in SS, p. 32, and in DC, p. 113, in the latter with more defective readings and a lacuna.

Here the readings in *c* cannot be accepted. Nor can we take that of the SS, though a better one : *prakṣepāya ca yat tyaktaṃ*. The actual reading is, however,

prakṣepāpanayatyaktaṃ.

It is supported partly by the MSS, CE and fully by Tib. reading :

bshag daṅ bsal ba spaṅspa ni ।

Cf. nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcit
prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiñcana ।
draṣṭavyaṃ bhūlāto bhūtaṃ
bhūlādarśī vimucyate ॥

—*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, GOS, p. 34 :
Caryācaryaviniścaya (= Āścaryacaryāccaya) in *Bauddha Gāna o Dohā*, p. 18.

II. 25 :

ईर्ष्यामात्सर्यमुत्सृज्य मानाहङ्कारमेव च ।
मायासाध्यं तथापास्य सम्बोधौ कृतनिश्चयैः ॥

What is *māyāsādhyaṃ* in *c* ? Read for it *māyā-śāṭhyaṃ* Tib. : *gyo daṅ sgyu daṅ ni*.

II. 26 :

सदा [परहित] स्यैव चर्य्यायाऽकम्प्यचेतसा ।
पर्युपास्यो जगन्नाथो गुरुः सर्वार्थसिद्धिदः ॥

Here for the suggested reading [*parahita*] the MSS of Dr. Bhattacharyya have *parucita-*, while two read *prarudita-*. The suggestion is unacceptable for *prarudita-* itself being the actual reading and it is supported by Tib. which translates, taking together the preceding word *sadā-*, *rtag tu ñu*, Skt. *Sadāprarudita*. Sadāprarudita is a Bodhisattva after whom the Chapter XXX of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* is named *Sadāpraruditaparivarta*. See also the following chapter.

The word *eva* in *a* should be *iva*, Tib. *bshin*, the line thus being

Sadāpraruditasyeva.

II. 34 : *a* **मानं [स्पर्धां] कपट-**
c **अग्राः प्राप्ताः सकलसुगताः यत्समासाद्य बोधिम् ।**
d **नूनं तत्तैर्जिनगुणपदं ।**

In *a* the variants of [*śpardhā*] suggested by the editor are as follows : BE *śrāddhaṃ*, D *sāthaṃ*, *śādhyaṃ*. Hence there is no justification for the emendation. One should read here *śāṭhyaṃ* with Tib. *gyo*.

In *e agrāḥ* should be *aarāṃ* and it is to be construed with *bodhiṃ*, according to Tib. which has *byaṅ mchog*.

In *d* for *-padaṃ* we have *nīdhiṃ* in two MSS but in accordance with Tib. (*gter*) it is *nidhiḥ*.

V. 13 :

कौकृत्यस्त्यानसिद्धं तु ।

What does the word *-sīddhaṃ* mean here? It must be *middhaṃ* 'sloth,' Tib. *gñid. Styāna-middha* (Pali *thīna-middha*) is well known. This śloka is quoted in DC, p. 111, with the correct reading, but the editor did not notice it.

V. 24 :

दुःशीलां परभागां च ।

When four MSS read *parabhāryāṃ* supported by Tib. *(chuṅ ma)* for *paramāgāṃ* the editor appears to have some reason for his choosing the second reading. But what does it mean? And what is his reason ?

V. 42 :

गोमयाधारयोगेन सूत्रं सन्धार्यते यथा ।
चित्तसूत्रं तथा धार्यं उपायाधारयोगतः ॥

What does the first half of the stanza mean ? One reading for the word *sūtra* in *b* is *mūtra*, which does not throw any light and as such is rightly rejected. The Tib. text reads for it *dri-chu* meaning *pārada*, 'quick silver,' and the sense of the verse becomes quite clear. But how to account for the reading *sūtram* ? Read here

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for it is a synonym for *pārada (Amara,* ... (gol). It is to be noted that the word *sūta* ... this sense is masculine, but here it is neuter. ... e. too, the actual reading is *cittasūtaṃ* (Tib. ... *kyi dhul chu*) and not *cittasūtraṃ*. The ... ka is quoted in SS, p. 42, with the reading ...

SS: *a* लाभालाभे[a]
b तुल्यमेव स्वचेतः।
c मुक्तैः सर्वैर्विकल्पैर्जगति सकरणं चर्यायाने च सक्तं
d युक्तं तेषां करस्थं सुगतपदमिति प्रोक्तवान् वज्रसत्त्वः॥

In what sense is here *caryayāne* used in *c*? ... śloka is quoted in SS, p. 43 (227) reading ...ryayā naiva for *caryayāne ca* in our text. In ... with the Tib. version quoted below one should ... here *caryayā naiva* as in SS. In the same ... read *muktaṃ* and not *muktaiḥ* as in the ...n. nor *tyaktaṃ*, though better, as in SS. The ... version runs :

chags pa med daṅ ḥgro la sñiṅ ni
brtse ba yi।
rnam par rtog pa thams cad las
grol spyod pa daṅ।
ldan pa de yi phyog na bde gśegs
go ḥphaṅ ni।
gnas pa yin shes rod rje sems dpaḥ
rab tu gsuṅs॥

...ordingly the construction is *caryayā yuktaṃ* ... *naiva saktaṃ.*

The Jñānasīddhi.

...e following facts among many others will ... that the edition of the JS, too, is in no way ...

I. 6 :

रूपयौवनसम्पत्तेर्भोगैश्वर्यबलस्य च।
जन्मगोत्रप्रवृत्तस्य न चित्ते मानमुद्वहेत्॥

...ere in *c* according to Tib. *(gtshor ḥgyur bhi)* ... correct reading is *-prabhutvasya* and not ...rtasya.

I. 8 :

गीलवान् श्रुतवान् वीरो [रूपा] द्यैरपि संयुतः।
[स्वमुक्तेः] परमुक्तेश्च नात्मानमुपलभ्यते॥

...a Tib. *dhīro* (*brtan*) for *vīro*. In *b* Tib. *dāna* ... for *rūpa* suggested by the editor. The ... reading in all the MSS *ronā-* as read by him ... to have been *donā* in the original script, and ...h inclines to indicate *dānā-*.

...e [*svamukteḥ*] *paramukteś ca* can hardly be ... Here is nothing of *mukti*. The reading ...n or *uktamyan* (printed not quite clearly in ...py) which is found in all the MSS, and from ... Dr. Bhattacharyya suggests to ...*svamukteḥ* shows one thing undoubtedly : that ...re have the use of *ukta* and not of *mukti*. ... Tib. version reads :

bśad daṅ gshan yaṅ ma bśad pas।
bdag tu dmigs par ma bya shig।

...e may be translated thus :

uktaiḥ param anuktaiś ca
nātmānam upalambhayet।

It means that one should not make oneself known or distinguished with (the good qualities) mentioned or not mentioned completely. For *uktaiḥ param anukhtaiś ca* cf. I. 10 *c* : *evam ādyair anekaiś ca*. Accordingly the verb *upalabhyate* as in the printed text is to be explained somehow or other in the sense of *upalambhayet*. Compare the verbs in the optative mood in the preceding and following verses.

1. 54 :

सर्वकामगणेषु च।

Here all the MSS have *-guṇeṣu* which is quite a correct reading (See p. 23, PVS, V. 27). Therefore there was absolutely no necessity of changing it to *-gaṇeṣu*.

II. 3 :

बुद्यत्वात्सर्वलोकस्य सर्वेऽपि त्रिभवेन तु।
सुखदुःखपिपासादि बाधा तस्य न युज्यते॥

What does *b* mean ? How can it be construed ? Two of the MSS read here *sarvotpatti-bhavena tu* which is for the actual reading :

sarvāpattir bhaven na tu

as is clear from Tib. :

phoṅs pa kun kyaṅ mi ḥgyur la॥

II. 39 ;

कायस्य नाशधर्मित्वात् ज्ञानं चापि विनश्यति।
अतो नैकत्रता युक्ता बुद्धानां ज्ञानकाययोः॥

Here in *c* there should be either *naikātmatā* or *naivaikatā* the latter being supported by Tib. :

de bas saṅs rgyas ye śes sku।
gcig par rigs pa ma yin no॥

Here in the second line the Xylograph of the Narthang edition has wrongly *ḥjig* for *gcig* and *rig* for *rigs*.

III. 10 :

चक्षुविज्ञान [माग] यत् तद् ज्ञानेन विकल्प्यते।

For the suggested reading *mārgaṃ* all the MSS have *-m āgamya*. But from the Tib. we have here *-m. iti* (*a* reading *cakṣurvijñānam iti yat*, Tib. mig gi rnam śes śes bya gaṅ. The Xylograph has *shes* for the second *śes*). And this seems to be the right reading.

III. 25 ;

रूपिणो नहि संयोगा अरूपेणैव सवथा।
यथाकाशेन संयोगात् न [घटस्योद्भवो भवेत्]॥

The second half with the suggested reading can hardly be explained. The Tib. version reads :

gzugs can yaṅ dag mi sbyor te।
gzugs med pa la rnam kun min।
dper na nam mkhḥa bum pa daṅ।
yaṅ dag sbyor ba mi ḥdod ltar॥

Accordingly we should read the second half as follows :

yathākāśena saṃyogo na ghaṭasyāsya
te mataḥ।

Here *ghaṭasyāsya te mataḥ* is fully supported by all the MSS. reading *ghaṭasyosyate yataḥ*, though

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defectively. It is to be noted that in Tib. the words *asya* and *te* are omitted.

III. 28 :

आकारज्ञानयोश्चैव अन्यत्वं तु तपोर्यदि ।
अन्योन्यकं मयोक्तं च कथं ज्ञानं भविष्यति ॥

For *anyonyakaṃ mayoktaṃ* Tib. would give *anyonyakanimittaṃ* reading *phin tshun ltas pa*,

III. 30 :

आकारेभ्यो यथान्यत्तु निराकारमतो भवेत् ।
तथा ज्ञानं निराकारं कथमेवं न कल्पते ॥

In *a* Tib. has *yad* (*gaṅ*) supported by *ato* in *b*. In *c* with all the MSS one should read *tada* for *tatha* suggested by the editor.

VI. 8 ;

भ्रष्ट [मार्ग] मूढ़ानां मिथ्यातत्त्वप्रभाविनाम् ।

Here in *a* the suggested reading [*mārgaga*] is entirely uncalled for. All the MSS have *bhrasta-mārgātimūḍhānāṃ*, and it is quite right. For *atimūḍha* the Tib. translator has *abhimūḍha* (*mṅon par rmoṅs*). For this variation see my remarks on VII, 6, below.

VII. 1:

सुखं द्वीन्द्रियजं केचित् तत्त्वमाहुर्नराधमाः ।
[तत्त्वं] महासुखं नैव प्रवदन्ति जिनोत्तमाः ॥

For *dvīndriyajam* Tib. has simply *indriyajaṃ* (*dbuṅ po ḥbyuṅ ba*). For the former see *IHQ*, Vol. VI, No 2, June, 1930, p. 391.

Considering the reading *taccāpi* in all the MSS. and Tib. *de ni* one may read here *tac ca* (or *tat tu*) and in no way *tattvaṃ* as emended by Dr. Bhattācharyya.

VII. 2 :

प्रतीत्योत्पादसम्भूतं न तत्त्वं जायते क्वचित् ।

Tib. reads *jñāyate* (*śes*) for *jāyate*.

VII. 6 :

योगभद्रेषु सर्वेषु वज्रसत्त्वेन देशितम् ।
योगिनां चित्तसौख्यार्थं न तत्त्वं परमार्थतः ॥

In Tib. we read :

rnal ḥbyor rgyud ni thams chad la ।
rdo rje sems dpas gsuṅs pa ni ।
rnal ḥ'byor pa sems bde ph'i phyir ।
don dam pa yi de ñid min ॥

In the Skt. text we should read *yogatantreṣu* (Tib. *rnal byor rgyud*) for *yogabhadreṣu*.

Incidentally it may be observed that the Skt. MS before the Tibetan translator was in the Bengali script ; for it is by this fact that we can account for the difference between the Skt. and Tib. versions with regard to the following three cases which have already been discussed : Skt. *atimūḍha*, Tib. *abhimūḍha* (VI. 8) : Skt. *jāyate*, Tib. *jñāyate* VII. 2) ; and Skt. *yogabhadreṣu*, Tib. *yogatantreṣu* VII, 6).

XI.

पञ्चामृतमविघ्नार्थं चित्तसंसाधनापरैः ।

For *-saṃsādhanāparaiḥ* Tib. has *saṃsādhanāya ca* (*yaṅ dag sbyoṅ phyir daṅ*) which is

XI. 8 :

कल्पनाजलपूर्णस्य संसारस्य महोदधेः ।
वज्रयानं समारुह्य को वा पारं गमिष्यति ॥

Evidently with the readings as we have it against the Vajrayāna, and as such it cannot accepted. The fact is that one must read *anāru* (*vajrayānaṃ anāruhya*) for *samāruhya* in *c*. the inconsistency will at once be removed. Tib. version fully supports *anāruhya* (*ma shon* literally meaning *anārūḍha*).

This śloka seems to have been literally tak by the author from a small treatise, *Mahāyā vimśaka*, 20, attributed to Nāgārjuna, only one variation that while in our t we have in *c* *vajrayāna*, in the *Mah nvimśaka* we read *mahāyāna* as it deals wi Mahāyānism. Here, too, the Tib. reading *anārūḍha* (mi shon pa). See *The Eastern Budd* Vol. IV., No. 1, p. 71, and the present writ studies in the work in the *Visvabhārati Quarte* Vol. VII., No. 4.

XV. 5 and thefollowing prose lines : P. 75.

अनादिनिधनं शान्तं भावाभावाद्वयं विभुम् ।

Here for *akṣayaṃ* in *-bhāvākṣayaṃ* there m be *-kṣayaṃ*. And the case is the same on following page (l. 3). The sense of the demands that change and it is supported by reading in the first place *rnam per spaṅs* -vivarjitaṃ : *bhāvābhāvavivarjitaṃ*), and in second *-zad pa* (*-kṣaya*).

Between *vyāpitvam* and *avikāritvaṃ* (p. 75, l. *arūpitvaṃ* (Tib. *gzugs can med pa ñid* must be inserted. Similary between the words *anyonya-* and *-vyāpaka-* (p. 76. l. 11) should have been *-vyāpya-* (Tib. *khyab byaḥ*). *anyonyavyāpyavyāpaka-*, p. 81. l. 13.

P. 76, ll. 5-6. In *sarvatathāgatajñānapar naṃ* one of the MSS omits *-parijñānam*. But after *sarvatathāgata-* has literally *paripūrṇaṃ* (=*parijñānaṃ*) reading *yoṅs su rdzogs śes pa*.

For *vā* (p. 76, l. 6) read *ca* as required supported by Tib. (*daṅ*).

On the same page ll. 8-9, read *-upaśo* (Tib. *yo byod*) for *-upadhānaiḥ*, and *pa rayiṣyāmi* (Tib. *phan gdags*. lit. *upakariṣ* for *parivārayiṣyāmi*.

P. 76. l. 14. For *evaṃ* Tib. *ayam eva ltar*). What does *abhiprāpayati* mean h The fact is that it is *abhiprāya iti* as clear from Tib. reading *dgoṅs pa*.

As I have already taken too much space of journal I must stop here. I should, however, like to observe in conclusion that the main object the last part of this review discussing the readi was to show the importance of Tibetan stu with regard to Buddhism, and I hope to done so to some extent by what I have been to write on the point.

* The Xylograph has *mkhan*.

† The Xylograph reads *ba* for *bya*.

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The Library System of Baroda

By NEWTON MOHUN DUTT, F.L.A.,

HIS Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, who early in his reign determined to grant to his people the boon of free and compulsory education, did not take long to discover that the results of his efforts for the uplift of his people by no means came up to his expectations. There was a leak in the enlightened ruler discovered that the best means of stopping this leak was the introduction of the free public library into Baroda.

Country Libraries

These libraries are run on the principle of co-operation between the Government, the



A Town Library.

magnificent reservoir which he had built for storing the living waters of culture; a large number of those who passed through the elementary schools, eventually lapsed into illiteracy. It was in 1907 and 1910 in the course of two visits to the United States that this

Prant Panchayat and the people. When a community has succeeded in collecting Rs. 100, Rs. 300, or Rs. 700—the sum depending on whether it is a village, an ordinary town or the chief town of the district—a similar sum is granted by the Library Department,

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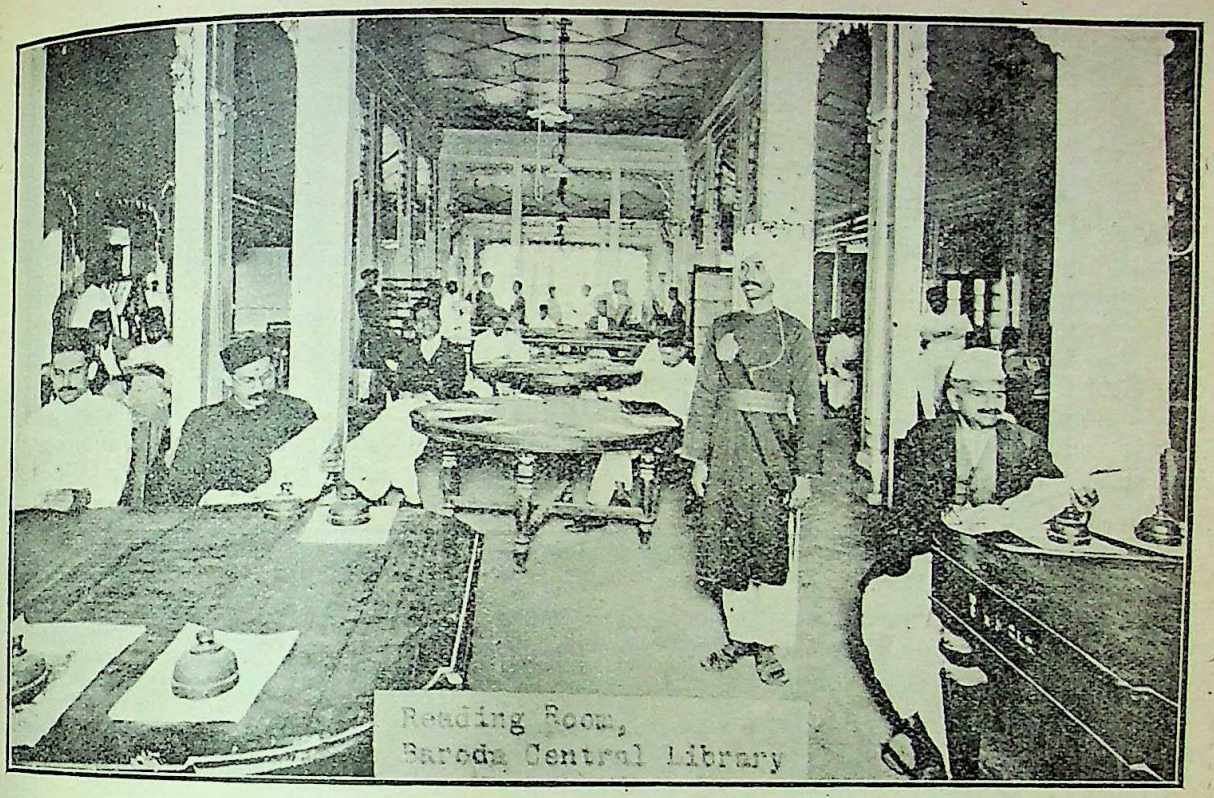
A Village Library

and a like sum by the Prant Panchayat (District Board). In some cases the Municipality or the village board comes forward with contributions. If a library building is called for, the people have to find only one-third of the cost, the remaining amount being defrayed in equal quotas by the Government and the District Board. Finally, to provide the nucleus for a new library, the local committee may purchase for Rs. 25 a collection of good Gujarati books worth Rs. 100, the rest of the money being defrayed by the State.

The people of Baroda have not been slow in taking advantage of these liberal facilities for self-culture. Up to now all the 45 towns of the Raj and no less than 698 of the villages have been provided with free libraries. There are also 194 newspaper reading rooms. The statistics for the year 1929-30 have not yet been collected, but during the previous year these institutions could boast an aggregate stock of 494,654 books and a circulation of 307,350 volumes amongst 60,789 readers. 103 library buildings have also been erected. Rules are laid down for the proper management of these libraries, which are controlled by local committees elected by the local subscribers. To these committees a large amount of autonomy is granted. Libraries are visited, not only by the educational inspectors of the State, but also by the Assistant Curator of Libraries, who collects groups of library workers at convenient centres to give course of training in library management and to discuss with them practical library problems. Twelve of the forty talukas into which Baroda is divided have established local committees to co-ordinate local efforts and carry on library propaganda. Five annual conferences of librarians have been held, and a standing committee of the conference is in permanent session at headquarters. Further, the associated libraries

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The Reading Room of the Central Library

have established a co-operative society for the wholesale purchase of books, periodicals and supplies. It is receiving wide support from the libraries of the State as well as from many outside its limits. This society runs the *Pustakalaya*, a monthly library journal in Gujarati, and has published a model classified and priced catalogue of the 8,000 best books in Gujarati language. Another useful work which is in course of publication is an annotated and descriptive list of the best Gujarati novels, which is being produced with the aid of local scholars.

Travelling Libraries

The work of the aided libraries is controlled and guided by the Library Department of the State, which has also instituted a Travelling Library Section. A travelling library is a box holding from fifteen to twenty books and is made strong enough to withstand hard wear. These boxes are dispatched free of charge to any library, school factory or mill, or even to private persons willing to act as honorary librarians. From these centres the books are lent out free of charge. The section now has over 400 boxes and over 18,000 volumes. Last year 15,766 volumes were circulated in 179 centres.

Exhibitions

The Library Department is frequently called on to fit up library stalls, as well as to organize separate library exhibitions not only in Baroda but also in other parts of India. During the visit to the Library of H E. Lord Irwin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to Baroda last January, such an exhibition was organized in Baroda, while another one was made in Pattan last March on the occasion of the library conference in that city and in Navsari at an agricultural exhibition.

Library Training

The Library Department has had the privilege of giving library training to several library aspirants, and librarians in Mysore, Dewas, Bhavnagar and elsewhere are amongst the young men who have served a short apprenticeship in Baroda. The last person to undergo this training is Mr. Agarwala, of the Nalanda College, who at the request of the curator has promised to compile a text-book of library economy in Hindi.

Visual Instruction

For many years past the Library Department has been giving visual instruction in

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the form of lectures illustrated by magic lantern and cinema.

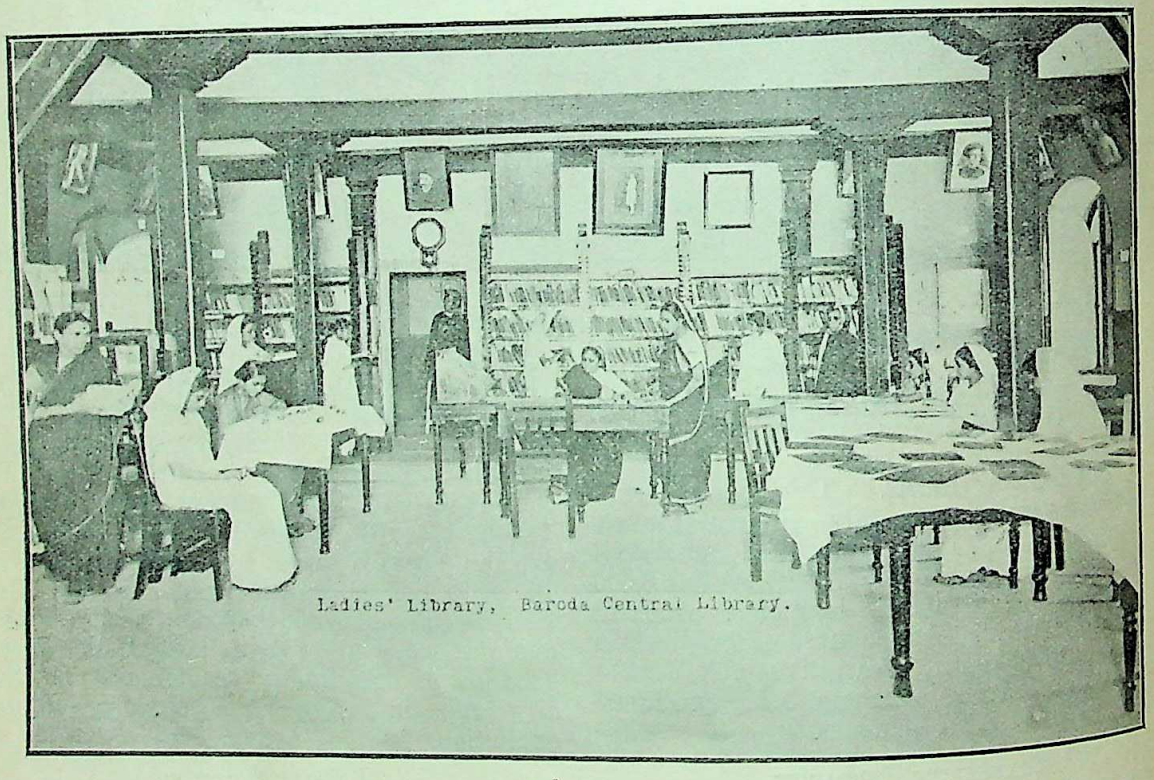
Central Library, Baroda

The Central Library, Baroda, comprises the following sections:—newspaper room, lending, reference and ladies' libraries, children's playroom and library, bindery and general office. The library is run on the open access system; most of the stock being accessible to the readers. It is impossible to underestimate the educational and cultural value of permitting the patrons of the library freely to "browse" along the shelves, and to make their own selection after actual handling of the stock.

114,713 volumes have been circulated amongst its 4,523 readers. Nearly 28,000 of the circulation consists of English books. These figures are significant when we consider that the city contains less than 35,000 literates of which 6,000 alone know English.

Ladies' and Children's Rooms

The Mahila or Ladies' Room is very well patronized and is freely supplied not only with books but also with newspapers and periodicals. Perhaps the most interesting section of the Library is the Children's Playroom and Library, which consists of a large and airy hall, well furnished and decorated and provided with English and



Ladies' Library, Baroda Central Library.

The Ladies' Library, Baroda

Newspaper Room

The newspaper room is open for twelve hours daily throughout the year and keeps about 300 periodicals.

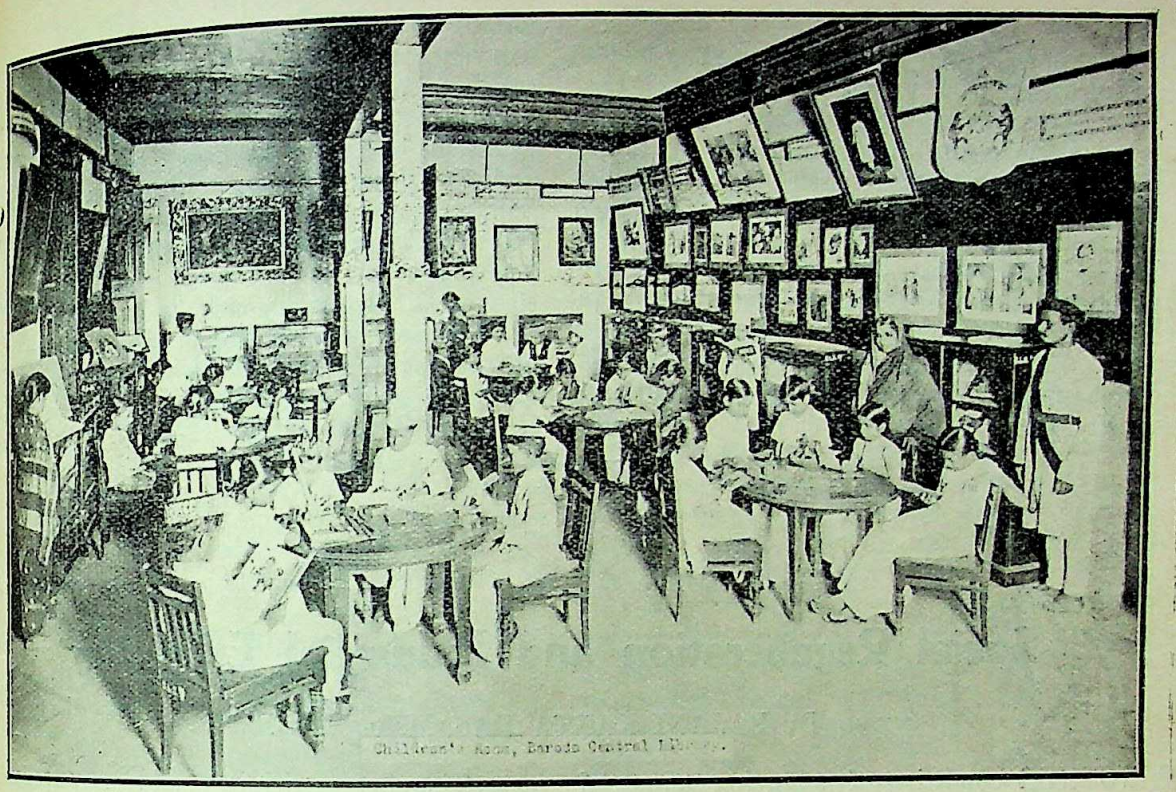
Stock and Circulation

The Central Library has now nearly 94,000 volumes, apart from the 18,000 volumes in the Travelling Library Section. One-half of the stock consists of English books. During the past year no less than

vernacular books and papers, as well as with a variety of indoor games, amusements and occupations, such as draughts, jigsaw puzzles, mosaic work, designing mecchano, etc. Here will be found reading suitable for any age, from alphabet books and rag books to fairy tales and stories. As the child grows older it is granted access to the juvenile section of the main library with its stock of 3,000 English books, through which it "graduates" till it eventually finds itself at home in the adult collection.

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The Children's Library, Baroda

Reference Library

The reference collection is very complete, efforts being made to acquire all the most valuable dictionaries, encyclopædias and other works of reference, as well as runs of important magazines. Magazines indeed form the only up-to-date cyclopædias and as a key to them the library keeps such useful indexes as the Library Association's *Subject Index to Periodicals*, and H. W. Wilson's *Readers' Guide to Periodicals* and *International Index*. The curator has induced the Library Association to include in the *Subject Index* some Indian journals, and has himself undertaken to index for that annual the *Modern Review*, the *Calcutta Review* and *Rupam*. Failing such aids to research, the task of making use of such periodicals for reference work is almost a hopeless one.

Information Bureau

The reference library acts as a kind of general information bureau, and every effort is made to deal with the numerous and sometimes bewildering enquiries received both from visitors and also correspondents. Such work is of course part of the normal functions of a public library in the West, but in India this work is very much restricted, partly because the institutions are not well supplied with books of reference, and also for want of training on the part of the library staff.

Library Building

The question of providing sufficient space for the activities of the Library Department has been before the Government for some years. The present plan is the relegation of most of the book stock to a separate stack room erected behind the main building and attached thereto. This building which is practically complete, is 85 feet long and 34½ feet wide. It is to be fitted with four tiers of steel shelving and will accommodate over 130,000 volumes. The first and the third tiers are reserved for the stock of the open access lending and reference libraries, while the intermediate tiers are intended for the spare stock.

Cost of the Scheme

The reader may be interested to know the cost of this plan for popular education and self-culture. The expenditure for the year 1929-30 is therefore given :

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	Rs.
Upkeep of the Central Library, Baroda	56,000
Contributions to aided libraries :	
Government contribution	33,000
Panchayats' contribution	32,000
People's contribution	34,000
Total Rs.	155,000

The Government has no hesitation in shouldering this burden, for it is fully in agreement with the dictum of Sir Walter Besant: "The public library is an adult school, a perpetual and lifelong continuation class, and the librarian is the reader's most important teacher and guide." H. E. the Dewan of Baroda recently stated that when on tour he examines the boys and girls who have left school to ascertain the extent of lapse into illiteracy amongst them, and he invariably finds how negligible this is in a village with a library. The library authorities have therefore been enjoined to endeavour to plant a library in every village which possesses a primary school.

Further information about the working of the system will be found in *Baroda and its Libraries*, published by the Central Library, Baroda, at Rs. 2-4.

Social Regeneration and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

ANOTHER condition of achieving industrial efficiency is social regeneration. Industrial efficiency is, in fact, the scientific organization by a nation of all its social forces including traditions or institutions, for the satisfaction of its material wants; and the more vigorous these forces are, the more efficient industrially a nation is likely to be. For centuries, social life in India has lost its vitality. Like an individual, a society survives by adaptation. It was the inability to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the world which has been one of the essential causes of India's social decadence and consequently of industrial stagnation. The development of India's industrial efficiency depends to a large extent upon her social revival.

1. Philosophical Attitude.

The most important means of regenerating Indian society is the reconstruction of a new social attitude or philosophy of life. With the progress of science and art and the gradual control by men of natural and social forces, the world has been undergoing rapid changes not only in the material aspect but also in ethical and spiritual ideals. The handicraft has been replaced by the factory system, individual enterprise by joint-stock companies, national economy by international economy, status by contract, mysticism by positivism, and universalism by pragmatism. To live and succeed in the present world of foreign aggression and international competition one of the essential things is to create a new attitude towards life and its envirnment.

The first point to emphasize in this new social attitude is that the golden age was not in the past but that it is to be in the future. It is a common belief among the masses that the days of truth, justice and happiness are gone for ever. Both the mythological conception and the glorious past of Hindu civilization and its subsequent domination by foreign nations are mostly responsible for such an attitude. What is needed is the development of a new consciousness that in spite of its downfall. India still possesses potentialities to become a great nation, and that it is the duty of all social members to work towards that goal.

Another point to inculcate is that the object of life is not to be happy in a world to come, but to achieve a richer and fuller self-expression here on earth. One of the greatest faculties of man is to project into the future an ideal of life from the past and present experience. Rightly utilized, it can become one of the greatest sources of individual happiness and of social progress. But it becomes a national curse when it discourages the making of the fullest use of the present

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opportunities and the turning of the failures into success with the vain hope that there might be compensation or retribution for all the present sufferings in a future life. This is one of the causes of India's downfall and the time has come when the importance of making the best use of the present opportunities must be realized.

The superiority of human intelligence over the blind forces of nature is still another point which must be inculcated in the new social attitude. The importance of this element lies in the fact that the activities of the masses are still controlled by the fatalistic conception of life. Some of the cardinal points in this social attitude or philosophy of life should be that, first, the destiny of man is not influenced by some mysterious and supernatural power but by physical and social laws; second, although the laws of nature are inevitable and inalienable they can be controlled and directed by human intelligence and can be utilized for human purposes; third, poverty, ignorance and misery are not necessary parts of the eternal order of things, but the results of defective social organizations which can be remedied by deliberate social efforts.

The importance of industrial success as an object in life must also be emphasized. Over-emphasis upon the spiritual aspects of life and formulation of ethical ideals in India at a time when the standard of life was simple and industrial competition was practically unknown account for the lack of appreciation for an industrial career. But in these days of over-population, unemployment, competition and rising standards, it has become essentially necessary to realize that industrial success is not only a means to the satisfaction of material wants but also to self-development and self-realization.

2. Individual Character

This orientation of philosophical or social attitude must be accompanied by the upbuilding of individual character. Although the elements of character, such as instinct and impulse are inborn, character itself is mostly a social product and can be modified in accordance with the social purpose. The importance of this remark becomes evident by the analysis of the changes in the national character of the people within the first quarter of the present century.

For the purpose of developing a new character, the first thing necessary is to formulate a new national ideal based on national requirements. This ideal must include, among the requirements, self-help and self-reliance, determination and perseverance, forethought and thriftiness and similar other qualities which are essential for industrial success. An essential quality required for industrial efficiency in modern times is the spirit of corporate activities. Handicraft was an individual enterprise in which the individual devoted all his time, from the beginning to the end, to the same article. This individual work has been replaced by division of labour and one can take part only in a small fraction of the work required for finishing an article. This change in industrial technique requires special emphasis on corporate activity. The glory of a good piece of work does not belong to an individual but to a group.

The propagation of this national ideal among the people itself will be a great step towards the upbuilding of a new national character. Once the ideal becomes a part of the social consciousness, all institutions will become means of incorporating the essential qualities required by modern industrial society into individual character. Nurseries and playgrounds, schools and colleges, fields and factories, households and social clubs will supply ample opportunities for engraving these qualities on the character of the rising generations.

The best means of upbuilding a new character is, however, the educational system. The importance of this fact has been realized from the beginning of class-consciousness in human history. One could point to many examples of the control of education by conquering races and dominating classes. Since the beginning of the conquest the British have controlled the educational policy of India and even today one of the main struggles between the Government and the people relates to the question of the control of national education. For developing industrial efficiency, India must also control her educational policy.

Politics can scarcely be separated from economics in these days of international competition and new mercantilism. This is especially true of the relations of England and India which are essentially economic. In fact, some of the qualities leading to self-government are also necessary for industrial prosperity. But the greatest problem of India is that of solving the question of the abject

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poverty of her masses and even self-government itself is partly a means to that end. While the necessity of self-government should not be minimized, emphasis must be laid upon achieving those qualities in individual character which are essential for economic success. Even after the achievement of Swaraj, India's most important problem will still remain unsolved unless the nation is awakened to the necessity of developing national character for industrial success.

3. Public Morality.

Equally important is public morality. Indian religions developed lofty spiritual ideals and high ethical standards. But owing to the relative emphasis which they put on the relation between man and God instead of man and man, public morality did not get the same impetus to growth as private morality. Moreover, most of the ethical ideals in India were standardized centuries ago, when society had not reached a high stage of development. The result is that public morality lags behind social development and it is quite inadequate for the solidarity and progress of modern society, when social intercourse has become diversified and complex.

The diversity of race, creed and language in the country itself is a great hindrance, but custom and prejudice which have crept into the existing religions, invasions and conquests to which the people have been subjected, and the aims and ideals of foreign culture, with which they have been brought into contact, have also undermined the old standard of morality, while no new standards have yet been established to take their place.

The deleterious effect of the retarded growth of the new standard of public morality in India is too obvious to need any elaborate discussion. Jealousy and litigation, provincialism and sectionalism, clannishness and communalism and cliques and intrigues run rampant all over the country, thus hindering not only social solidarity, but also economic prosperity. Industrial development in modern times depends largely upon corporate activities and without mutual confidence and co-operation no industrial success is possible. Only a new social idealism backed by a new national awakening and an enlightened public opinion can regenerate the national life with moral courage and public spirit and with the sense of duty and responsibility.

4. Business Honesty.

Closely connected with public morality is the question of business honesty. The tendency to dishonesty in commercial relations is not stronger in India than in other countries. Short weights and measures, adulteration and falsification, petty higgling and cut-throat competition, secret agreements and underhand dealings are phenomena well known all over the industrial world. They have been kept in check only by intelligent public opinion, vigilant State regulation, and enlightened self-interest. It is through these agencies that sound business principles and commercial codes can be developed in India.

That public opinion cannot be very strong nor intelligent in a country where nine-tenths of the people cannot read or write is easily conceivable. But agitation is also a means of education among the masses and a great deal can be achieved even in India. All that is needed is to have the ideal of business honesty well impressed on the mind of a small group of men who can devote themselves to the cause. The improvement in social justice including the gradual rise in the age of marriage and similar other social reforms within the past two generations is the result of the agitation by a small band of workers of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. Still greater and quicker results have been achieved in political fields. Although the ideals of liberty and reform appeal more to the imagination and are thus easily propagated, commercial ethics have also their strong points. They relate to the material interest of the majority of the people and are thus becoming more important with the increasing unemployment, hard struggle and rising cost of living.

A still greater work in raising business honesty depends upon the State, which in modern times is responsible for carrying out a larger part of social will for social welfare. The enforcement of the law by organizing inspection and supervision is of course the primary duty of Government. But the more constructive work is the development by Government of a body of law for carrying on business activities in such a way as there are left few loopholes for the infringement of business honesty. The regulation of joint-stock companies, banking enterprises, patents, trade marks, copyrights and manufacturing processes is

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one of the important functions of all modern governments.

The most important factor in elevating business honesty is, however, self-interest. That malpractices do not lead to business success is well understood by all business men as soon as the question is raised in their mind; nor is bargaining or higgling profitable in modern business transactions. One of the reasons why some of the malpractices still exist in India is the fact that most of the customers in India are men instead of women as in most of the Western countries, and it is a well known fact that as customers women are more intelligent and more apt to get their money's worth than men. The success of a business depends upon a steady and permanent market and nothing is a greater asset to a business than good will or public confidence in its business transactions. Honesty has been, and will always be, the best policy to business success.

5. Social Equality

This philosophic orientation or the development of a new social attitude towards life and public morality should be accompanied by the reform of social institutions. All artificial distinctions based on caste, creed and sex must be abolished and society must be organized with a view to giving every man and woman an opportunity to develop what is the best and noblest in him or her so that the combined experience of the social self might be in proportion to the social population. Under the artificial barriers, some of which fall into political and economic fields, an insignificant fraction of India's vast humanity is brought into expression, while by far the largest part of the national self remains dormant or suppressed, and it is the lack of opportunity for self-expression which is one of the fundamental causes of India's social decadence, political subjugation and economic degradation. The first question in bringing about social equality is the abolition of the caste system. Although a strong fight against it was started by the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj long ago, it was not until Mahatma Gandhi took the field against untouchability that a nation-wide movement was started to cope with the situation. The awakening of the non-Brahmin and the so-called untouchable is the greatest step in that direction. It is only self-assertion and concerted action on the part of the suffering classes themselves that can lead to the final victory. Every member of the social population must have equal opportunity to develop his or her inner capacity so that society can express itself to its fullest extent.

The movement for the abolition of the *purdah*, *i. e.*, the seclusion of women, was started several decades ago, but it was not until recently that it assumed a national character. Political agitation, industrial unrest, social reforms, educational facility and political enfranchisement, and above all, the legislative power achieved since 1921, have awakened Indian women to a new consciousness of their potential power and future possibilities, and they themselves have taken the field with the cry of "down with the *purdah*" in order to gain their own rights and privileges. The bringing to the front of one half of the social population for self-expression and self-realization will not only make the social life of India fuller and richer but will also help in gaining industrial efficiency.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act recently passed is another great mile-stone in the social progress of India. As in the case of caste and the zenana, the Brahmo Samaj also started a movement against child marriage over two generations ago. They even succeeded in having passed Act III of 1872, which also fixed the minimum age of marriage for boys and girls at 18 and 14 respectively. But by making the new act applicable to all sects of the country, it has achieved quite a new significance. Though the marriage age of boys and girls has been fixed at 18 and 14 respectively, there is no doubt this will be only the minima. It will give boys and girls an opportunity to develop their individuality by better development of the body and mind, and to become more efficient members of society in all its aspects, social, political and industrial.

With her childhood freed from the marriage bond and womanhood freed from the seclusion of the zenana, and with educational facilities, economic opportunities, political rights Indian woman thus become a new social force in the national life of India. A new philosophy of life, regenerated public morality and business honesty, and democratized social institutions, in which all social population irrespective of caste, creed and sex, may have opportunity for self-development, will lay down the foundation of a solid and efficient social organization, of which industrial efficiency is only a partial expression.

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Wanted a National Board of Industrial Efficiency in India

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

THE most important question in achieving industrial efficiency is, how to create a new national consciousness as to its necessity and to devise means for its realization. There exist in the country several organizations, such as research institutes, experimental stations, employers' associations, trade unions and welfare societies, which are striving in their own spheres of activity for social and industrial welfare. But as far as the industrial efficiency of the nation as a whole is concerned these organizations are quite inadequate to cope with the task, and at best their efforts are only indirect and secondary and the effects of their endeavours are therefore insignificant. What India needs is a national organization to mobilize all the social, political and industrial forces of the country so that she might be industrially efficient to utilize, to the fullest extent, all her natural, human and capital resources for the wealth and welfare of her people. For the lack of a better name, such an organization might be called the National Board of Industrial Efficiency, or, in short, Board of Efficiency.

The most important function of the Board will be the creation of a new social consciousness and development of a new national policy for achieving industrial efficiency. Although the ultimate object of the Board will be to make India prosperous, its immediate and primary object will be to make India industrially efficient, *i.e.*, to develop her productive capacity. This object will be realized mostly through research and education.

The principal work of the Board will, of course, be research into the methods of achieving industrial efficiency. The chief items of research will be the following : first, a general survey of improvement in industrial technique, including both machinery and organization, in various industrially advanced countries, and of the possibility of their application to India ; second, a general study of the industrial organization of the country in the light of modern science and art, including discoveries and inventions, and the formulation of a general programme for achieving efficiency ; third, a critical study of the national industries, such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacture including arts and crafts, transport, banking and commerce, as compared with similar industries in various advanced countries and of the methods of their improvement; fourth, a detailed study of a few typical industrial establishments in each industry, such as cotton mills, coal mines, tea gardens and farms, as compared with similar establishments in the most advanced countries, and of the methods of their betterment; fifth, a critical analysis of the causes of the present wastage in natural, human and capital resources and of remedial measures; sixth, a study in the improvement of social, political and industrial institutions for the growth of industrial efficiency.

The second important task of the Board will be education. Inasmuch as education will be the only means at the disposal of the Board for carrying out its object, it must be comprehensively and effectively organized. The main purpose of the educational work will be the propagation of the results of its research among the general public as well as among those directly concerned in the results obtained. This will deal with both general and technical aspects. Efforts must also be made to approach those who are especially in a position to give effect to the proposed remedial measures.

The research work will be carried out by a body of scientists and experts to be employed by the Board. The work must necessarily be divided into sections either according to the science involved, such as chemistry and botany, or according to the industry concerned, such as agriculture and manufacture. Each section must outline its own scheme. The first object of the research organization must be to collaborate with other research institutions in the country and consolidate and utilize their results. The most important work of the Board will, however, be to undertake many new lines of research hitherto untouched by the existing institutions in India. Another important line of the work of the Board will be to send students to study abroad some definite and special subjects of either scientific or technical nature. The Board must have also its organs for giving publicity to the results of its research.

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That the work of the Board cannot be relegated to any other existing organization is evident from the nature of the work it is called upon to undertake. Some of the most important institutions, the work of which is more or less similar to that of the Board, are the newly created Agricultural Research Council and the Forest Research Institute and similar other agricultural and industrial research organizations. There is, however, some essential difference between the objects of these institutions and that of the Board. In the first place, the former are concerned with finding some scientific truth or technical information in relation to a particular industry, while the latter intends to incorporate this truth or information into the productive capacity of the people. In some respects this work of the Board may be only supplementary. In the second place, the work of these institutions relates only to special aspects of industry and is, therefore, more or less analytical, while the main object of the Board will be to co-ordinate elements of industrial efficiency into national character and is, therefore, more or less synthetical. In the third place, the number and the scope of the existing institutions for industrial research are at present very much limited in India. One of the objects of the Board will be to start new research institutions and to enlarge the scope of the existing ones.

The Board must be a semi-public organization. This will help it to have the co-operation of all the public and semi-public institutions for research and propaganda on the one hand and to remain independent of Government control and interference on the other. The independence of the Board is absolutely necessary if it is to enjoy full public confidence in the impartiality and scientific nature of its work.

The work of the Board will be guided by a national organization, which might be called the National Council of Industrial Efficiency and which should consist of three classes of representatives, namely :—first, all industrial interests, such as agriculture, forestry, mining, manufacture, including arts and crafts, transport, banking and commerce; second, national organizations of importance, the scope of which directly or indirectly includes work leading to national industrial efficiency, such as trade unions, welfare organizations, medical associations, scientific associations, and economic associations; third, well-known and distinguished scientists and administrators. The National Council will meet twice a year in an executive capacity to outline and sanction the work of the Board and keep control over the finance.

The Board should consist of a director and a deputy-director and the heads of the sections into which the work of research and education may be divided. Both the director and deputy-director must be selected from the distinguished engineers and economists of the country. The heads of the sections should be selected from the prominent scientists and experts of the country. The staff should be indigenous as far as possible, inviting foreigners only in the case of absolute necessity and then only for a definite period of time.

The national character of the Board will help in creating national interest in its work, which is of vital importance to the nation as a whole. The indigenous character of the staff will not only make the work cheaper but will also facilitate the popularization of the work in the country, and the creation of a scientific attitude towards life among the people.

The Board must be situated in some great educational and industrial centre, such as Bombay or Calcutta, where are located most of the large-scale industries of the country. It will facilitate both scientific and industrial research. The central organization will have branches in different provinces according to necessity and convenience.

The work of the Board should be financed by Government as that of any other educational and research institutes in the country. Both the Central and Provincial Legislature should see that the work is supported by Government. The appointment of men of high qualifications may be somewhat costly, but if the quality of the work is maintained at a very high level and opportunities are offered for research work, men of science might be attracted to the Board from the spirit of scientific research and out of the love of honour and privilege of serving the country in their highest capacity.*

* This concludes the series of studies contributed by Dr. Rajanikanta Das to *The Modern Review* on the industrial efficiency of India. They form part of his large work on the Industrial Efficiency of India, soon to be published by Messrs. P. S. King & Son Ltd. of London.—Ed. *M. R.*

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Resolution *Re* Outbreak of Lawlessness at Dacca

[Reprinted from the Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates, 16th July, 1930.]

MR. PRESIDENT : The first Resolution on the agenda was ballotted in the name of Mr. B. Das, but I think he has authorized Mr. Neogy to move that Resolution. So I call upon him to move it.

MR. K. C. NEOGY (Dacca Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural). Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood."

I must, first of all, thank my Honourable friend Mr. Das for permitting me to move this Resolution, which affects me and my constituency very vitally. I think I should also thank the ballot box, inanimate as it is, for having displayed a lively appreciation of the importance of this question and for having placed it at the top of the ballot list on two successive days. Sir, since I came to Simla this time, if there is one slogan with which the roof of this House, if not the sky of Simla, has been reverberating, it is this : "Govern or abdicate." I quite agree that the Government must govern and, indeed, Sir, if I am here to-day and if all of us are here to-day, it is for the purpose of helping the King's Government to be carried on according to the constitution. (Hear, hear.) But I must ask in all humility whether it is not a fact that the King's Government abdicated in favour of the hooligans for several days and several nights in the unhappy city of my birth. Sir, before proceeding further, I should like to produce before this House the testimony of an octogenarian citizen of Dacca. He is a leading gentleman of the city and his name is familiar to every Bengalee—I mean Babu Ananda Chandra Roy, a leader of the old generation. From his sick-bed this gentleman addressed the following letter to one of the Members of the Executive Council of the Government of Bengal. He says :

"For an old man who saw the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 it is unbelievable that under British rule there could be such horrors as looting and burning of houses and killing of men in broad day light in the town of Dacca, sometimes before the very eyes of Government officials and the Police, who did not care to stop them. I pray to you to place before His Excellency the case of Dacca, which was in the hands of the rowdies for several days and nights just as we read in history about the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. Kindly move to appoint a Commi'ee to make a sifting inquiry into the matter, as the popular belief is that Government has apparently allowed these things to be done for the sake of policy and one is helpless and cannot blame the people if they are driven to these conclusions by the force of circumstances."

What follows is pathetic :

"Being a moderate of the old school, I have still faith in British justice; so please let me die with the same faith. Let the Government take prompt action in this Dacca matter at an early date, and for God's sake do not drive these people who are yet loyal into the folds of the extremist agitators."

Then he continues :

"Only the other day I sent a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy along with Maharaja Tagore giving my wholehearted support for law and order, but I did not for a moment think at that time that I should be rudely shaken by the local authorities' behaviour in the present riot here at Dacca.

Sir, shortly after the news of the disturbances at Dacca percolated through the muffled wires, through the censored telegrams, to Calcutta, some leading citizens of Calcutta issued a long statement in which they summed up the situation. They pointed out that for one week, if not for more, all the courts of law were closed, and responsible judicial officers could not stir out of their houses. Most of the post offices in the city were closed and those that were open could only conduct their work with the help of a very small proportion of the staff. There was no regular delivery of the mails for all this time.

MR. H. A. SAMS (Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs) : The delivery of mails was discontinued for three days only.

MR. K. C. NEOGY : I am very much obliged to my Honourable friend for pointing out this to me, but even that ought to suffice for the purpose of establishing the seriousness of the situation. If for three days the mails could not be delivered, is not that fact serious enough ? But I maintain that, so far as the smaller post offices are concerned, they did not transact any business for very many days after that. My Honourable friend must be talking of the Head Post Office of Dacca, which delivered letters only through the window to people who could reach the post office by braving the murderers on the way. But what were the authorities doing ? I may here pause and say that I am going to disappoint my Honourable friend the Home Member if he expected that I was going to raise a communal issue on this occasion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG (Home Member) : I am very glad indeed to hear that assurance.

MR. K. C. NEOGY : Sir, about 60 Indian lives are believed to have been lost at Dacca. I am not going to say how many of them were Hindus and how many Muhammadans. That does not matter at all. Property worth half a crore has either been looted, burnt down, or otherwise destroyed. And yet what were the authorities doing ? The leaders in Calcutta to whom I have already referred, point out in their manifesto the amazing failure of the executive authorities to take adequate measures to cope with the situation.

"This seems," say they, "to present a strange contrast to the promptitude, vigour and display of force with which the movement of civil disobedience is being met by the authorities all over the country."

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Sir, I will now quote from another distinguished authority. I do not know whether my Honourable friend cares to read the Bengal newspapers. But I do hope that he does read the *Bengalee*, which is edited by my esteemed friend, Mr. Sarma. Now, what did Mr. Sarma himself in his editorial article say about the situation? I am quoting from my memory, but I hope my Honourable friend, will correct me if I am wrong. He said that the situation at Dacca had discredited the Government more than all the salt law breakers taken together. This is the testimony of a gentleman who considers the prestige of Government to be no less dear to him than his own.

Sir, may I now, in order to give the House an idea of the seriousness of the situation, give a few extracts from signed statements which I have got with me and which were made by witnesses who appeared before the Official Committee of Inquiry. These statements cannot be discredited by my Honourable friend, the Home Member, as not having stood the test of cross-examination. I have got with me many signed statements of witnesses who have come forward and given evidence before the official Committee of Inquiry which is sitting at the present moment at Dacca. I am going to cull just a few samples of the evidence which they gave before the Committee of Inquiry in connection with the Dacca inquiry. I have taken these statements at random. I will begin with one person, who lost about Rs. 10,000 worth of goods by reason of his shop being looted. He says:

"My shop is visible from the Nawabganj Police Station, and is very close to the Pilkhana Battalion, the headquarters of the Eastern Bengal Frontier Rifles. At the time of the incident, I ran to the Nawabganj Police Station and caught hold of the feet of the Havildar and entreated him to save my shop. The Havildar said: 'Go to the Congress and Gokul Babu and take Swaraj.' (*Cries* of Shame. Shame.) My shop was looted for eight hours, and in spite of entreaties, the Police did not come forward to save the shop. We know the names of many of these goondas, and know many by face, and we lodged information at the Thana. About a week after the Police came, but has not arrested anybody up to now."

(That is, during one month from incident.)

Sir, I will trouble the House with a few more extracts, and for this reason, thanks to the policy which the Honourable Member has initiated, the Press has been so thoroughly gagged, so thoroughly demoralized that the most important points are not being published in the newspapers today, although they make a pretence of reporting the proceedings of this Committee.

The next witness is another shopkeeper who lost goods worth Rs. 4,500:

"Four or five policemen were standing near the shop while it was being looted. I can identify the goondas. Police came 7 or 8 days after information. No arrest or house searches made."

Although one month has elapsed.

Then the owner of a medical stores says:

"Noticed from a distance 5 or 6 police constables sitting in a verandah on the public road opposite my shop. The shop was being looted. Police did not permit me to enter my shop, nor did they prevent goondas from looting and destroying property. Lodged information. No search, no arrest".

Then I come to another shopkeeper who lost goods worth Rs. 4,000:

"The shop was in flames. Seeing 5 or 7 policemen standing there, I attempted to bring out whatever articles remained in my shop, but the police prevented me by saying, "Go to Gokul Babu and take the Swaraj."

The next man is another shopkeeper who says:

"Two policemen passed by while shop was being looted. I asked them to save our property but they went away. The police station is two minutes' walk from my shop."

Another man says the following:

"The police station is only 5 or 7 minutes' walk from my shop. When my shop was attacked, I sent my brother through the back door for giving information to the police. The Havildar said to my brother, "Why have you come to inform the police? Go to the Congressmen." After much entreaties by my brother, the Havildar phoned to Lalbagh thana (possibly to a superior authority) and then told my brother, 'We have got no orders to go. You won't get any police."

Here also there has been no investigation, no searches, no arrest, though the names of goondas were given in the first information.

MR. PRESIDENT: Order, order. I have no intention of interrupting the Honourable Member, but I believe the Honourable Member knows that the discussion of a Resolution shall be strictly limited to the subject of the Resolution. I should like the Honourable Member to let me know how this disscussion is connected with his Resolution which asks Government to publish all correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal.

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Sir, I submit with very great respect that this procedure is a well-known Parliamentary method of raising a general debate on any point at issue, and it is partly for that reason that I framed it in this manner. Apart from that, I wanted to know what action the Government of India had taken in the matter, having regard to the importance of the incidents that I have just now alluded to; and it is for the purpose of pointing out to this House the very grave importance of the subject, that I propose to go into some of the details, so that my Honourable friend may not get up and say that it is after all a matter of provincial importance and they cannnot be expected to interfere. That is my submission.

Sir, may I proceed? The next gentlemen says:

"I was walking along the road and was suddenly set upon by some goondas, I found 10 or 12 Gurkha or Garhwali military policemen passing. I and four others sought their protection which was refused. I said, "They will kill us and you will not stand by and protect us?" One of the Gurkha policemen replied, "We have got no orders to do anything (*Hamlok ko kuch karne ka hukum nehi hai.*)

"A goonda struck me with a *lathi* I clasped a Gurkha policeman and entreated him to save my life. The other people accompanying me were also beaten with *lathi* and rods. To my utter dismay I found that not a single Gurkha raised his little finger to protect us but were marching all the while, we passed the Police club shouting for help, but nobody came to our rescue."

He had a providential escape through the intervention of a priest of a temple near by, who

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dragged him into the temple somehow while he was passing by.

Another man, who lost goods worth about Rs. 10,000, says :

"When all my belongings in the shop were being looted, a party of four armed Garhwali policemen came up in a bus and alighted in front of our place. They simply said "*Hat Jao*" to the looters, and in spite of my request to them to arrest them, they did not arrest them. Even in their very presence the goondas were removing the goods of my shop. *Those armed policemen told us to leave the place then, else we should also lose our lives.* Having said this they took us, *viz.*, my daughter-in-law, my brother's son, and myself up into the motor bus, which was stopped at the bend of the Chowk. *The Magistrate*, the *City Superintendent, and Sergeants* were there. My brother's son, Sukhlal Pal, B.Sc., got down there, and told the Sahibs, 'They are carrying us to hospital, but there is still a lot of goods in our shop, which is being looted still; so pray, post some police for protection.' In reply *the Magistrate said that he could not spare any police.* And so we were carried to the hospital, where I am still an in-door patient."

Here is the Managing Director of a cotton mill. I am not going to tire the House with any lengthy extracts from his statement. He says that, while looting was going on, he encountered a Sahib in police dress, and he stated at the time of looting. "*Ap khooshi hai, Jaldi lao.*"

He saw not only male *goondas*, but also females and children taking away articles from that shop. I may mention in passing that all the crimes, all the murders, all the looting and all the arson that took place were committed in broad daylight. The goondas preferred the daytime to night for the purpose of committing their depredations, because they had nothing to fear from anybody.

Then, Sir, I will skip over many other statements. Now I will come to the statement made by a Government official, a lady. Head Mistress in charge of the Vernacular Training School, a Government institution. Referring to the looting which was being carried on in the neighbourhood, she says :

"There were several policemen present on the spot and they were loitering in the street without caring for what was going on. I also saw that an iron safe was broken with an axe and as soon as the safe was broken, some policemen who were armed with guns came forward and fired blank shots as a result of which the goondas moved back. The contents of the iron safe were currency notes, etc. These were then hurriedly taken by the policemen, who pocketted them inside their coats."

This is the testimony of a lady who is also a Government servant.

I will not trouble the House with any further extracts from her statement, although it is very interesting. Then I will come to the testimony of a European. Mr. Hodgen, the Agent of the India General Navigation and Railway Company, the representative of the steamer services at Dacca. I may mention that for several days the steamers carrying passengers did not stop at Dacca, such was the seriousness of the situation. He says :

"I am the General Agent of the Rajmukh steamer ghat. I am a European. As far as I remember steamers from Barisal arrived at about 11 P.M. on the 24th May, 1930. All passengers except a very few were booked to Narayanganj that very night under my instructions."

—because he did not consider it safe for the passengers to alight :

"One gentleman with his family stopped in my office that night. I phoned to the police for sending armed guards, but got no response that night. I know of one occurrence just outside the station in the afternoon. One man was fatally wounded and two others were injured. These wounded men were sent to the hospital by a boat from the steamer station."

And here, Sir, let me pause for a moment and pay my tribute of admiration and thankfulness to this European gentleman who by all accounts rendered great assistance to the people in distress. (*Dr. Nand Lal* : "Hear, hear.") Then he says :

"On Sunday morning, the 25th, I saw a crowd of Muhammadans collected before the rice shop to the east side of the station. The shop is owned by a Hindu. The police came and went away from the spot. The shop was looted by Muhammadans. The Hindu owner left the rice shop on Monday morning by boat for Tarpasa and told me verbally before his departure that Rs. 1,500 in cash and his stock of rice had been taken away by the looters. No booking of passengers was made from the office as the clerks were afraid to attend office at night. Barisal steamer was directed to go *via* Narayanganj. Some motor launch services and the Dhaleswari (Manikganj) service were stopped for some days. Goods were re-booked by the consignors. I have no gun. The Jamadars and the police of the station are unarmed."

Now, Sir, I come to another Government officer, another lady, the Principal of the Government College for Girls at Dacca. She says :

"Since the 24th to 28th May, the period of the riot, I was here stopping in the school premises. I did not know what sleep was. I do not remember how many times I phoned to the police to send me some pickets to protect this locality which is very lonely and isolated; but every time I was told either, 'Let me note it down' or 'None available'."

These are the two replies which she got, and remember this was the case of a lady official living with some other ladies who were in her charge in that isolated place :

"In the evening I again phoned to the police officer; I told him that being the Principal of a Government institution for women, I could naturally claim protection, but nothing was done for me. Things reached their climax on the 26th on which day about 1 P.M. a huge mob of ruffians rushed towards us from the Buckland bund. (This is a promenade running right along the river.) They were all carried with them deadly weapons—daggers, big *lathis* and a few guns. In the crowd there were some dressed in khaki European uniform. The mob returned from the direction of Sadarghat. All the time they were hurling their daggers and *lathis* and shouting. I noticed a man among them over whose head an umbrella was held by another, and I was told by one of my servants that he was—"

(I do not propose to give the name here, but it is a prominent man at Dacca.)

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With great difficulty she managed to get a car from a friend of hers for going to some friends. Then she says:

"As I was getting into the car I found a number of policemen, police constables, standing near the car; when asked as to why the hooligans were not restrained from the atrocities they were committing in the town, they said '*Mussalman ko dabane ka hukum nehi hai, hamlok ka karenge*' (That is, they are not permitted to oppose the Mussalmans; what could they do?)' "

(*Cries of* "Shame, shame.") This is the testimony of a Government servant, a lady holding a very responsible position, and this has stood the test of cross-examination by the Official Committee of Enquiry.

Now, I come to a police officer—a retired Inspector of Police: he lives with his elder brother who is a retired additional Superintendent of Police. The whole family seems to have served the Police Department very loyally, because there is also reference to a nephew of his who was personally concerned in these riots and was hurt. He says:

"I saw hooligans and females and children carrying looted articles through lanes running along the north as well as the south of my house, I also saw two or three constables in that locality, but appearently they were doing nothing".

This is the statement of a retired Inspector of Police and he was making the statement, I dare say, with a sufficient sense of responsibility. He goes on:

"In the afternoon my nephew, a Sub-Inspector of Police, returned from the police office and stated that he was attacked although he was going with two armed orderlies in plain dress and with the head clerk of the police office. When they were attacked, they gave out that they were police officers and that they had revolvers with them. One of the hooligans gave a severe blow on the back of Mohendra and snatched away the revolver from his waist. The head clerk somehow or other got back the revolver but was himself wounded in the back."

Then he gives his own opinion as to how far the police arrangements were sufficient and he is perfectly entitled to give his opinion, a retired Police Inspector as he is. He says:

"I personally think that the police arrangement was not sufficient and that if the goondas, of whom there is a list in the police office, had been arrested at the inception and proper police precautions taken, the disturbances would not have continued so long."

His nephew also has been examined before this Judicial Committee of Inquiry. He says—I do not consider the incidents once again:

"We informed the Superintendent of Police about the occurrence and showed him the wounds received by us. I do not know whether an investigation has been started over this and whether any arrest has been made in this connection. I can know by face the man who snatched away the revolver from me."

When he says that he does not know whether an investigation has been started, it clearly shows that he was not even given the opportunity to identify the assailant when he said he could do so, and this is a police officer still in service! This is the way the police authorities at Dacca have been discharging their responsibility

I am afraid I have exhausted all my time. These sickening details are too numerous to be dealt with in five or six hours even if I were to get that much indulgence from you on this occasion.

While this was the situation in Dacca itself, what was happening in the neighbourhood? The poison spread to the interior. A village, a very flourishing village, not more than seven miles from the district headquarters, I mean Rohitpur, was the scene of unheard of *goondaism*. About 118 houses belonging to wealthy business men were looted completely, even the broomsticks in the houses were not left behind by the looters; and what did the authorities do? The news of this occurrence did not reach the authorities within three days. Talk of law and order! Is this the way to maintain law and order in the country? After three days, when the information somehow reached the police authorities a constable was sent from the nearest thana to make inquiries. Then the people of Dacca got to know about it and they sent some responsible persons to inspect the locality. I have got a detailed report of what they saw—I am not going to place it on record before the House at the present moment; it may be too tiresome. The most astounding feature of this incident at Rohitpur is that the rioters were incited by chaukidars in uniform; they incited them, in the name of Government, to loot the houses of Hindus and several lakhs worth of property were removed and destroyed at leisure for two days together. And when at last the superior administrative authorities reached that place, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Craig, accompanied by the Nawab of Dacca and his brother Khajeh Nasirullah and the Superintendent of Police, they called together the famished and oppressed people and convened a meeting and delivered a speech, and this was the purport of the speech. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police said: "This is the result of your hartal. Don't do it again. Ask the Congress people to protect you." Then he asked the people if they wanted Gandhi Raj or British Raj. Some of the people left the meeting in disgust. But others being afraid of more oppression, specially finding a particular person there in whose name these oppressions were being committed, said they wanted British Raj. On this Mr. Craig asked them to cry out "British-Raj-ki-Jai" and "Nawab-Bahadur-ki-Jai". The people finding that it was really the victory of Nawab Bahadur and British Raj cried out in agony "British-Raj-ki-Jai" and "Nawab Bahadur-ki-Jai". The company left the place, after arresting some Muhammadans including three Mussalman chaukidars, and triumphantly entered the city of Dacca, shouting from the launch in the river Buriganga, "British Raj-ki-Jai" and "Nawab-Bahadur-ki-Jai". Some Hindus of Dacca living by the side of the river, hearing the shouts were first terrified, but subsequently on inquiry they learnt that Nawab Bahadur and Co. had returned from Rohitpur and that there was a serious occurrence there.

Sir, I do not think that I will be justified in taking up any more time of this House. I hope I have placed sufficient materials before Honourable Members to enable them to judge of the seriousness of the situation. I daresay the Government of India owe to this House a full and frank statement

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of what they have been doing while this state of things was taking place in Dacca and its neighbourhood. It won't do for my Honourable friend, the Home Member, to say that the Government of India are not primarily responsible. If he accedes to my Resolution by publishing the correspondence that passed between this Government and the Bengal Government, we should be in a position to judge as to how far the Government of India were discharging their obligations, which have been imposed upon them by the Government of India Act for the direction, supervision and control over the Provincial Governments, particularly in respect of the Reserved subjects, of which law and order happens to be one.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

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The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair....

RESOLUTION *RE* OUTBREAK OF LAWLESSNESS AT DACCA— *contd.*

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi (Dacca Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I had not the least inclination to make a speech on this Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy if only he had restricted himself to the terms of the Resolution. In the Resolution he asks the Governor-General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood. In moving the Resolution, I am very sorry that he has brought in a certain amount of communal feeling. (*An Honourable Member* : "Has he ?") *Another Honourable Member* : "No, not at all.") At any rate, that is what I have understood from his speech. (*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh* : "Your understanding is very defective.") From his speech, as far as I am able to follow, I find that his grievance is that the police in Dacca deliberately did not give my friend's community the protection that they needed. Furthermore, so far as I have been able to understand his speech, he went on to say that the lootings continued and that in broad daylight, and that when the police protection was asked, the men concerned were referred to the Congress. He said, that the lootings continued from day to day and that the police did not give them any protection at all. There was a certain amount of insinuation that the police were conniving at the looting and murder of my Honourable friend's community by the Muslims. (*An Honourable Member* ; "No.") That charge is absolutely unfounded. It may be that the police did not give them the protection that was needed, but who is responsible for that ? How was the police going to give my friend's community the protection that they needed when the whole city of Dacca was up in arms by continuing the civil disobedience movement ? (*An Honourable Member* : "The cat is out of the bag.") (*Mr. Amar Nath Dutt*: "Therefore" ?) Will the Honourable Member let me proceed ? With the small number of police available in Dacca, it was impossible for them to give the protection. Have the police been able to give the protection needed by my community ? They failed to do that in the case of my community also, but not, as my Honourabls friend would say, deliberately ; but they were unable, they were helpless, and the situation was out of hand.

Sir, when I got notice of this Resolution, I telegraphed to my constituency and to the leading men of Dacca to send me a full report of the incidents that had taken place during those days. Here I shall read from the testimony of an esteemed Hindu friend of mine. He writes to me to say :

"Whatever reports have appeared in the press, the impression is abroad that in Dacca the Muslims have done all the mischief and the Hindus have done nothing....."

Mind you, this is a Hindu gentleman (*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh* : "What is his name ?") I will tell you presently. He goes on to say :

"This is not correct. Whatever may have been the unfortunate cause of the outbreak, the Hindus and the Muslims have both suffered ; and according to the reports of very reliable Hindus, there has been more loss of life on the Muslim side than on the Hindu side."

If the Hindus have suffered more loss in property, according to his information there were 13 deaths among Muslims and 11 deaths among the Hindus.

Sir, there is another Report which has been sent to me with the concurrence of the Nawab of Dacca, Khan Bahadur Alauddin, Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee, Mr. P. K. Bose, Khan Bahadur Zahirul-Huq, Mr. Kalimuddin Ahmad, Mr. Niamuddin Ahmad, and Khaja Shahabuddin.* Let us see what that Report says. With your permission I will read only a few lines from the various pages of the Report.

"Of late it has been apparently a disease with those who fancy the re-establishment of a Hindu

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* The following contradiction to this statement from Mr. P. K. Bose appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Ed. *M. R.*

A Contradiction
To The Editor,

Sir,—I have read a copy of the "un-corrected proof" of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly regarding the Dacca riots which has been circulated at Dacca. I find therein a speech of Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi M. L. A. about the Dacca riots in which he referred to a Report which was alleged to have been sent to him, "with the concurrence of the Nawab of Dacca, Khan Bahadur Alauddin, Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjea, Mr. P. K. Bose, Khan Bahadur Zahirul Huq, Mr. Kalimaddin Ahmed, Mr. Niamuddin Ahmed and Khaja Shahabuddin." I have absolutely no knowledge of any such Report referred to by Mr. Ghuznavi.

It appears that he read some extracts from the alleged Report in the Assembly. The views represented there in are diametrically opposed to my own views about the Dacca riots. The statement appearing in the said un-corrected proof that that it was sent with my concurrence is a pure concoction without any shadow of truth.

P. K. Bose,
Bar-at-Law
Dacca

Dacca
1-8-1930.

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truth that the loud lie becomes the truth and the articulate truth becomes the lie. After reading the accounts published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *East Bengal Times*, and some other correspondence and essays published in those journals we could not help feeling that verily we are living in an age of loud lies. Unfortunately or fortunately, the Muslim Press has not yet learnt how to be loud over the lie. Thanks to the Hindu brains, wealth and influence.

"The loud Hindu Press has marvellously succeeded in surcharging the atmosphere with the impression that the city of Hindu brains, wealth and influence of which the Hindu community are so proud, was in the grip of lawlessness perpetrated by the Muslim hooligans at the connivance of the police and the leaders of the Muslim community which is composed mostly of masons and gharriwalas."

Then, it goes on to say :

"The whole object of the Hindu Press was to convey to the world at large that the present riots of Dacca have been exclusively an one-sided affair and the innocent Hindus did not contribute, Bhadralogs as they are, anything to the acts of arson, pillage, stabbing and murder of which harrowing tales have been told. The Hindus had not the fairness to notice a single case of similar and in some cases of more heinous, mean, and cowardly atrocities perpetrated by the Hindu Bhadralogs."

Then it goes on to say :

"It is not our interest to minimize or maximize the share of contributions to the output of lawlessness that either party must have to be credited with. We are the last persons to justify the Muslim hooligans, or to minimize the losses the Hindus have suffered. Our account will be proved by the case records and the hospital records. It will be conclusively proved that the harvest of Dacca hooligans has been due to the hooligans of both the communities, but not due to the Muslim hooligans alone as falsely represented in the Press."

Then, Sir, it further says :

"Now, we are to trace the origin of the present disturbances before we give the details of the barbarious acts of the hooligans. The origin should be traced to the year 1926."

Sir, nobody regrets more than I do this estrangement of feelings between the two communities. Up to 1926, the feelings were one of the utmost friendliness. We who come from the districts of Jessore and Mymensingh have been very friendly with the Hindus there. What has happened since then, God alone knows. The Report of the Committee now sitting will shortly tell us what the origin of the trouble is.

This report says :

"The attack on Narinda Mosque was the act of provocation that the Hindu volunteers had been found guilty of in having stirred up 1926 riots. Since then the concord that had existed before 1926 between the two communities has been shaken and has since been declining very rapidly and this time it appears to have been altogether lost. The disturbances that followed the independence day procession were also traced to the brickbats pelted at the Narinda Mosque and other acts of insult to the Koran found thereiin, that had been perpetrated by the Hindu volunteers. During those disturbances the Hindus for the first time showed the example by having set fire to one cycle shop and three tea shops belonging to Muslims at Armanitola. No arson was committed by the Muslims then or before. The origin of the present troubles can be traced to differences caused between the Shankharies and Muslim Gharriwalas over a Shankari girl run over by a Muslim Gharriwala. The grievance of the Shankharies over the girl incident led to the desecration of the Kachary mosque."

The Report then goes on to say :

"On the 22nd May, on the road between Bangsal and Nawabpur, a Hindu boy while playing with tops accidentally hurt a Muslim boy of the locality. The father of the Muslim boy chastised the Hindu boy, who reported the matter to his father. He (father of the Hindu boy) with some of his men proceeded to the place of occurrence and seriously rebuked the Muslim boy's father who also then became serious and the altercation led to a communal skirmish. The Hindus of Nawabpur gathered on the one hand and the Muslims of Bangsal on the other. Hindu Bhadralogs of the locality at once got up on the roof of a neighbouring two-storeyed building with brickbats, coal pieces and chela (chopped wooden fuel). The Bangsal riff-raffs who joined, proceeded towards Nawabpur and the brickbats were pelted at them. This infuriated the mob and the skirmish had ended in some mischief perpetrated on the neighbouring Hindu houses before the Police and the Nawab arrived there to make up the situation. It is reported by the Hindu Mahasabha inquiry committee that the house of one Ram Kamal Chakravarty, pleader, was looted and burnt and his cow was slaughtered in his house. This, on inquiry, from Ram Kamal Babu himself, we find to be concocted exaggeration."

Then it says :

"The 23rd May passed without any incident except that at night a Muslim who was the *gomastha* of one Mian's tobacco shop, a shop at Nawabpur, was stabbed at Purana Paltan and on the 24th morning he was found dead. Naturally it was suspected to have been caused by some Hindu and they proposed to make a demonstration of the dead body and wanted the approval of the Nawab in the presence of Babu Srish Chandra Chatterjee, pleader, but the Nawab disapproved of the idea and asked them to take the corpse out of the morgue and bury it without making any kind of demonstration. Upon this Srish Babu asked the Nawab to take the corpse home so that the relations of the victim might have a last sight of him. The Nawab agreed, and they took the corpse to Fakirpool, the residence of the victim, with some police guards who left the place thinking that the corpse would be buried there. But the relations wanted to have the *janaza* (funeral prayer) at the Chawk Mosque with the object of getting more people to pray for the deceased behind the Imam of the Mosque which is regarded by the Muslims to be more meritorious in the system of religion which they profess. So they proceeded to Chawk through Nawabpur, Islampur and Baboo Bazar, not in a programmed or deliberately pre-arranged procession, but in an ordinary funeral which does not require any license or police guards to protect. This party of not more than 20 or 30 men was not authorised to the knowledge of any Muslim leader or any of the authorities of the city. It is, therefore, misrepresented by the

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Mahasabha reporters. That was a burial party and as such it did not take any license nor was there any police order to stop it. This burial party deliberately misrepresented as a pre-arranged procession reached Baboo Bazar in front of the Mitford Hospital, when a brickbat was pelted at the corpse, from the rooms of one of the two-storeyed buildings there, belonging to and inhabited by the Hindus. Just at that time the news of two more Muslims having been stabbed, one at Mokbara and another near Victoria Park, spread throughout the town. When the dead body of the unfortunate victim reached the place where the skirmish over the top had taken place, the Hindu community of Nawabpur who had already been in temper since the top-skirmish began to attack the burial party and pelt at the dead body whereupon a disastrous fight ensued between the aggressors of Nawabpur and the burial party which was subsequently strengthened by a detachment from Bangsal on the rumour that the Hindus had seized the corpse and set fire to it. By this time the information that the two Muslim tea shops and some rice godowns of Naya Bazar had been set fire to by the Bashabari Hindus further exasperated them, The Nawabpur volleys of brickbats, pelted both vertically from the roofs and horizontally against the Muslim mob, so deliberately provoked, were replied to by arson committed on five or six Hindu houses on the spot. The dead body over which the Nawabpur trouble arose was removed by the police and the conflagration began practically all over the city almost simultaneously. The field was prepared by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders. Some time before the present disturbances promoters of the civil disobedience movement delivered speeches threatening the Muslims for their indifference towards the movement."

Mr. President : The Honourable Member will realize that he has already exceeded his time, and I hope he will try to finish soon.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi : Thank you Sir, I will finish very soon. Then, Sir, it goes on giving a description of the various incidents that had taken place involving looting and arson and it is pointed out that everywhere the Muslims have been attacked first. Although in property the Muslims have not lost much, because they are poor and have not got much property to lose, yet in lives, as I have shown, they have lost more than the Hindus. I will not go into the harrowing details, but all that I can say is that, so far as I have been able to find out, the police were absolutely helpless, having regard to the situation created, as the Report says, by the Hindu Mahasabha and also by the civil disobedience movement. It was not that the police deliberately did not render the assistance that they should have done. I have been able, I hope, to demonstrate this fact clearly that not only the Hindus, but the Mussalmans also have suffered, and if my friend's view was to be taken as correct, then the Mussalmans would not have suffered, either in loss of life or loss of property. With these words, Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. S. C. Sen (Calcutta : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, I do not think that Mr. Neogy had either raised any question of communal feeling or even hinted at or made any insinuation against any community whatever. His motion is for the production of certain papers, *viz.*, the correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the Government of India so that the people might know what steps the Government of India took in connection with this matter. There was no question of communal feeling in the matter and I deplore that Mr. Ghuznavi, in his speech has referred to and brought out communal feeling. Hooligans are hooligans all over the world, whether Muhammadans, Hindus or even Government servants (Hear, hear) wearing the King's uniform (*An Honourable Member* : "Quite so"), and we all deplore that in this matter, although the hooligans had their innings for over a week, nothing was done by the Government or by their responsible officers, whose duty it is to keep law and order. That is the point, Sir. I do not blame the Muhammadans, nor do I blame the Hindus, but I blame the Government officials there for utter failure to take any proper steps. (Hear, hear.) They boast, Sir, that they are here to keep peace and order. They boast that India had not had law and order for a considerable time and it is British rule which has enabled the people to live in peace. But the incidents at Dacca show clearly what we can expect from these men when their turn comes to molest other people.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi : But my community had already been molested first.

Mr. S. C. Sen : I am coming to that. Government are quite able to take care of themselves and they do not want your help. But they do sometimes want help, and on the present occasion it has been said that the Government were helpless ; there were no police, no adequate means to check the lawlessness at Dacca, and it is admitted that lawlessness continued for several days. It would therefore be interesting to know what steps the Government took to stop the disturbances. Dacca is not a small city, it is second in importance in Bengal. The Governor goes there every year and stays there for a month. It is the headquarters of the Divisional Commissioner, and also of the Eastern Frontier Rifles—a regiment on whom rests at present the task of keeping peace and order throughout Bengal. Their services are requisitioned wherever there are disturbances in Bengal ; and with all these things, it is idle for Government to pretend that they had not a sufficient police force at their disposal during the time of the disturbances or that they had no means to get together any adequate force at that time.

Dr. A. Suhrawardy (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : They were busy in Chittagong.

Mr. S. C. Sen : I will read for my friends guidance a Press communiqué published by the Government in the last portion of which it says :

"The police force now in Dacca are reported to be adequate and every attempt is being made by the local officers to restore confidence."

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig : Would the Honourable Member kindly give the date of that communiqué ?

Mr. S. C. Sen : It is dated May the 29th. The visit of the Inspector-General of Police was made there on the 26th with 100 armed police and 100 armed men of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. Now, Sir, it is interesting to note what steps the Government usually take and took on similar occasions before. This is not the first occasion when there

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was communal trouble. There have been many before. Sir, just a month before this—the Dacca riots took place, on the 23rd May—the carters' riot in Calcutta took place, some time about the 15th or 16th of April. As soon as that rioting took place, His Excellency, Sir Stanley Jackson, came down from Darjeeling with his Executive Council to look after the matter and he succeeded in putting down the rioting. What, by contrast, was done in this case, Sir?

MR. A. H. GHUZNAVI: The police force is a body of great strength in Calcutta.

MR. S. C. SEN: I was referring to the steps which Government did take before. In 1926, when there was great communal trouble in Calcutta, Lord Lytton, the then Governor of Bengal, did not go to Calcutta but sent the Member in charge of the Law and Order Department to look after it, but all the same he was abused, if I may use the expression, by all the local newspapers in Calcutta, including I believe, our professing friend, the *Statesman and Friend of India*. (Laughter.) I may mention that from a letter which I saw and which was received by a friend of mine from one of the Councillors of the Secretary of State's Council, I came to know that His Majesty the King-Emperor, when this gentleman was given an audience by His Majesty, himself inquired why Lord Lytton was not then in Calcutta when all these troubles took place. This shows that when a trouble of such magnitude takes place, it is duty of the Governor and of the Government and other Government officials to go to the place to look after the matter. A few days before this occurrence, the Inspector-General of Police was sent to Chittagong and the Member in charge of the Law and Order Department in the Government of Bengal was also sent there. Although at this time he was at Chittagong from where he could have come to Dacca within five hours, he did not do so, nor was any step taken to pacify the people or quell the disturbance. The rioters went on merrily without let or hindrance and, as my friend has said, the Hindus suffered the most. I do not know whether his case is that they looted themselves. Rohitpur village, which is about six miles from Dacca, was looted. In this case, the official communiqué says that hundreds of houses belonging to Hindus were sacked and burnt, and everything that they contained was looted, and that women and children took part in the matter.

MR. A. H. GHUZNAVI: Similarly, the Mussalmans were also wiped off in certain parts of Dacca.

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Did the Honourable Member go down to Dacca to satisfy himself?

MR. S. C. SEN: My point is that in this case the Government of Bengal did not take adequate steps to protect the lives and properties of the people. Not only did they not do that, but they also arrested men of respectability who were then at Dacca so as to prevent them from defending themselves. Some of the guns were taken away illegally. Although their case is that the police force was insufficient and although the Government communiqué says that, on the arrival of the Inspector-General of Police, which was on the 25th of May, the authorities considered that the police force was adequate, they did not do anything. The courts were closed and did not open for eight days. The Telegraph and Post Offices did not function for that time. Even the steamer companies, belonging to Europeans, could not ply, and we are entitled to ask why this state of things was allowed to be continued at Dacca for such a length of time. I do not blame the Mussalmans at all nor do I blame the Hindus, but I do blame the persons whose prefessed duty it is to protect the lives and property of the people of this country, seeing that the people of this country are disarmed and therefore they must rely on the Government to protect their lives and property. In these circumstances, I support the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Neogy. It is necessary in the interests of justice and the good name of the Government of India to publish the correspondence to show what steps they took in this matter. The Government of Bengal are on their trial; they have failed to do their duty; and it is for the Government of India to show that they have done their duty in this matter. With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

DR. NAND LAL (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Government of India may kindly keep a special note of the fact that all of us here are in favour of the maintenance of law and order and all of us are averse to any act which amounts to the infringement of law. At the same time, none of us will be willing to tolerate any kind of injustice which is done to any of the Indians in this country. I am not in favour of offering any general comment or random remarks. I do concede that some of the Government officials do their duty very honestly and conscientiously. Our complaint is against those who do not realize the weight of their responsibility. Sir, you will agree with me when I submit on the floor of this House that an entry into the Government service is identical to high privileges. When Government servants are entitled to these high privileges, they must bear in mind that they should have greater toleration, greater patience and a greater sense of duty. I have already said that some of them perform their duty honestly and properly. Our complaint here is against those Government servants who have failed to do what they ought to have done. To my mind, it is incumbent on every police officer to maintain peace and order; to extend sympathy to those who are wronged; to help those who are really feeling aggrieved and those who have fallen victims to the atrocious conduct of any person, be he a Muhammadan, or a Hindu or a member of any other nationality. I am not one of those who will allow any communal question or a communal idea to have its place in this Central Legislature. The Central Legislature ought to be above these things. The Central Legislature has to deal with those points which create harmony, affection and love amongst the various sections of the people of this country. But if, as I have already submitted, a wrong is done to any person in any corner of this country or in any province, in any district, in any village, then it is incumbent upon us to bring it to the notice of the Government of India so that they may take proper action and may try to see that the grievances are redressed and the confidence of this Government is maintained. When confidence is maintained, the natural result would be happiness, peace and

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order. Thus, all of us here and those who are outside this Assembly Chamber will enjoy life under the protection of law.

Now, the sad accounts, which have been narrated by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy, are very heart-rending and if all of them are true, then I must say that a blunder has been committed by those Government servants who, instead of extending their sympathy towards those people who were injured, laughed at them. They cracked jokes at them. People were deprived of their property, which is the sinews of life. They were crying, lamenting and seeking for sympathy and help. And what did the Government servants do? They simply told them "Go to this man or that man." My Honourable and learned friend Mr. Neogy mentioned those names, and I am not going to mention them again. Is it not sad if it is true? It is the saddest thing, I submit, Sir, the Government of India will kindly keep a note of it that they will be respected when they see that every person, every subject here in this country is treated in such a way that he may have no grievance against any Government servant. As I said, Sir, there are special privileges attached to those who enter Government service. On the other hand, there are also some responsibilities which are thrown on their shoulders. One of the responsibilities is this, that they will maintain a balance of mind, they will be impartial, they will be just, and they will try to see that a good name is given to Government who are their employers. If I were to be one of the servants of "A", I should try to see that every act of mine might reflect credit on my employer and might not bring any kind of discredit so far as my employer is concerned. In that case alone I am a good servant, otherwise not. Practically my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy's complaint is against those Government servants who really did not realize the weight of their responsibility as such. Therefore, my submission is that these accounts, which have been placed before this House, deserve full investigation and an impartial enquiry must be made and if there is any truth in these allegations, the wrong-doers must be punished. I believe my Honourable and learned friend was one of the Members of the Enquiry Committee. Therefore, there must be great truth in the evidence and statements which he has read out before this House. It is quite probable that some of the allegations might be considered as exaggeration; as unfortunately, exaggeration is, sometimes, resorted to in such cases. But apart from that, if there is some truth if there is some accuracy, some correctness in these accounts, then I submit that the Government of India will be pleased to take effective measures so that an end may be put to such things and these things may not recur. It is unfortunate that a communal question has been introduced. I am averse to it, otherwise, I would have been able to give an answer to my Honourable friend who has associated himself with this communal question. But since I am averse to it, I cannot go against my creed. My creed is to be a Nationalist, always to see that the rights of Hindus and Muhammadans are safeguarded. Since in this affair, since in this occurrence, the rights of the public have been ruthlessly violated, they are entitled to protection, they are entitled to be in such a predicament and condition that their property and lives are safe and that they are not injured. Since everything that has been narrated is contrary to what ought to be, I repeat, and you, Sir, will kindly permit my repetition, that the Government will be pleased to see that these grievances are properly redressed and that proper enquiry is made. If some of the Government servants have behaved in the manner in which they have been depicted to have behaved, then punishment may be given to them and that punishment may be notified so that it might constitute an object lesson to others so that they may come to know that certain Government servants had not behaved properly and so they were punished. Thereby the honesty, the impartiality and sanctity of the administration of the Government will be maintained before every person in the country. With these remarks I submit that I support this Resolution, which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy.

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee (Calcutta Suburbs—Non-Muhammadan Urban): In rising to support the Resolution, I would like to draw the attention of the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution to the fact that the Honourable Member has come to the wrong place to redress his grievances. He is quite wrong if he thinks he can get any redress from Government for the wrongs that have been perpetrated in Dacca. Sir, we saw that in 1905-06 also the Government tried this method, and there was a good deal of repression by one community, I will not mention who, over the other. The only remedy that was found was the establishment of the *Anushilan Samiti* and if Government would permit us to establish such societies in these times, my advice to my Honourable friend would be to try for the same. However, Sir, we are not concerned with 1905-06. We are now concerned with 1930.

Dr. A. Suhrawardy: Was that not an anarchist organization?

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: I do not think that the *Anushilan Samiti* was an anarchist organization. That society was devoted to physical culture and other similar things and my Honourable friend knows perfectly well that whenever and wherever a society is founded for the purpose of physical culture or similar of the motive, it is bound to be declared an anarchist organization. In Dacca what happened was that, first of all, the male members of the families were arrested and then their houses were looted. That shows the hand of Government in it.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: In what place did you find that?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Ghuznavi has introduced a communal tone in our discussion, which I want to avoid.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: You have never been to Dacca?

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: Yes, I have been.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: When?

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: Some months before the occurrence of the Dacca riots.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: Had you been there after the occurrence?

Mr. President: Order, order. This sort of conversation cannot be allowed.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: The Honourable Member, Mr. Ghuznavi himself, had never been to Dacca after the riots.

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Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: I want to place before the House the condition of Dacca, as described by Dr. Taylor. He says:

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Muhammadans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*."

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: What year was it?

Mr. Saradindu Mukerjee: That was in 1839. The communities were living quite in peace in those days. What is the new cause that has created this ill-feeling and this sort of enmity between these two communities? My own submission is that it is only the hand of Government that is responsible and no one else. I should like to draw your attention, Sir, to the Report of the Committee of the Dacca Bar Association consisting of Hindus and Moslems giving in detail the state of communal feeling immediately before this disturbance. The Report says:

"Before the recent disturbances the Dacca Muhammadan public was not anti-Congress, as will appear from the following facts. Muhammadan students hoisted the National flag on the Independence Day, 26th January, 1930. The Hall was also brilliantly illuminated on that day. Muhammadan youths headed the procession which came out on that day to celebrate the Independence day. There were many processions consisting exclusively of Muhammadan boys who paraded the streets with the cries 'Mahatma Gandhiji-ki-Jai', 'Bande Mataram', 'Alla-Ho-Akbar.' Although there was a riot on the 26th January and a communal turn was sought to be given to the rioting which followed, it soon subsided chiefly through joint non-Muhammadan intervention. Mixed batches of Hindu and Muslim University volunteers patrolled the streets at night. Good feeling was soon restored between the two communities by the wise and patriotic actions of the two sections, Hindu and Muhammadan, of the Dacca public.

"Then the Mahatma inaugurated his civil disobedience movement on the 6th of April and launched his crusade against the Salt Law. The movement caught the imagination of the masses. It appealed to the Dacca masses as it did to the masses of the rest of India. The Muhammadan masses at Dacca did not keep themselves aloof from the movement. Daily meetings were held in the Coronation Park. These meetings were attended and addressed by Muhammadans. There was a very large attendance of the Muhammadan masses at a meeting held to read proscribed literature. Muhammadan volunteers went to Contai to break the Salt Law. Muhammadan volunteers joined with the Hindus picketed the liquor shops. Muhammadan public helped the picketters. Wherever they were in trouble due to the fanaticism of the goondas and drunkards. Indeed in the predominantly Muhammadan quarters such as Nawabganj, Islampur, Sachibandar, Maulavi Bazar and Kumartuli, picketing would have been impossible without the assistance of the Muhammadans of the locality. Cigarettes were boycotted by both Hindus and Muhammadans spontaneously without much propaganda. *Biris* were used very much, as the *biri* manufacturers are solely Muhammadans.

"At a meeting of the cloth-dealers and tailors and outfitters held at the Dacca Bar Association at the instance of the Congress, the Muhammadan dealers and shop-keepers mustered strong and a resolution boycotting foreign cloth was unanimously carried, two Muhammadans and two Hindus proposing, seconding and supporting the resolution."

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.)

"Since a long time there had been two parties amongst the Dacca Muhammadans, one led by Khwaja Atikulla, President of the 22 Panchayets of Dacca and the other by Syed Abdul Hafeez, President of the Islamia Anjuman. These two parties held separate domonstrations during the Civil Disobedience movement. Atikulla's party held two meetings at Paltan. The other party also held two such demonstrations one at the Coronation Park and the other at Ashan Manzil. It will, therefore, be seen that the cleavage between the two parties was sharp. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations were held to increase the adherents of each party. The supporters of the Panchayet party consisted mostly of the town people, while those of the Anjuman were Muhammadans from the outlying villages.

"On 15th April, 1930, a hartal was held at Dacca on account of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress. No other hartal at Dacca had been so much successful. Both Muhammadans and Hindus enthusiastically joined the hartal. Both Hindu and Muhammadan shops were closed. Hackney coach drivers, who are all Muhammadans, ceased to ply their carriages on that day. Then there was an incident at Sankhari Bazar mentioned hereafter. On 5th May, 1930, there was a notice signed by both parties that a mosque had been desecrated by the Sankharis and declaring hartal on 6th May, 1930. The Congress also notified that hartal would be held on 6th may, 1930, on account of the arrest of Dr. Kitchlew.

"Syed Abdul Hafeez, President of the Anjuman, thereupon issued a notice prohibiting the hartal on 6th May, 1930. In that notice he denied that he had ever signed any notice declaring hartal. In the meantime Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and hartal was spontaneously observed at Dacca on that day. Syed Hafeez tried his utmost to open the shops, but failed."

From this, Sir, we find that there was no sort of communal bitterness, so far as Dacca was concerned, immediately before these disturbances. And then we suddenly find that a trivial cause was held to be the root cause of these disturbances. We need not dilate upon that. It is very easy to see that the whole object was that the stronger party, *i.e.*, the Government, was trying to create a disturbance in the feelings between the two communities, so that the sins of the outrages might be placed on the heads of one of these communities. Sir, big houses were burnt down, and there is a House called "Sushila Nibash", a very big house, which was absolutely burnt down. There was a furniture shop, which was only 200 yards from the Police station, and that was looted and completely burnt down. That shows that the police were not doing their duty. My idea is that if there had been an able officer like my Honourable friend, Mr. G. S. Dutt, at the helm of public affairs there, instead of

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at Mymensingh, where he kept matters calm by his tact and judgment, this trouble would have been stopped in no time. We have seen that when there was a communal disturbance in Calcutta in 1926, the place just opposite to Calcutta, *i.e.*, Howrah, was absolutely quiet, and only because there was a judicious Indian officer at the helm of affairs. So my idea is that, if there had been an able Indian officer there in charge, this trouble would have ceased in a very short time. So my submission to Government is that in places where such disturbances occur frequently, they will try to place officers who enjoy public confidence.

Mr. N. G. Ranga (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Ghuznavi gives the impression, which I think he really does not wish to give, that he is very anxious that there should be disharmony and discord between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Otherwise, where is the necessity for him to protest against a harmless quotation from Mr. Taylor's book stating that a long time ago, in 1839, there was no trouble at all between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Dacca? Secondly, he was mentioning that the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans had to suffer in that unfortunate affair that took place in Dacca, and he was particularly careful to mention the fact that 13 Muhammadans were murdered as against 11 Hindus. What does it matter whether there were 13 Muhammadans or 13 Hindus who were murdered, provided they were Indians? Does he mean to say that, just because a man happens to be a Muhammadan, he ceases to be an Indian? Does he mean to say that just because a mischievous Hindu boy in a moment of aberration attacked a Muhammadan boy, all the Hindus should be attacked as they were in Dacca merely on account of the fact that they were born Hindus? If to-day in Simla one Muhammadan gentleman were to be so very imprudent as to attack a Hindu gentleman, is that any reason why all the Hindus in Simla should go and attack the Muhammadans at once? Sir, this is a very curious mentality. It is the sort of mentality which is really standing in the way of our attaining Swaraj, and the sooner we get rid of this mentality the better; and I am sure that in his more responsible moments my Honourable friend, Mr. Ghuznavi, himself will feel that he has committed a mistake in giving this unfortunate impression to the House that he is anxious that there should be trouble and discord between these two great communities who ought to live in peace, harmony and fraternity.

Sir, the Honourable Members on the other side of the House may be doubtful about the accuracy of the facts that were placed before them by my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy. I can assure them that my Honourable friend is as responsible a person as any highly placed official on the other side of the House. But, at the same time, even supposing that they are incredulous about the facts that were stated here by Mr. Neogy, they will will certainly not be prepared to dispute the facts placed before them by my Honourable friend Mr. Ghuznavi. He himself has stated that the police force was not enough. Why should it be inadequate and insufficient? Dacca is an important city, second in importance to Calcutta, so far as Bengal is concerned, and why was the police force there not enough? This widespread trouble was going on between these two great communities for well over a week. The Government of India and the Government of Bengal have not taken care to see that there was adequate police protection provided for these people who asked for it. We have seen from the quotation that was given by Mr. Neogy that a lady principal, whose nights were disturbed and who was anxious to get this protection for herself and the children in her custody, was not given that protection. The police were not willing and were not prepared to go to her rescue. Is that the way in which Government should be carried on in this country? Only the other day, we saw the empty boast in the Simon Report that the British Army should be kept in this country in order to maintain peace and in order to see that no disturbances occur between these two great communities. Sir, if that is so, if the British are kept on here as an army of occupation, where was that Army in that unfortunate place, Dacca, for one week and more? What happened to this Government? It is clear from the facts that have been placed before this House that there was no Government at all for that the one week. Everybody was asking for protection, whether Muhammadan or Hindu; and Mr. Ghuznavi himself has borne testimony to the fact that Muhammadans have suffered considersbly in this unhappy episode; and yet were they given protection? Were the Hindus given protection? Were ladies given protection? What happened to this Government and where was it? Was it drowned in the Bay of Bengal? Or was it consecrated at the alter of the Goddess of Sin and all that goes with it? The Government was not there. It only shows that, whenever there is serious trouble between these two great communities in this country, this Government does not exist: it does not want to exist or to function. If, on the other hand, it were to be a matter of trouble between those peaceful Satyagrahis—and I tell you they are harmless on the one side and the mischievous and hooliganistic and well-armed Government on the other, then I can assure you there will be too much exhibition of the strength of this Government. Go to any place, Cocanada, Rajahmundry, Ramachandrapur, Chirala, Guntur, Bezwada, Gudivada, Masulipatam or Nellore—and what do you find there? You find that there are three times as many policemen today as were to be found in those places before. Why is it so? Was there any firing incident or any riot or any evidence to show that the people were mad enough to quarrel among themselves? There was absolutely no such evidence. Yet this Government shows itself in all its vileness, in all its fierceness and displays all its bestial claws only in those places, whereas in places where there was great necessity for the exhibition of its powers, it is not to be found, it is not to be discovered. Is that not evidence enough to condemn this Government and to damage its reputation in the eyes of this world?

I am very glad really that Mr. Neogy has given this opportunity to this House to see this Government in its real and true colours. In this quarrel at Dacca, many houses were burned down and many people were killed and many injured: we need not bother very much about this; but some people—I am told their number was large—were reduced to such a state of impotency and necessity that they had to bury or burn the bodies of their

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beloved relatives, who were murdered in that unfortunate episode, in the yards of their own houses: and why? Because they were afraid to go to the cremation or burial grounds to perform the last necessary religious rites. Sir, a Government which does not enable its people to give the very last religious rites to the people who die under its very nose, that Government stands condemned and negatived; it does not deserve the name of Government. It may be a sort of organisation of people in the services if you like, of people with vested interests if you like and maybe it is a conglomeration of such people who are there to scratch one another's backs in order to support one another and in order to keep their domination over other people, not in the interests of those people who are suppressed by it, but in the interests of itself. But anyhow it is not a civilized government: nor is it an efficient government: it is an inefficient, barbaric and useless form of government, which is too costly for this country and which at the same time fails to discharge its primary functions. On the other hand, where it finds it easy . . . . .

THE CHAIRMAN (Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum): There are several other Members who want to speak on this subject and the Honourable Member might therefore conclude his remarks.

MR. N. G. RANGA: I shall close in five minutes. Sir, in other places where it finds it easy to put down its enemies, it does not find it necessary even to show the necessary amount of patience which it has shown in Dacca in abundance, or sufficient consideration which it claims to have shown in the affairs of Dacca. In all those places in the Andhra country and in other parts of India where it found its enemies—I call them enemies constitutionally, who are indeed peaceful, harmless and useful—it has shown its fangs unnecessarily and prematurely and created so much trouble and caused so much unhappiness and damage and hurt to the feelings and the bodies and properties of so many people that it will not be possible even for the best friend of this Government to say to its credit that it really deserves the name of Government. Therefore I heartily commend the Resolution to this House and request each and every Member, at least the elected Members of this House, to vote for it, in the hope that hereafter at least the Government will try to become an efficient Government and will try to discharge the elementary functions for which a Government is established, to enable individuals to enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of meeting, freedom of movement and freedom of social functions, so that it may be possible for the future historian to say that this Government has, at the last moment at least, tried to justify its own existence by realising its own mistakes and its blunders and has come to the conclusion that it should not commit any of these blunders any longer.

MR. GAYA PRASAD SINGH (Muzafarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I am surprised that my Honourable friend Mr. Ghuznavi should have taken exception to such a harmless Resolution as the one which is now before the House. What is the Resolution before the House? It is no more than this, that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the correspondence that has passed between them and the Government of Bengal with regard to the Dacca disturbances. I do not understand, how any Member of this House could take exception to this.

DR. A. SUHRAWARDY: What is the object underlying the Resolution?

MR. GAYA PRASAD SINGH: Sir, there are two versions with regard to the Dacca affair. One version has been put before the House by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy Mr. Ghuznavi takes exception to some of the remarks made by Mr. Neogy, and says that Hindus at some places are aggressive, and he has most unfortunately given a communal turn to the whole debate, although the mover scrupulously refrained from doing so. Why were my friends of the Moslem Group anxious to see the Report of the Sulaiman Committee published with regard to the happenings that took place in Peshawar? In the same way, I do not understand how any Member, whether he belongs to the European Group or to the Central Moslem Group or to any Group for the matter of that, can rightly take exception to the course which is advocated by my friend Mr. Neogy. My friend Mr. Ghuznavi seems to have put himself in the shoes of the Honourable the Home Member, with all his responsibility. Let the Honourable the Home Member say that the correspondence in question is a confidential document and that it cannot be laid before the public. One can understand his position. Those documents will bring out in true colours the nature of the instructions which might have emanated from the Government of India, or the nature of the suggestions which might have come from the Government of Bengal. That is entirely a matter for the Treasury Benches, but I cannot understand how a non-official Member can constitute himself as the custodian of the conscience of the Treasury Benches, and say that the correspondence that passed between the two Governments should not be published. That creates a suspicion.

MR. A. H. GHUZNAVI: I never said that.

MR. GAYA PRASAD SINGH: Then why oppose it? The Resolution is that this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessuess in the city of Dacca and its neighbourhood, and my friend has thought it proper to oppose it. I should like to know on what grounds he has opposed it.

DR. A. SUHRAWARDY: Mr. Neogy's object was to raise a debate on the Dacca disturbances and he has already done it.

MR. GAYA PRASAD SINGH: Sir, before proceeding further, I should like to draw the attention of this House to the statement made by Mr. Hodson, the Superintendent of Police of Dacca. This statement was made before the Government Inquiry Committee at Dacca. In the course of his evidence in connection with the disturbances at Bangshal he says this:

"While the police were busy, looting and arson were started in the presence of the witness and Hindu houses were burnt."

Sir, there are some incidents of Dacca which I should like to place before this House. A man was riding a bicycle without a light. There was trouble between the police and bystanders over this affair. Soon the police mustered strong, and

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began to belabour the passers-by mercilessly. Can Mr. Ghuznavi justify this? This is an incident on which I hope the Honourable the Home Member will throw some light, if he can. I do not understand why my Honourable friend Mr. Ghuznavi should take exception to a harmless course which is suggested by the Mover of this Resolution, and by other Members on this side of the House.

Then, Sir, when the mob set fire to Hindu houses, the police formed a cordon at the entrance of Bangshal street, which resulted in preventing the Hindus from going to the rescue of their co-religionists and putting out the fire. On the night of the 23rd May, a dead body of a Muhammadan was found in Paltan. Nobody knows how he was murdered. Some people doubt if he was murdered at all. But this mysterious murder was utilized by designing persons to excite the Muhammadan mob. It was resolved to carry the dead body in a procession on Saturday the the 24th May. And strange to say the authorities allowed such a procession at a time of acute tension. The processionists incessantly cried that a Muhammadan had been murdered by the Hindus. The motive is obvious. It was done to excite the passion of the Muhammadans. Now, I should like the Honourable the Home Member to explain why a public procession was allowed to accompany a dead body, which was not even proved to have been a case of murder by any one. . . .

Dr. A. Suhrawardy: Was it a funeral or a procession? Are you referring to the funeral of the Muhammadan who was murdered or to the procession?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: The Honourable Member understands very well to what I am referring.

Dr. A. Suhrawardy: I am trying my best to do so.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Now, Sir, as this procession was passing, looting started, and Hindu shopkeepers began to close their shops. But unfortunately the door of Star Medical Hall at Babur Bazar was partially kept open. And some of the hooligans at once entered the Hall and fatally stabbed the proprietor of the Hall. He recognised his assailants and mentioned the name of one of them. The man was arrested, but it is reported that he was subsequently released. Can this be justified?

Sir, in making these observations, I want to steer clear of all communal feelings. As has been pointed out by previous speakers, hooligans are hooligans, whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans, and, to apportion blame to any one community is far from my intention. The important thing is the attitude of the local authorities. Sir, I am going to place a few more specific instances before the House, and I should like the Home Member to clear up the incidents if he can. I do not understand why any Honourable Member of this House should take exception to these incidents, which bring discredit on the officials, being brought to the notice of this House, and get the whole position cleared up.

Then, Sir, at Chawkbazar the shops of Meghu Shaha and Upendra Shaha were looted, and these shops were within the sight of the police section. I should like to know why the police were inactive all the time, and what steps they took to prevent this mischief from spreading. Babu Rohini Kumar Chakrabarti was killed and Babu Suriya Kumar Bose, one of the Managing Directors of a Cotton Mill, and three others were seriously injured. The police, headed by the white civil guards, arrived on the scene. Not a single Muhammadan was arrested, but the guns of the Hindus were taken away by the police. The tragedy of the situation is that not only did the police not afford any effective protection to the Hindus, but the Hindus were hindered by their presence from defending themselves when attacked by the hooligans. Several policemen are reported to have been standing near by, but they did not interfere. No member of the mob was arrested, but 13 Hindus were arrested at Bashabari Lane on Wednesday the 28th May, although no Muhammadan was molested in that lane on that day or on any other day.

Sir, it has been pointed out that there was not enough Police. From the evidence which my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy has placed before the House this morning, and from what I have gathered, it will be clear to any impartial observer that there was no serious dearth of police, but it is suspected that the local authorities were given a particular kind of instructions not to interfere with a particular course of action, with the result that matters have ended in this most unfortunate manner.

Now, Sir, there is another incident which I should like to place before the House. At about 8-45 A.M., the raid at Kayettuly began; and the house of Babu Prosonna Kumar Nandy was attacked. The police were telephoned to by Mr. Abdul Kadiri, Deputy Superintendent of Police, but did not come. Two daughters of Prasanna Babu, Anindya Bala and Amiya Bala, who are students of Class IX of Kamarunnessa High School repulsed the attack for about half an hour, but had ultimately to give way after Anindya Bala had been wounded on the forehead. The Kayettuli loot commenced at a quarter to nine, and the police did not appear before 11 A.M. This indicates, Sir, that the plea that there was not enough police is unfounded. The Superintendent of Police was phoned to at about 9 A.M. by Mr. Abdul Kadiri, Deputy Superintendent of Police, from Babupura Police Station. The S. P.'s reply was that no police were available, but it happened that, at that very time Babus Jogendra Nath Sen, Lalit Mohan Ray, pleaders, and Mr. P. K. Bose, Bar-at-Law, were present at the Police Office. They saw there at least 15 Gurkha or Garhwali armed police and an equal number of ordinary constables, with four or five European police officers and three motor buses. The District Magistrate was also present there.

The District Magistrate of Dacca held a peace conference, and when the peace conference was being held in the police buildings, the members of that conference saw an incident which was this:

The members of the Peace Committee noticed from the verandah of the Police Office a fire in the direction of Kayettuli. In the midst of the discussion the Magistrate rose and abruptly left the meeting. That was at about 10 o'clock. It will be seen that at that moment Kayettuli was being raided and burnt, but strange to say the Magistrate did not go to Kayettuli, from where repeated calls for police help had come.

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The raiders, who were concerned in the pillage and burning of Kayettuli had thus a free hand for over two hours and a half. They came in batches in motor buses. One bus was relieved by another. It was noticed that one such bus was named "Momin." One private car was seen carrying bombs and other weapons and petrol.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member has exhausted his time. I hope he will try to bring his remarks to a close now.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : All right, Sir, I will have no more incidents. I support the Resolution, and resume my seat.

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig : Sir, I sorry to have to disappoint my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy.....

Mr. K. C. Neogy : Nothing will disappoint me, I did not expect anything.

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig : .....for I do not wish to make any complaint that this subject has been raised today in this House. My Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, endeavoured, I think, to keep the discussion to an issue which I am perfectly prepared to answer as far as I can—the issue, briefly, between the Government and the people. In a case of this kind, where the origin of the disturbances is communal, it is unfortunately not possible to keep out altogether certain references to what are obviously the different versions of the story that are believed by the different communities. But I shall endeavour to restrict my answer to the question of the responsibility of Government.

Now Sir, before I leave this question of communal trouble, I should like to say one word with reference to what fell from the Honourable Member, Mr. Mukerjee. I understood that he was blaming Government of promoting these communal riots. That, Sir, is a charge which I am sorry should be made by any Member of this House. The Honourable Member, I should have supposed, would remember the efforts made by the Government of India, and, in particular, by His Exellency the Viceroy, a few years ago, when we were passing through a period of very lamentable and acute communal trouble. His Excellency the Viceroy made two great and powerful appeals to the country which were circulated widely all over India, and which, in my judgment, had a very considerable effect in producing a far better and calmer atmosphere, and I think that the Government might be spared accusations of that character. The case of my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, is a different one. I do not wish to deny that the situation which arose in Dacca was serious and even deplorable. We have heard a number of details to-day. I cannot vouch for their accuracy, but the broad picture, no doubt, is true that for two days there were very serious disturbances in Dacca, that a number of person were killed and a greater number of persons were injured, and that houses and shops were burnt and looted. I do not for a moment wish to deny that general picture. Nothing could be a matter of greater regret to Government, for Government are responsible for preserving the peace, and in this case, undoubtedly, the peace was grossly broken. I do not therefore, for a moment admit that there is a case for Government to meet. Now, Sir, the case of Mr. Neogy, if I understand him aright, taking it broadly, was that the police deliberately refrained from giving such assistance as was in their power, and that Government allowed this state of affairs to continue. I might almost say, as a matter of policy. Well, Sir, those are very serious accusations. I do not propose to enter into the justification for such accusations or into a refutation of them. That is a matter which will come up later when the Committees of Enquiry, which is now sitting, has reported. But, as one side of the case has been presented to the House, let us, at any rate, see whether there is not some other and possibly more probable explanation of the unfortunate developments that took place in Dacca. It is, I think, common ground that these riots broke out very suddenly, and, as far as I know, quite unexpectedly, and spread with the most remarkable rapidity. I understand that it was on the 24th May that the riots really broke out seriously, and that the two days when most of the damage was caused were the 24th and 25th. Now, Sir, a good deal of reference has been made during the debate to the strength of the police force and whether the police were not in a position to restore order at once by vigorous action. We have not got very full details of the position, but there is no doubt from the reports I have received that the police force in Dacca at the time these riots broke out was exceptionally weak.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : May I know what was the strength of the police force then ?

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig : I am afraid I cannot say.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : Then how does the Honourable Member say that it was inadequate ?

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig : I am giving the report which we received from the local officers. It was mentioned that, though every assistance was given by the Eastern Frontier Rifles with its very limited forces, the police force was quite inadequate to deal with the situation, and I also have a report here which says that it was very unfortunate that this serious outbreak should have occurred at a time when the greater part of the military police force was absent from Dacca. A point has been made of the fact that Dacca is the headquarters of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. Well, it is quite clear that the greater part of that Force was absent from Dacca. Honourable Members, I think, can themselves conjecture what were the reasons which led to the depletion of the police forces in Dacca. They are well aware of the outbreak at Chittagong, which required a very large force for its suppression and for the subsequent operations. I do not know whether other portions of the force had had to be drafted into Calcutta, but broadly speaking when you have a province like the province of Bengal in its present deplorably disturbed condition, the strain on the police and the demand for the limited force available to Government is very great, and it was undoubtedly due to the disturbed conditions throughout the Presidency of Bengal that when these riots broke out in Dacca the police force there was under its normal strength. That is an important point which I would ask the House to bear in mind. Now, Sir, I think some of the statements we have heard today bear out that view—that really the police force was not adequate for the work they were suddenly confronted with. My Honorable friend, Mr. Neogy, mentioned the case of a lady who repeatedly appealed for

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assistance, and I was struck by the reply which, I understood, she repeatedly received—"None available." That, Sir, I think probably represents the facts. There really was not a sufficient police force to deal with the situation that arose. Well, did the Government of Bengal do nothing on this? I do not quite know how long it takes to get from Calcutta to Dacca, but at any rate I have here information that, on the 26th, the Inspector-General of Police arrived at Dacca with 215 men, and I should judge—I do not want to be dogmatic on the subject—that after the arrival of the Inspector-General of Police with his 215 men on the 26th May, most of the serious trouble was stopped. I do not think that, after that date, though no doubt isolated incidents continued, there was anything of a serious and widespread nature.

There is one other point that I should like the House to bear in mind, and that is that a very great difficulty always confronts the police when dealing with these communal disturbances. It is not as a rule the case of a single crowd or mob which has to be dealt with, but experience not only in Dacca but in many places, in many large cities throughout India, has been that when these communal disturbances start, there are isolated assaults in all quarters of the town and when there is any question of looting and burning, the looting and burning take place sporadically all over the town. It is exceedingly difficult to deal with those conditions unless you have a really considerable force, and the only effective way in which they can be stopped is by picketing the whole area concerned—I mean picketing in the official sense. (Laughter.)

Well, Sir, I do not wish to be thought to be giving a complete answer to the charges that have been made today, for I do not profess to have in my possession anything like complete information.

Mr. N. G. Ranga: When will the Government of India have complete information?

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig: I will deal with that in one moment. As I have already said, the Government of Bengal realised that there was a case for the Government to meet, and consequently they appointed a committee on the 12th June, consisting of a High Court Judge from Patna and a member of the Board of Revenue, and I would invite the attention of the House to the terms of reference to that Committee, in order to show that Government are quite aware of their position and of their responsibility. The terms of reference to the Committee were to inquire into the causes of the disturbances, to enquire into the incidents of the disturbances, and to inquire into the measures taken to deal with them—the causes, the facts and the measures taken by Government. Therefore the question which has been raised by my Honourable friend today is one of the definite points, which has been referred to that Committee which will report in a short time. That, Sir, is my answer to any suggestions that I should give a reply at once on the various points of detail, that I should give an explanation and that I should say whether the action taken was adequate or inadequate. That is a matter which is now under the consideration of the Committee.

Now, Sir, I come, in conclusion, to the actual form of the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend. He has asked for the publication of certain correspondence. Our correspondence with the Government of Bengal has been comparatively limited.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not pressed that point. In his speech he did not press that point at all.

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Haig: Perhaps I should make a brief answer on that point, because that forms actually the terms of the Resolution. To a large extent the correspondence which he have had with the Government of Bengal represents facts which have already been published and the republication of which would do no good. To the extent to which any views may have either been expressed or suggested in that correspondence, I do feel quite definitely that it would be undesirable now to publish them. All these matters are coming under the review of the Committee, and it is undesirable that we should break in upon their labours by the publication of any tentative or incomplete views. Any views that Government may have on this subject will have been placed before the Committee, and until the latter has reported, I do not think it would be wise to publish anything which would suggest definite conclusions by Government. I would go further, Sir, and urge that, at a time like this, Honourable Members should refrain from making any allegations, as I gladly recognise that for the most part they have, either on one side or on the other, which might be likely to embitter the situation and to embarrass the inquiry. Though the Committee is not a court of law, still it is engaged in the same functions as a court of law. It is endeavouring to ascertain facts and to come to conclusions, and it can only be a handicap to its work that the matters into which it is inquiring should form the subject of public controversy. I would, therefore, Sir, oppose the motion.

Several Honourable Members: I move that the question be now put.

Mr. President: Mr Neogy.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, I promise to be very brief in my reply, and I am going to disappoint my Honourable friend, Mr. Ghuznavi, by refusing to walk into his parlour. I am not going to raise a communal issue in my reply, just as I did not in my first speech. My Honourable friend, Sir, mostly depended upon second-hand information. While the Dacca riots were going on he was for most of the time oscillating between Simla, Darjeeling and Calcutta.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: I had never been to Darjeeling then.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: He found no time to go down to his constituency, although the most important spot in his constituency had been ablaze. The Honourable Member had very responsible duties to shoulder at that moment because the Simon Report was about to be published, and the proper atmosphere had to be created for its reception, and I am not surprized at the tone of official responsibility which he adopted in opposing this Resolution. It seems he already feels the weight of the responsibility of Government resting on his shoulders.

An Honourable Member: Or he might have been thinking of the Round Table Conference.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, my Honourable friend relied on a particular version of certain incidents. I possess complete papers on each and every

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incident dealt with by him, but I do not propose to go into them at all. My Honourable friend complained about the Hindu papers, but what about the Anglo-Indian papers, what about the *Statesman* itself?

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. A. J. GIDNEY (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): What has the Anglo-Indian got to do in this matter?

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Sir, so far as the incidents at Rohitpur are concerned, one may depend certainly upon the version published in the *Statesman*. My Honourable friend will see.....

DR. A. SUHRAWARDY: Who was the reporter?

MR. K. C. NEOGY: .....that even a paper like the *Statesman* does not bear out his version in this particular instance. Fortunately for us, all the Muhammadans of Dacca are not like my Honourable friend, Mr. Ghuznavi (Hear, hear), and I am here to acknowledge that individual Muhammadan gentlemen have afforded protection to Hindus in distress during these troublous days; and I propose to read out a certain statement made by a Muhammadan pleader of Dacca which will have some interest for my Honourable friend Mr. Haig. The statement is a signed one, and I have seen the original in the Bar Library at Dacca. This statement has reference to the point as to whether the police force at the time was adequate.

"On Saturday", says this statement, "returning from Court at about 5 P.M., hearing a great noise coming from the direction of Naya Bazar Municipal Market, I proceeded towards the market. I met some passers-by who told me that a shop in the market had been set fire to. I went near the market where butchers' shops are situated. I found a crowd before the burning shop, and I saw several men going with articles of the shops. They were all Muhammadans. I found that a few policemen with a European officer coming out of the crowd moving leisurely towards the west.

(Sd.) A. F. NURAN-NABI, B. L.,
Pleader, Dacca."

It is not a question of the insufficiency of the police, it is indifference, it is criminal callousness.....

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: These, Sir, are matters which will come under inquiry by the Committee.

MR. K. C. NEOGY: I quite realize that. My Honourable friend has done a very good service to me by reminding me of the point. What, Sir, is the constitution of that Committee? Two members of the Indian Civil Service, may be, one as a Judge of the Patna High Court, and the other a Member of the Board of Revenue in Bengal. The Honourable gentleman knows the nature of the allegations brought forward in this matter. The Honourable Member knows who are expected to be at the bottom of the whole thing. The Honourable Member knows that the *bona fides* of the local authorities, including some I. C. S. gentlemen, are being questioned.....

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: Does the Honourable Member mean to question the *bona fides* of the members of the Committee?

MR. K. C. NEOGY: I have nothing to say personally against either of these gentlemen, but the fact that Government could not find members outside the I. C. S. for this Committee from perhaps are not very sincere in their desire to get an unbiassed report (Hear, hear.) The popular impression is that the Committee has gone down to Dacca with a lot of whitewash, and I am certainly entitled to give vent to the popular apprehensions in this matter. They do not feel that the Committee, which is inquiring into the matter, is doing so with an open mind. The action of the authorities, that of the Commissioner of the Division who was present at Dacca at the time, that of the District Magistrate, and all the rest of them belonging to the I. C. S., the conduct of all these gentlemen will have to be inquired into, and the Government could not make a better choice than selecting two members of that very service to constitute the Committee! And what did the people want? The people wanted a mixed committee composed of officials and non-officials. The Honourable Member might say, "There is a dispute between Hindus and Muhammadans, and if Government had appointed a committee composed of Hindus, the Muhammadans might object, and *vice versa*." But they could, if they wanted to avoid non-officials, appoint to the Committee a Hindu Judge of a High Court and a Muhammadan Judge of a High Court, with the addition of a European Judge if they so liked. Now my Honourable friend stated that the points raised here are really in issue before that Committee. But he surely missed the point of my Resolution. The Committee is concerned with an inquiry into the responsibility or otherwise of the local officials for the situation created. What I want to know from the Government is, what attitude did the Government of India take in this matter? Is the attitude of the Government of India also being investigated by this Committee? Nothing that the Honourable Member read out from the terms of reference of this Committee bear him out there. What I want to know is, what was the attitude of the Government of India all this time? That is certainly quite different from the subject-matter of the inquiry, which is to find out the responsibility of the local officials, unless of course the Government of India identify themselves thoroughly with the local authorities.....

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: I do not quite understand what the Honourable Member means. If the Local Government were handling the matter adequately, there was no occasion for the Government of India to intervene. The view of the Government of India was that the Local Government were handling the matter adequately. By appointing this Committee of Inquiry, they were doing what was right.

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Is that what the Honourable Member wrote down to the Government of Bengal namely, that, "You are doing all that is needed for the situation?" That is exactly what I want to know. I should like to have an answer, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: An answer to what?

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Did the Government of India simply write to the Government of Bengal that they were perfectly satisfied about what they had done in the matter? Do I take it that the Honourable Member and his Government were keeping their eyes and ears shut to the situation in Dacca? It is necessary for the purpose of establishing the Honourable Member's *bona fides* that the correspondence should be published. I

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hope the Honourable Member realises the seriousness of the allegations that have been levelled against Government. Does the Honourable Member know.....

MR. JEHANGIR K. MUNSHI (Burma: Non-European): Will you permit me, Sir, to intervene on a point of information? Will the Honourable Member give an assurance to the House that, after the report of this Inquiry Committee, he will publish the correspondence with the Government of Bengal on this subject?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: I am not prepared to give any such assurance.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: It will be published after the Round Table Conference has finished its labours.

MR. K. C. NEOGY: Do I take it, then, that the Government of India have fully approved of what the Government of Bengal have done by not sending down any responsible officer to the locality? I may inform the House that not one single soul stirred out from Darjeeling, neither the Chief Secretary nor Mr. Prentice who is in charge of this portfolio, not to speak of the Governor himself.

Sir, reference was made to a funeral procession. I have the statement of the officer in charge of the cremation ground at Dacca. The House will remember that whereas a funeral procession, which started the rioting, was allowed to be taken through the leading streets of the city without any let or hindrance, the Hindus could not take their dead bodies for cremation to the cremation ground. And when this officer approached the Chairman of Municipality, the Chairman sent him with a letter to the Thana (the Police Station). He says:

"A Muhammadan Sub-Inspector was at the thana then. I delivered the letter to him, and on perusing the same, he told me: "You indulge in Swadeshi and shout *Bande Mataram*; why then do you come to us with a letter from Swadeshi-wallah Satis Sarkar (Chairman)."

The Sub-Inspector then handed over the letter to the officer in charge of the thana, who ordered it to be filed and said: "You won't get any police for guarding the burning ghat." Several people who had gone there carrying their dead bodies for cremation were murderously assaulted and one of them actually lost his life. Since that incident took place, no Hindu had any protection in the matter of carrying the dead bodies to the cremation ground and the dead bodies had to be cremated inside their own houses. Look at this picture and the other one! A huge procession carrying a dead body was allowed to be proceeded with throughout the streets. It consisted of several thousands of people by the time it had reached the mosque.

Then, again, with regard to the question of inadequacy of the police force. Mention has already been made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sen, about the action of the police in snatching away the guns from people who were attempting to defend themselves with their help. Here is the statement of a Government officer, a Lecturer of a Government College:

"I then met the hooligans with my gun and after a few shots were fired the rowdies fell back. I was waiting with the gun in hand when to the relief I found a short Anglo-Indian officer on the roof of my house accosting me, even though he was pointing his revolver to me. He asked me to put down the gun which I did; and without entering into any reasoning or arguments with me told me that the Deputy Inspector-General of Police was coming up and that I might tell him anything I liked. The latter came up soon after and to my surprise he wanted me to deliver up my gun which he would seize, although I pointed out that I was a Government servant and fired in self-defence. There was another gun in the adjacent house which he also seized."

Does the Honourable Member mean to say that, whatever the Committee of Inquiry may have to say with regard to these incidents, the effect of the statements of responsible people like those whom I have quoted can be taken away? What is the use of waiting for the Report of this white-washing Committee?

Then, Sir, another point has not been investigated. All the burning that has been done has been done with the help of petrol. Petrol was smeared on the doors, the beams and the rafters of brick-built houses. A large quantity of petrol was required for the purpose. Will the Honourable Member make an inquiry and find out as to whether the police have as yet tried to discover the source from which this petrol came? It has been openly alleged that the petrol was carried in private cars belonging to certain particular persons, and yet no action has been taken in this direction. Even if I were to concede, for the sake of argument, that the police force was inadequate at the time, what have the police done since to arrest the people who were named by the aggrieved persons as having been their assailants and having looted their property? What action has been taken to try and discover and seize the looted property? The Honourable Member's case, I take it, is this, that, although the strength of the police was not sufficient when the riots actually took place, it is quite sufficient now. Will the Honourable Member find out as to why it is that no serious attempt has been made to recover the looted property worth at least 20 to 30 lakhs? I know that in a few instances make-believe searches were made. And would it be believed by this House that, before the searches were made, people were cautioned by beat of drum in the city of Dacca that searches might take place? This statement has been made by responsible people. The House can easily imagine what came out of these searches.

Sir, I am about to close my career in this House,...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: And so say all!

MR. K. C. NEOGY: I may be permitted to say that when I came into this Assembly ten years ago I had great confidence, if not in the Government, at least in the Constitution. God knows that I did not come here to advance my personal interests in any way. And when I go back today, may I tell this House that that faith has been rudely shaken by the recent incidents that I have myself witnessed with my own eyes and about which I have made personal inquiries. I feel that it is extremely difficult for any one to do any real service to his country as a Member of this House. If I have said anything which might have irritated the Honourable Members opposite, it is because I expected a very high standard of conduct from the Government which they have failed to attain.

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MR. PRESIDENT : Resolution moved :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood."

The question is that that Resolution be adopted. The Assembly divided. The motion was negatived.

False Pride or Statemanship ?

BY TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

THE writings of Dr. Masaryk and Dr. Benes of Czecho-slovakia supply food for thought to all statesmen, especially those of subject nations. They indicate the course of international politics and the efforts of Czech patriots, to make the question of Czech independence a factor in world politics. To promote the cause of national independence, they brought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire.

Recently, the *Pester Lloyd* (a semi-official paper published in Budapest) has made a very interesting revelation regarding the activities of the Czech patriots during the world war. This shows that while the Czech patriots were carrying on secret negotiations with Austria's enemies, so that they might recognize Czech independence, at the same time "an eleventh hour offer by the Czechs to co-operate with Emperor Karl of Austria, to preserve intact the Austrian monarchy" was made by Czech statesmen. A Budapest despatch of August 5, 1930, published in the *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) describes the incident in the following way :—

> On the night before the coronation of Emperor Karl, a deputation of Czech parliamentary deputies under the president of their organization, M. Stanek, came to Budapest. Stanek privately called at the office of the *Pester Lloyd* and produced a document signed by himself and approved by all Czech deputies, promising in return for definite concessions in the matter of racial autonomy and language privileges, to bind themselves with Austria in all future developments and that the Czech national hopes should be made only within the monarchy under Emperor Karl's rule. The editor submitted the document to the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, who immediately telephoned the Austrian Premier, Count Clam Martinitz. Vienna newspapers had already, under Government instructions, refused to publish the document. Count Clam Martinitz himself rejected the Czech offer in view of his knowledge of simultaneous secret negotiations by the Czechs with the Allies. Austria thus threw away what its sponsor, M. Stanek, described as the last chance of a final guarantee for the preservation of an undivided monarchy. Karl was crowned Emperor the next day without the Czechs' proffered oath of allegiance, and the Czechs devoted themselves thenceforth to the disruption of the monarchy."

It is conceivable that if the above offer had been accepted, it might have preserved the unity of the Austrian Empire. False pride and inflated sense of prestige of worthless Austrian statesmen brought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire. It was also the false sense of pride of British statesmen who tried to impose the authority of the British Parliament upon the American colonists that led to the American Revolution and the loss of the most valuable of Britain's colonies. The refusal of the Manchu autocrats to reform the system of government in China and to establish a regime of constitutional monarchy aided the cause of the Chinese Revolution. Stubborn opposition of Sultan of Turkey to confer autonomy on the Arabs furthered the cause of Arab revolt and the subsequent dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Tsarist autocracy and the Duma without any real power directly and indirectly strengthened the cause of the Russian revolutionists, who put an end to the rule of the Romanoffs.

While the Austrian statesmen refused to accept the Czech offer and promise autonomy within the empire, British statesmen were clever enough to proclaim that in recognition of the services rendered by India "in the darkest hours of the empire," the people of India would be granted self-government and equal partnership within the empire. *Indian support saved the British Empire, during the world war ; while the Czech revolt*

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brought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire.

It seems that at the present time the sense of "false pride and prestige" is dominating the activities of British statesmen in relation to India. Lord Irwin, Mr. McDonald, Mr. Benn and others are fully aware of the extent and depth of the Indian unrest. They realize that, if India is to be a willing partner in the British Empire, they will have to make a very substantial concession, at least Dominion status. But they are victims of the false pride of British authority in India. They are anxious to uphold the "prestige of the British officials and the British Parliament, which *supposedly* has the sole power and right to decide the destiny of 320,000,000 people." They are misled by their own weakness, based upon false pride and are following an uncertain and vacillating course, caring more for the so-called prestige than the actualities of the situation. They wish to induce Indian nationalist leaders to come to a Round Table Conference, for a "free conference"; yet in actuality they wish to dicate terms and demand that the Indian nationalists first must capitulate to the absolute authority of the British Raj, before the Indian political prisoners can be released and military and police repression can cease.

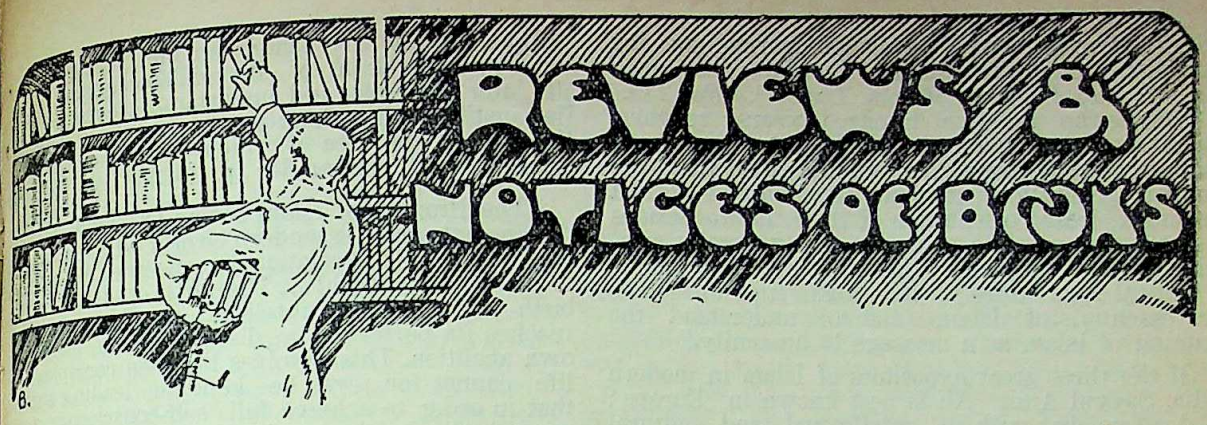
The British Government has been very badly served by the Simon Commission, whose recommendations are characterized even by Indian Moderates as reactionary. This is fully recognized by many British statesmen, especially Lord Irwin and Messrs. MacDonald and Benn. Yet they have not the courage to face the realities of the Indian situation and declare that the coming Round Table Conference to be held in London will be for the purpose of drawing up the constitution of India on the basis of Dominion status. Unfortunately, British statesmen are much concerned in "saving face" and "upholding false pride and inflated prestige" of British politicians and officials who wish to keep India in subjection, so that they and others may grow rich by the exploitation of the people. This policy may ultimately cost Britain an empire.

History teaches us that there is not an instance when "awakened nationalism" has agreed to surrender unconditionally to the terms of an alien imperialism. Indian nationalists cannot be persuaded to accept the British offer of a "free conference" as a sincere one, so long as the reign of repression continues in India. Taking the actual situation of world politics into consideration. British statesmen should not forget that they are living in a glass-house and the security of the British Empire depends more upon Indian co-operation than any other factor. An autonomous and free India, as an ally, may again aid Britain in future "dark days of the Empire"; but if Indian patriots be forced indefinitely to prolong their intransigence, it will surely have serious consequences, affecting the security of the British Empire.

Repressive measures, based upon false pride, will never be able to crush the Indian Nationalist movement; but it may breed hatred which will dominate Indo-British relations for a century or longer. Let us hope that statesmanship will take the place of "false pride."

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[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

MR. GODFREY HIGGINS' APOLOGY FOR MOHAMMED [*verbatim reprint*], *edited with Introduction, critical notes, appendices, and a chapter on Islam, by Mirza Abul Fazl. (Reform Society, Allahabad,* Rs. 4.)

This bulky volume (of 529 pages) contains a formidable but miscellaneous armoury of Muslim apologetics. The work which gives it its title occupies less than half of it (only 247 pp.) while the notes, appendices and essays that encompass this kernel make up 282 pages. The *Apology* was written early in the 19th century in the infancy of Islamic studies in England and therefore it represents a rather primitive phase of scholarship and thought. To us the introduction (142 pages) and the essay and comparative sketch on Islam (44+17 pp.)—which come from the pen of Mr. Abul Fazl,—appear as far more valuable than Higgins' own work, of which the only interest now consists in the fact that in it a fair-minded professed Christian defends the founder of Islam with such knowledge as was available to him.

But the bounds of our knowledge have immensely increased in the century following the publication of Higgins' book,—thanks to the efforts of Continental scholars. This aspect of the subject is unfortunately not at all represented in the editor's notes and essays, as he relies entirely on Muir, Bosworth Smith, and Lane Poole. Herein he lies vulnerable to legitimate criticism.

Coming to the book itself, certain portions of it are barred out of our consideration by reason of the fact that this *Review* cannot discuss the respective merits of different religions or their relative running power as transport agencies to heaven. We can consider only the history of a religion or the philosophy underlying it.

It is not true that the founder of Islam has been calumniated only by Christian bigots. His earliest biography in Arabic, written by Muhammad Ibn Ishaq for the Abbaside Khalif Mansur (*circa* 150 A. H.) throws an unfavourable light on the Medina period. Higgins never heard of this work, and his editor, a century later, is no wiser.

The once popular Christian view of Muhammad as an impostor is wrong. Equally wrong is Carlyle's view that he was "a fiery mass of Life cast up from the great bosom of Nature herself to kindle the world,—a deep-hearted Son of the Wilderness, a silent great man,"—a vehement single-minded fighter against Simulacra and compromises,—with his vein swelling under honest indignation. Nöldeke was the first to point out how the Prophet's wonderful diplomatic skill had been ignored by his biographers. And the later studies of Margoliouth and Carl Becker have worked this neglected line of research, proving (what was to be expected) that such an immense revolution in human thought and history as Islam represents, could not have been effected except by the use of a masterly elasticity in the choice of means, unusual diplomatic finesse, and sure tact in perceiving and seizing the realities of every situation that faced him. This aspect of the subject is entirely untouched in Mr. Abul Fazl's book. It is not by ignoring modern "higher criticism" that any apology—Christian or Islamic—can establish its place in the estimation of the learned.

Mr. Abul Fazl dismisses the affair of Mary the Copt as a myth, and explains away the incident of Zeinab only to glorify the Prophet's magnanimity and readiness to sacrifice himself (cxxxvi—cxlii). He claims:

"Mohammedanism came upon the world as a kind of reformed Christianity" (quotation from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 1888.) "Islam has done more for civilization than Christianity"..."Islam has abolished drunkenness, gambling and prostitution,—the three curses of Christian lands." (Quotations from Canon Isaac Taylor).

His defence of the Prophet against the charge of illiteracy (*ummiya*) is very interesting (pp. 51-52 *n.*)

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SIX LECTURES ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM: *By Sir Mohammad Iqbal*, (*Kapur Printing Works, Lahore*). *Pp. 249.*

"During the last five hundred years, religious thought in Islam (mourns Sir M. Iqbal) has been practically stationary.···No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith···Besides this, it is not possible to ignore the generally anti-religious and especially anti-Islamic propaganda in Central Asia···Surely, it is high time to look to the essentials of Islam···(and to) understand the meaning of Islam as a message to humanity."

Of the three great expositors of Islam in modern India, Sayyid Amir Ali is best known in Europe; he dealt solely with its intellectual and cultural side from his standpoint of a professed Muslim free-thinker (Mutazzalite), Cheragh Ali concentrated on the social reform side, while Sir Md. Iqbal (hitherto known to us as a mystic and poet) has now undertaken the re-interpretation of its philosophy from the modern point of view.

The six lectures range over the following subjects: (1) knowledge and religious experience, (2) the philosophical test of the revelations of religious experience, (3) the conception of God and the meaning of prayer, (4) the human Ego—his immortality and freedom, (5) the spirit of Muslim culture, and (6) the principle of movement in the structure of Islam.

It is difficult to compress his ideas into a short space, but we may briefly say that the entire attitude of Sir Muhammad is diametrically opposed to that of another modern philosopher, Count H. Keyserling, who has asserted—

"This military basis of Islam explains all the essential virtues of the Musalman. It also explains his fundamental defects,—his unprogressiveness, his incapacity to adapt himself, his lack of initiative and invention."

Sir Md. Iqbal, on the contrary, asserts that "as a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view," (p. 205). "All lines of Muslim thought converge on a dynamic conception of the universe" (192). "While Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it, on the whole, obscured their vision of the *Quran*" (p. 4.)

"Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of pure conviction which personal revelation alone can bring···The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego···Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation which internalises its own apparent externality.···In view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we [Muslims] ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth" (pp. 248-249).

Iqbal takes his stand on the *Quran*,—*i.e.*, his own interpretation of its philosophy, and rejects all later glosses and importations, even Ghazzali. He justifies the finality of the prophet-hood in Muhammad, the idea of which has a high cultural value missed by Spengler (p. 201.)

"The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world.···In so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belonged to the modern world... The birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priest-hood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the *Quran*, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality" (pp. 176-177.) "A prophet may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which 'unitary experience' tends to overflow its boundaries, and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life" (p. 174).

But this view of the matter is diametrically opposed to that held by the largest dissenting body in Islam, we mean the Shias. As the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (viii. 897) points out: "From the first many Persians refused to believe that the cycle of revelation had closed with Muhammad, and the deification of Ali seems to have begun even before his death. This mystical belief in *a continuous revelation and a divine presence*, different in kind from anything found in the *Quran*, developed into the doctrine of the *imamat*."

Iqbal argues, on another point, "I want definitely to eradicate the misunderstanding that Greek thought, in any way, determined the character of Muslim culture.....for purposes of knowledge, the spirit of Muslim culture fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite..... ..The birth of the method of observation and experiment in Islam was due not to a compromise with Greek thought, but to a prolonged intellectual warfare with it" (pp. 182-183).

These views, absolutely orginal to most of us, have not been developed methodically and in detail, nor supported by a concrete historical presentation of facts, in the course of these lectures. They will, therefore, fail in their present form to convert those not already converted. It is unfortunate, in view of Sir M. Iqbal's capacity and reputation, that in the present work he gives no evidence of his equipment in the course of Islamic literature and *detailed* growth of thought, and presents us often with *ipse dixit*.

We draw the reader's special attention to the lecturer's remark on the "causes which have reduced the Law of Islam practically to a state of immobility" (pp. 209 *et seq.*)

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PRESS AND PRESS LAWS IN INDIA: *By Hemendra Prasad Ghose. Published by D. K. Mitra, 20, Sraud Road, Calcutta. Pp. 102. Price Re. 1.*

The author is well known as a journalist. In this book he gives "a rapid review of the measures adopted by the British in India to circumscribe the liberty of the Press." The periodical Press in India is of comparatively recent origin. The first English newspaper printed in India was Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, started on 29 January 1780, and it was not till 1816 that the Vernacular Press took its birth. The author outlines briefly the history of the control exercised by the Government on the Press from the days of John Company down to the promulgation of the recent Press Ordinance. This is a very timely publication no doubt and would be of some help to the journalist.

The book, says the author, "is the result of researches conducted and experience gained during 10 years spent in Indian journalism." Mr. Ghose is probably not aware that the first attempt in the subject was made some two decades ago by Mr. S. C. Sanial in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, and had he gone through Sanial's articles he could have supplemented this book with much useful information.

Mr. Ghose's work is not without blemishes. The reviewer has good reasons to differ from the author's view (held by earlier writers too), namely that:—

"Lord Hastings..... being inclined towards the liberty of the Press, encouraged Dr. James Bryce who on his arrival at Calcutta on the 28 Nov. 1814 became the editor and managing proprietor of the *Cryptic Mirror*.. Dr. Bryce's repeated representations against the censor eventually brought about the abolition of the post of censor."

The real intention of Lord Hastings and the policy of his Government towards the Press have been misunderstood by Indian writers on account of their not having studied the original records on the subject and having merely generalized from some familiar catchwords. Let us state the position clearly: Before Lord Hastings's repeal, there was a censorship (created by Wellesley in 1799) of newspapers published by Europeans, and the punishment sanctioned for any breach of the regulation was the immediate deportation of the offending editor to Europe. By the year 1818 three-edited newspapers had come into being at Calcutta, and as Eurasians and Indians could not be deported to England, the absence of any legal method of punishing editors of these two races was first felt for the first time. The Government made itself ridiculous by punishing European editors because it could not touch native offenders of the same class. Therefore, Lord Hastings's Government decided to abolish the censorship, and at the same time draw the attention of the Home authorities to the inadequacy of the press law. The following extracts from a Minute delivered by William Butterworth Bayley in the Calcutta Council on 10 October 1822, towards the close of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings, will make the matter clear:

"The circumstance which in the year 1818 led to the change in the system of control exercised over the Censor occured during the time when the duty of examining the newspapers previously to their publication devolved upon me in my capacity of Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

"A person of the name of Heatly born in Bengal whose father was a European British subject and his mother a native of India became the sole proprietor and editor of the *Morning Post*, one of the Calcutta newspapers. In the month of April 1818, I had judged it expedient to expunge some paragraphs from his paper which I thought open to serious objection. He waited upon me in person and after some unavailing attempts on my part to convince him of the inexpediency of his inserting the passages in question in his paper, he intimated to me that he should nevertheless persist in publishing them, and that as a Native of India he was liable to no legal penalty for refusing to comply with the injunctions of the Censor. The paragraphs in question have been actually published....

"The obvious inutility of maintaining the office of Censor, unless legal power could be vested in the Government to support his authority as well as the importance of obtaining such legal powers, was immediately felt and acknowledged by the Local Government. ...

It was finally resolved on the 19th of August, 1818 to abolish the censorship, and to substitute in its place some general rules for the guidance of the editors. ...

"It was however fully felt and acknowledged at the time, and the fact is adverted to in the Governor-General's Minute, that the Government did not possess legal power to enforce any rules for the regulation or control of the Press, so far as related to publications issued within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court when conducted by persons coming under the denomination of Natives. It was in consequence intended by Government to point out to the Court of Directors this defect, with a view to obtain sufficient legal authority to control the Press, when in the hands of individuals not being British European subjects."

From the above we can clearly see the circumstances and the real motives that led to the abolition of the censorship of the European press in India. It would be wrong to hold that Lord Hastings was induced to take this step out of liberal-mindedness or an abstract love for the freedom of the Press. By repealing the censorship Lord Hastings did not emancipate the press from all restraint. He merely replaced the censorship by some general rules for the guidance of editors, which were calculated to prevent unfettered discussion as effectively as the censorship had done, but without the cost and trouble to Government which a censorship involved.

Our author has striven to prove that "the British in India have an almost superstitious fear of a free Press in a conquered country." As a matter of fact, it could hardly be otherwise. A free Press in a despotically governed country is almost an anomaly. As Mr. Bayley admits in his Minute:

"The stability of the British dominion in India mainly depends upon the cheerful obedience and subordination of the Officers of the Army, on the fidelity of the Native Troops, on the supposed character and power of the Government, and upon the opinion which may be entertained by a superstitious and unenlightened Native population of the motives and tendency of our actions as affecting their interests.

"The liberty of the Press, however essential to

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the nature of a free State, is not in my judgment consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of our dominion in India."

To this we might add the no less frank admission of Sir George Campbell, once Lieut. Governor of Bengal, who says:

"My own opinion always has been that an entirely free Press is inconsistent with a despotic form of Government even if it be a paternal despotism." (*Memoirs of My Indian Career*).

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

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SOME PROBLEMS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY: *By Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L. T., Ph. D. Reprint from the Ceded Districts College Magazine.*

A pamphlet of 35 pages in which the author examines two problems, (i) foundation of the Vijayanagara empire and (ii) alleged murder of Sadasivaraya.

The author devotes 28 pages to a polemical discussion of the reign of the Vijayanagara kingdom about which scholars are divided in their opinion. He opens with a quotation of 7 pages from Dr. Venkataramanayya's monograph on "Kampili and Vijayanagara." in support of the Telugu theory against the theory of the Hoyasala origin of the Vijayanagara kingdom. His own contribution to the controversy is an attempt to prove that the identification of Vijayanagara with Virupakshapattan—which forms one of the main planks of the Hoyasala theorists—is false. Virupakshapattan, according to Dr. C. Narayana Rao is the present day Tiruvannamalai. We fail to understand how the whole Hoyasala theory falls to ground even if his contention proves true. Next, he tries to buttress up the Telugu theory by maintaining that Madhava Vidyaranya a Telugu man had some connection with the foundation of Vijayanagara. Some inscriptions are also referred to wherein the city of Vijayanagar is called Vidyanagara after the name of Vidyaranya. Father Heras who is competent to speak with authority on the Vijayanagara history rejects these inscriptions as fabrications imputing sordid motive and philosophical unscrupulousness to the later Jagadgurus of Sringeri. Dr. Rao should have re-opened the controversy in some learned historical journal instead of making such a futile attack on Prof. Heras who is not to be easily overthrown.

A HISTORY OF INDIA, PART II—MUHAMMADAN INDIA *By C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co; 4, Mount Road, price Rs. 3, pp 366.*

This is a readable and handy volume dealing with the medieval history of India from the Arab conquest of Sind down to the third battle of Panipat. It contains five good maps, a pretty exhaustive bibliography and a full index. The authors have evidently taken great pains in compiling this volume, which is undoubtedly an improvement on many text-books.

Prof. M. Habib of Aligarh in an eloquent introduction speaks highly of the authors and their work. The authors also claim to have embodied in the treatment "the results of the latest researches." We regret to remark that the authors have in some places relegated the results of latest researches to *footnotes*, while exploded myths and historical heresies shine prominent in the body of the text; *c. f.* the story of the foundation of the Bahamani kingdom by a Brahman slave (p. 120, footnote p 121). The latest research on the Padmini episode is perhaps absolute silence which the authors so wisely maintain in the body of the text. But the insertion of a footnote repeating the popular fiction of Tod deprives them of credit. What is worse, they make a Rana of Bhim Singh who even according to their authority namely, Tod, was the uncle of Rana Lakshman Singh. Though *Virbinode*, an authentic history of Mewar in Hindi, holds that Alauddin's infatuation for Padmini, wife of Rana Ratan Singh, was the cause of war it hardly stands criticism. Amir Khusru who accompanied Alauddin to Chitor makes no mention of Padmini either in his history Tarikh-i-Alai (Elliot and Dowson, iii 77) or in any of his poems. Ziauddin Barani in the 14th and the gossipy Badayuni in the 16th century do not refer to the episode. Ferishta whose authority on such a topic is no greater than that of curious modern travellers who swallow with avidity tales of ignorant guides to historical places—gives the first hint to a Rana's *daughter* who befooled the Sultan. The Bundi poet and historian Surajmal in his *Vamsabhaskara*, a comprehensive history of Rajputana in verse and based on bardic tales does not mention at all names of Bhim Singh, Padmini, Gora and Badal, rejecting apparently Khuman Raso, the authority of Tod, as unreliable. He says that Alauddin invaded Chitor because Garhlakhhan Singh, Rana of Chitor refused to surrender Ratan Singh, son of Hamir, the redoubtable castellan of Rantambhor (Vol. III, p 1694). This seems to be the real cause of Alauddin's war against Mewar. We wonder how for generations students of history could allow fictions like this to go unchallenged.

Another instance of a legend of Rajput history passing for authentic history is the story of Humayun's chivalrous effort to succour Rani Karnavati of Chitor against Bahadur Shah Gujrati. Jauhar and Gulbadan Begum who accompanied Humayun during this expedition say nothing about it. Even the liberal-minded Abdul Fazl, presumably on the authority of Jauhar says that Humayun made a long halt at Mandasor out of a pious consideration of giving time to a brother Muslim to finish war with the infidel. The authors of the history under review mention these authorities and yet repeat Tod's story unsuspectingly. But history suffers sometimes from research itself. V.A. Smith seriously challenged the truth of the story of Akbar's refusal to cut off the head of the half-dead Himu at the request of Bairam Khan. As there was no rejoinder from any scholar he boldly incorporated his guess as a piece of genuine research and since then our boys are unlearning the old story. The authors of this history can not certainly be blamed for quoting V. A. Smith's opinion with nervous emphasis. V.A. Smith is right in pointing out that noble sentiments put in the mouth of Akbar by Abul Fazal, and the ramification of the incident as told by Jahangir are untrustworthy. We also admit the logic of his contention that for an unregenerate lad of 13, presumption is rather against his refusal to comply with the request of the dictatorial regent. But we should remmeber that Akbar was a Turki boy, not an English lad; and

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as such not incapable of mature reflection and an independent line of action at 13 : in tropical plains such examples in the history of the Turks and Mongols are by no means rare. V.A. Smith uses Badayuni as an unimpeachable authority whenever he has to say anything against Akbar. But in this particular case the cynic turned a sycophant in the opinion of the veteran historian. And why ? Because Badayûni's testimony runs counter to that of a Dutchman, Van den Broecke who came to India in the reign of Jahangir and heard from a very great authority that Akbar cut off the head of Himu. This great authority of the Dutchman was none of first-rate contemporary historians of Akbar but an obscure and gossipy Afghan writer, Ahmad-i-Yadgar, author of Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana. This breathes all through rank fanaticism and the author as an Afghan and good Musalman could not perhaps deny even to Akbar the merit of killing a Hindu in cold blood. Nizamuddin Ahmad, the soberest historian of mediæval India says that Himu was brought before Akbar and Bairam cut off his head. Everything else may be dramatic development at the hands of courtiers : but the fact stands that Akbar *did not* kill Himu.

The authors in their attempt to form an independent opinion of the Shivaji and Afzal Khan affair have made confusion worse confounded : "The deluded Afghan came *unarmed* (2.).....In accordance with the custom of the age, Afzal Khan embraced Shivaji ; while in this act he received an agonising thrust." This is a palpable distortion of fact.

Some of the generalizations of the authors are unsound ; the influence of Hindu women in the harems of Musalmans as working towards reconciliation (p. 116). This belief has grown of late among twentieth century politicians innocent of history. Hindu women in the harem of Musalmans suffered social death, being separated for good from their families. They had absolutely no influence on their progeny. Firuz Tughlaq's mother was a Bhatti Rajputni. Sikandar Lodi's mother was a Hindu goldsmith's daughter, mothers of Jahangir and Shah Jahan were unconverted Rajput princesses. And what was the result ? Were they not as fanatical as children of Muslim mothers ? Intermarriages can bridge racial but not religious gulf, and they never worked for reconcilation in the Middle Ages, though they may perhaps prove effective in the coming century when religion will cease to be a potent factor in moulding man's character.

The style of the book is simple and lucid, and the narrative on the whole runs smooth and pleasant. But the authors could perhaps have observed a little more economy of space which is so essential in a text-book. They have in some places missed essential points in summarising events; *e.g.* the story of Shivaji's escape which the authors consider too fascinating to be omitted—is given a para of 18 lines ; yet they nowhere allude to his feigned illness nor give the remotest idea of the route of his homeward journey.

The book, we hope, will maintain its ground for some time as a text-book in schools and secondary colleges, because it gives a mass of useful facts and valuable references in an attractive garb. The authors deserve hearty good wishes from all fellow-workers in history because they, unlike most of the text-book writers anxious to maintain the character of originality have been very scrupulous in acknowledging their debt to others, and drawing attention of readers to up-to-date literature on every topic. The book in spite of some defects will prove useful to our school boys, and also to junior teachers as a guide to more detailed study of the subject.

K. R. Qanungo

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1. A Bird's-Eye View of India's Past as the Foundation of India's Future.

2. India : A Nation : *By Dr. Annie Besant Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Both of these little books have run through four editions, which proves that their usefulness has been recognized by the public. The second book incorporates most of the material gathered together in the first. They contain useful summaries of the past social and political history of India, and give a true picture of the irreparable damage done to her by the foreign British rule. The gifted authoress has quoted largely from the standard works of Ramesh Dutt, Digby, Dadabhai Naoroji and others. As an introduction to Indian political and social history these little volumes will form excellent hand-books for beginners.

B.

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Ethical Principles in Theory and Practice : *by Prof. Hans Driesch : pp. 248 ; George Allen and Unwin Ltd. ; 1930 : 7s. 6d.*

This essay in moral philosophy, as the sub-title calls it, published originally in German in 1927 for the benefit of statesmen who wish to prevent a divorce between ethics and politics, is destined to make a greater stir, now that it has received an excellent English garb at the hands of Mr. W. H. Johnston. Prof. Driesch, whose vitalistic interpretation of biological phenomena in his Gifford Lectures and subsequent writings is well known and who has besides to his credit some psychological and philosophical works of considerable merit, has after reaching his sixtieth year produced an ethical work that does credit to him as a man of broad culture, universal sympathy and considerable moral courage. The informed reader will no doubt find here and there echoes of the views of earlier writers on similar topics, notably Spencer and Green, but the work as a whole is a well-knit production and is destined to take its rank among the foremost ethico-political writings of all times.

The book opens with a prolegomena which the ordinary reader, not acquainted with Prof. Driesch's metaphysical views, is likely to find slightly uninteresting. He is advised to skip it at the first reading and to return to it after finishing the later portions. Prof. Driesch contends that in the ethical injunction there is an implied duality, for otherwise morality would have been a natural event without any sense of obligation or constraint. He is of the opinion that morality is intuitive in all minds when not corrupted by habit or self-interest. He introduces the useful distinction between moral justification and moral apology in cases where the acts concerned are

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not ethically perfect but are less not-good than their opposites, as for example killing in self-defence, legal punishment to maintain peace, compulsory education to diffuse enlightenment, birth-control to prevent starvation of excess population, war of the League of Nations upon the State that disturbs the world's peace.

A thoughtful person who has lived under Prussian militarism and then through the horrors of the late war and the bloodless revolution in his own country till the advent of the League of Nations ushered in a new era of political understanding and roused hopes of a federation of states into a world-commonwealth in the interest of culture and peace, Prof. Driesch has delineated with a bold brush the ethical conditions under which alone private life can be purified, social life enlarged and ennobled, political life shorn of its corruptions and international life moulded in the interests of perpetual peace. A pacifist by temperament and training he forbids killing in all its forms and extols the Indian doctrine of *ahimsa*, condemns capital punishment and even corporal punishment in education, outlaws war and conscription, and advocates passive resistance and boycott against an enemy that has unjustly overrun and occupied a country. He has not a word of praise for the forcible domination of foreign races under the complacent cloak of 'education', permits the secession of a homogenous population from a State under which it does not wish to live and where, as in India, religion complicates the question of homogeneity, he advises the minority to yield and the majority to show magnanimity.

According to him, the pacifist is a cosmopolitan and his ultimate aim is one single State in which all mankind will live together in peace and justice. The function of a State is to transcend itself in two ways—first, by merger in a world-state (with either English or an artifical pictorial language as of the Chinese as the medium of communication), and, secondly, by endeavouring to promote such matters within itself as would ultimately lead to *an-archy* or negation of all constitution. But so long as these two are not achieved, the State should be governed by an aristocracy of intellect (and not of birth or money) elected through different grades of electoral colleges by the suffrage of all normal and educated adults, supplemented by such additional voting powers to those who are adjudged superior to the rest by suitable intelligence tests. Citizens and not subjects have alone duties towards the State and those that are qualified but are not enfranchized are under no moral obligation to obey the laws—even the good laws; and those that have votes are under a moral obligation to disobey laws that are against the dictates of conscience. As the State exists solely for the improvement of individuality it has no right to protect itself by penal enactments or stifling freedom of speech.

Within the State the rights of the individual are limited by the needs of the community as a whole and so an inordinate personal possession of land, coal and minerals is not permissible nor is a person entitled to anything which he has merely seized by right of first discovery and not earned by his own bodily or mental effort or got by valid transfer from one who did so.

The author refers to political movements in the East, quotes Tagore and Gandhi, and deplores the Hindu-Muslim quarrel. He condemns in no uncertain terms the racial arrogance of the West and hopes that at no time would the world be federated under rival continental leagues of nations warring with each other for supremacy. Besides war there are enough fields for showing heroism when human health, wealth and progress are far from being perfect.

Strewn here and there are to be found ethical precepts enunciated in the noble manner of Kant, and although it must be admitted that their intuitive character is not always evident they seem eminently reasonable and just. Driesch believes that though ethical theory is possible without assuming the freedom of the will, ethical practice demands its existence, and that although ethical effort demands a faith in the operation of a supra-personal spiritual entity, there would be no joyous participation in its work without a firm belief in freedom and immortality. Thus ethics culminates in religion—not of the church-going type but as an ethical faith in the power of goodness to overcome evil in man and of education to dissipate dogmatism in religion and politics alike.

The reviewer contents himself with a brief summary of the main teachings of this extremely interesting publication and hopes that in India at least the book, in spite of its slight metaphysical bias and occasional exaggeration of Indian practices in religion, would be widely read. The agreement with the major tenets of Indian nationalism is so striking that its teachings, though not to the taste of the jingoistic West, are sure to find a sympathetic echo in the pacific breast of the East.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

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"A LOVER'S LUTE": *by B. B. Roy-Chaudhury. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London, 15 pp.*

Mr. Roy-Chaudhury's poems are of surpassing merit. "Dawn," "Cyclone," and other pieces manifest rapturous emotion. The author is studying journalism in England, and is, as usual, tempted after the fashion of the ill-informed, to copy some illiterate London vulgarisms like "alright" coined to cheat the telegraph department. We must remind him that the "Indian Telegraph Guide" notifies :—"When 'alright' is written for transmission instead of the correct form 'all right' it is charged for as *two* words." It would be difficult to adduce adequate grounds for "In the soft-bed of grave," "I'm born with an ill-fate:" "My sweet-sweet queen divine." Why hyphens that make wrong compounds? "Ill-fate" is the result of confusion with "ill-fated" which takes the hyphen. The poems are full of wrong hyphens. "I'm never happy in this earth" [on]. "Her face a rose-blush pearl." The word is "blush-rose" *i. e.*, the hue produced in the act of blushing—Oxford English Dictionary. It is no poetical licence to say "The Mount of Everest is thy crown." We do not say "Monte of Rosa" or "the river of the Ganges." Even Byron, Milton or Shelley dared not put an 'of':—"Mont Blank is the monarch of mountains." "Mount Oreb or Sinai." The word "mountain" does take an 'of' :—"The Mountains of Lebanon." "Mount" is not an abbreviation of "mountain." "mount" is an entirely different word with its own abbreviation 'Mt'. The function of this word

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is to take the name immediately after it without the parasite 'of' in order that the addition of one noun to another may establish syntactic parallelism ("apposition" of grammer). The river Ganges, not the river of the Ganges. We always welcome English poetry from the pen of Indians to see whether India can excel in quality. We wish the author every success as a poet and expect more poetry from his facile pen.

CRITIC.

BENGALI

LAL KALO: *By Dr. Girindra Shekhar Bose, D. Sc., M. B., illustrated by Jatindra Kumar Sen. 11 Parsi Bagan Lane, Calcutta). Crown Quarto 56 pp. with 17 full page illustrations (mostly coloured) and many in the text. Rs. 2.*

This is a charming story book for children and we are sure that it will make many a Bengali home brighter during the coming Pujah holidays. It is a most promising sign for Bengali literature that Dr. Girindra Shekhar Bose has turned his highly gifted intellect to the delectation—we make bold to add, instruction also,—of our young folk and displayed in this his first work in this line, a delightful imagination, admirable powers of story-telling, and mastery of the appropriate style. The story is one of war in the ant-world. But are we not told by a high ancient authority, "Go to the ant for wisdom?" Hence all the requisites of war and diplomacy among the so-called civilized men,—sanctioned by Manu or Grotius,—are present here: the *casus belli* (an offended queen—the tender sex do not know what havoc they cause by their frowns no less than by their smiles), the challenge delivered by herald, the intrigues for securing allies and seducing the enemy's friends, the consultation of learned pundits, the secret service, the air force, strategic retreat and concealment, and finally the armistice! The war began with only two belligerents, the red and the black (ants), but it soon spread, just like the Great War, all over the world,—the animal world of all the birds beasts and reptiles and ended with a great armageddon in the air (in which the original provocators of the war suffered annihilation). It is all so human. These soldiers have their songs, too! We particularly admire the Bihari chorus of the crickets!

The charm of the book has been greatly enhanced by the magic pencil of Jatindra Kumar Sen, whose pure art has not yet gained its due meed of recognition in Bengal. We do not know if any other Bengali artist has produced such a loveable phantasmagoria of "the extinct world" as given here on the first two illustrated pages. The animal world comes out distinctly—almost with human expressions,—on his pages and a romantic hue is spread over the whole. We have not seen any book for Indian children so well printed and so richly illustrated.

The ants are modernists, and therefore it was only after a final "war in the air" that the Reds were annihilated and there was peace on earth and goodwill among—insects. The only reason that we can give for the defeat of the Reds is that they sang a Hindi war song and not the International.

J. SARKAR

The Political Unification of India (6th-3rd century B.C.)

BY UPENDRA NATH GHOSHAL M.A., Ph.D.

THE completion of the political unity of India (except its extreme south), which was one of the crowning triumphs of the Mauryas, was the last link in a long chain of preparatory steps that could be traced back to the period of the rise of Buddhism.

The references in the Ancient Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature and the Brahmanical Puranas combine to prove the existence of a considerable mass of states in Northern India and the Deccan long before the advent of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C. These states extended from Gandhara and Kamboja in the north-west to Kalinga in the East and from the Sakya territory at the foot of the Himalayas to the Assaka (Asmaka) country on the Upper Godavari. In the ancient books we find them sometimes grouped together in conventional lists such as that of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* in the Buddhist Anguttara Nikaya and the Jaina Bhagavati Sutra, with which may be compared the Heptarchy of Anglo-Saxon England. Numerous are the traditions of wars and alliances between these ancient Indian states that have come down to us, but in general they do not seem to have produced any permanent result. It was however in the Gangetic valley that the mutual relations of states were attended with consequences which were destined profoundly to influence the history of India during subsequent centuries. If the confused tradition of the Jatakas is to be believed, the kingdom of Kasi enjoyed for a brief spell the position of primacy among its neighbours. But when the historical period opens, Kasi

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along with the famous Sakya republican state had been absorbed in the powerful kingdom of Kosala. This, so far as we are aware, was the first step in that long process of unification which was to reach its climax under the Mauryas. It was, however, not to Kosala, but to its eastern neighbour, that there fell the subsequent stages of the task. The land of Magadha, unlike Kosala and Kasi which were famous seats of Vedic culture in the period of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads, was associated even in the late Shrautasutras with the unorthodox Vratyas, and its people are declared in one of the existing Dharmasutras to be of mixed origin. With the reign of Bimbisara (*c.* 582-554 B C.) the kingdom of Magadha entered upon that career of expansion which was closed only with the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka. When Bimbisara came to the throne, he ruled only a small state with his capital at Rajagriha (modern Rajgir). To the north beyond the Ganges lay the powerful republican confederacy of the Vajjis, of which the far-famed city of Vaisali was the capital, while his western frontier was skirted by the powerful kingdom of Kosala. With remarkable prudence Bimbisara formed alliances with these powers, while devoting his attention to the absorption of Anga, the rich kingdom to his east, which is now represented by the Bhagalpur district. The annexation of Anga raised Magadha to the rank of a great power in Northern India. If we may credit a historical tradition, the king of distant Gandhara sent an embassy to Bimbisara probably with the object of invoking his assistance against the threatened advance of the Achæmenid power. Ajatasatru, the son and successor of Bimbisara, was cast in a different mould from his father. Bold and impetuous, he seems to have passed his whole reign in warfare with his neighbours, especially with the formidable Kosala and Vajji states. We may imagine that, as in the parallel example of the Macedonian kingdom under its king Philip, the resources of Magadha had been sufficiently augmented in the peaceful reign of the father to permit the son to launch a vigorous foreign policy. The war of Ajatasatru with the Kosalan king was protracted and attended with various turns of fortune, but it ended in the triumph of Magadha and from this time Kosala is never again heard of as an independent power. Equally bitter was the struggle of Magadha with the Vajjian confederacy, but in the end victory rested with Ajatasatru whose northern frontier was probably pushed at this time to the foot of the Himalayas. The result of these brilliant military exploits was that Magadha could now claim to be the leading power in Northern India. It was now the turn of the powerful Avanti kingdom, which had probably by this time absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of the Vatsas, to feel alarmed at the advance of the Magadhan power. We are told how Ajatasatru on one occasion had to fortify his capital against the threatened attack of Pradyota, King of Avanti. The issue of the struggle between the two powers who decided in the reign of Susunaga (Sisunaga), a later successor of Ajatasatru, who is credited by the Puranic evidence with destroying the prestige of the kings of Avanti. Thus was Magadha at length raised to the position of the paramount power in the Gangetic valley and the Malwa tableland. Meanwhile the capital had been removed by Udayin, the son of Ajatasatru, from Rajagriha to the more central city of Pataliputra where after some shiftings and changes it was finally fixed by King Kalasoka (Kakavarna). The reign of Ugrasena Mahapadma, the founder of the famous Nanda dynasty, marked a momentous step in the consolidation of the Magadhan power. In the expressive language of the Puranas he was "the destroyer of all the Ksatriyas," "resembling a second Parasurama," "the sole king," "ruling the whole earth under one umbrella." In the present context these words can only mean that Ugrasena extinguished all the ruling houses of his time consisting no doubt of dependent kings, and brought their dominions under his direct rule. In the light of this evidence which can be corroborated in other ways, we can well acclaim Ugrasena as the founder of the first real Indian empire as distinguished from a congeries of dependent states under a paramount power.

The wonderful expansion of Magadha from its beginnings under Bimbisara to the time of the Nandas when it embraced the whole of the Gangetic valley as an integral part of its empire was achieved in the face of difficulties and dangers to which our records amply testify. If we may trust the Sinhalese chronicles, all the four kings from Ajatasatru onwards were parricides, and king Susunaga was raised to the throne by the citizens who expelled the family of parricide kings, while Ugrasena, according to all accounts, seized

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the throne by murdering the last king. To a large extent the success of Magadha was due to the vigur and energy of its kings, but a considerable share of the credit must also be given to the efficiency of their civil and military administration. The Vinaya Pitaka affords us glimpses of the administration of Bimbisara showing how he maintained a rigid control over his officers and used to meet the headmen of all the villages of his kingdom (perhaps an Ancient Indian parallel of the Anglo-Saxon folk-moot), while the beginnings of the bureaucratic organization are indicated by the division of his principal officers into three classes. The practice of appointing royal princes as governors of provinces, which was in use in the Maurya period, can be traced back to the reigns of Bimbisara and Susunaga. To what extent statecraft of the type described in the text-books on politics was applied by the Magadha kings in their bid for dominion, it is not possible to state from the available records, but this no doubt was considerable in amount. In so far as military strength is concerned, we may refer to the accounts of the classical writers regarding the huge forces at the disposal of the Nanda king who advanced to his frontier to meet the threatened advance of Alexander of Macedon.

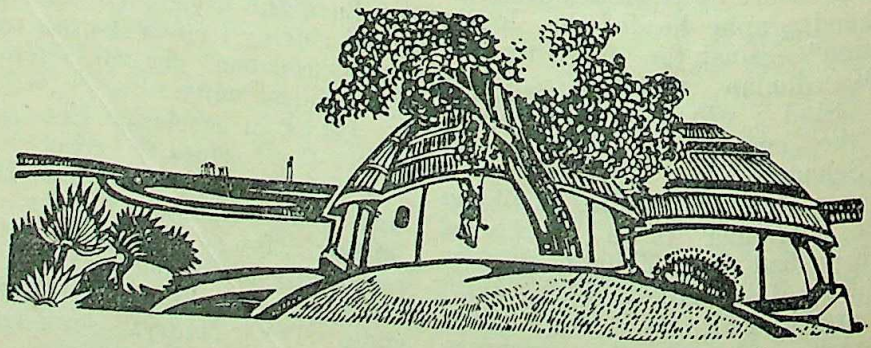
The final and the most momentous stages of the unification of India were attained under the sceptre of the Mauryas, whose supersession of the Nandas was beyond doubt the greatest dynastic revolution in ancient India. Fortune favoured Chandragupta Maurya, shortly perhaps after his accession to the Magadha throne, with an immediate expansion of his power. The Indus valley had just paid the penalty of its isolation and its political disunion by bearing the brunt of the full might of Macedon under its greatest sovereign. When Alexander's victorious career was cut short by a premature death (323 B. C.), Chandragupta headed the Indian "war of liberation" against the foreigner, and expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab and Sind which were quickly absorbed in the empire of Magadha. The attempts of Seleucus, the lord of Western Asia, to recover the lost Indian dominion ended in his surrender of a number of satrapies which pushed the Maurya frontier to the coveted line of the Hindu Kush. With the enormous prestige of his victory over the dreaded Greeks, and with the resources of the whole of Northern India at his command, the victor now turned his arms against the South. The campaign against the Deccan was completely successful, though all details of it have been lost. Indeed if some references in the ancient Tamil classical literature have been rightly interpreted, this would point to the extension of the Maurya power as far south as the Tinnevelly district. The complete subjugation of the Deccan was probably attained in the reign of Bindusara Amitraghata, the second emperor of the dynasty, when the great Andhra kingdom ranking as the second military power in India in the time of Chandragupta appears to have been absorbed in the Maurya empire There was now left only one independent power in India which could venture to measure swords with the Mauryas. The kingdom of Kalinga lying along the eastern sea-board to the north of the Andhras was estimated by Megasthenes to possess a formidable force of 60,000 infantry, and 700 war elephants besides 1000 cavalry. The war for the conquest of Kalinga was begun by Asoka in the 9th year of his coronation (*c.* 261 B. C.), and it ended in the annexation of the kingdom to the Maurya Empire. Thus the last obstacle was removed from the path of Maurya sovereignty over the whole of India, and it could be easily predicted that the subjugation of the petty Tamil states in the south was only a question of time. At this point however, by one of the strangest surprises known to history, the progress of conquest was abruptly stopped. The Emperor who had been moved to passionate remorse at the sight of the bloodshed and misery of the Kalinga war, forsook aggresive war and turned to preach and practise the law of Dharma. Thus the cause of India's complete unification under a common sceptre was deliberately sacrificed, when the goal was in sight, in the interests of a high idealism. The expansion of India's culture and especially of Buddhism beyond the seas, which was the most abiding fruit of Asoka's conversion, was her consolation for the arrested growth of her political unity.

Let us, in conclusion, cast a glance at the forces that helped to create and maintain the mighty fabric of the Indian empire under the Mauryas. The strongest of the uniting forces beyond doubt was the personality of the emperors in whose hands was concentrated the whole authority of the state. The Maurya sovereignty, however,

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was deprived by the very circumstances of its origin, of that religious sanction which was the strength of the great Achæmenid monarchy of the West. Next in importance came the "steel-frame" of the Maurya administration, its highly organized civil service which spread like a web over the whole empire. The officials, both civil and military, seem to have formed a self-contained class which under the title of "Councillors and Assessors" is reckoned by Megasthenes as the seventh and last in his enumeration of the Indian castes. "It is", we are told by the same authority, "the smallest class looking to number, but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of its members," and again, "it enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture". Another indispensable limb of the administration was the class of "superintendents" or "overseers", probably corresponding to the *Gudapurusas* of the Arthasastra, whose function was to report all that happened in country and town to the king. "It is against use and wont for them to give in a false report; but indeed no Indian is accused of lying". Of other points of interest it is necessary only to refer to the machinery of provincial administration which consisted of the Royal Prince or the Viceroy and his high officials, and the elaborate organization of the war office which was composed of thirty members divided into six boards in charge severally of infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants, the navy, and transport, commissariat with army service. It was the strength of this war-machine which under Chandragupta reached the colossal figure of nearly 700,000 men of all arms equipped and maintained by the state that doubtless formed one of the main pillars of Maurya rule. Among other influences contributing to the same result may be mentioned the facility of communications, for the Mauryas like the Achæmenids were great builders of roads, of which the chief one connecting Pataliputra with distant Taxila anticipated the Grand Trunk Road of Lord Dalhousie. We may also believe, what indeed is hinted at in the legends, that sentiments of loyalty grew around the Maurya throne, as the people, with the evil consequences of internal strife and foreign invasions in their memory, appreciated the firm rule of the first two Maurya emperors and still more the benign administration of the next, and possibly because they felt a collective pride in being members of the greatest empire that India had ever known.



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Mr. H. G. Wells's Credo

In a very interesting article in the *Forum* Mr. H. G. Well tells us what he believes. He does not believe in personal immortality in the conventional meaning of the term. But he does believe that our mortal persons perhaps respond to immortal ideas, and it is this which gives to the thought-life of men a kind of continuity and eternal life. He does not also believe in extremes of individualism. His attitude in regard to this question and its relation to the social life of the human race he says :

Man, I take it—man in us—is more important than the things in the individual life, and this I believe not as a mere sentimentality, but as a strenuously true statement of biological and mental fact. Our individuality is, so to speak, an inborn obsession from which we shall escape as we become more intelligent. And we are under a necessity to escape from it as we become more intelligent, because increasing intelligence brings more and more clearly face to face with the ultimate frustration of every individual desire in senility, enfeeblement, and death. Personality, individuality, is a biological device which has served its end in evolution and will decline. A consciousness of something greater than ourselves—the immortal soul of the race—is taking control of the direction of our lives....

But if I might say a word or so about the way one gets from this credo. I should insist that the subordination of self to a higher sort of being does not mean the suppression of or any of one's distinctive gifts. We have to ourselves to the utmost. We have to make to the full measure of our possibilities. It is a sin to bury the talent, the individual gift which we possess for the good of the master being,

Nor must you imagine that the subordination self to the immortal being of the race means a ination of one's narrow self to the equally w selves of other people. It is for them also ive themselves to that life and all that increases wledge and power. I do not believe in the nder of one jot or one tittle of one's intelli- e and will to the greatest happiness of the est number, or to the will of the majority, any such nonsense : I am not that sort of ral. This world and its future is not for folk any more than it is for selfish folk. not for the multitude, but for the best. The of to-day will be the commonplace of morrow.

If I am something of a social leveller, it is not because I want to give silly people a good time but because I want to make opportunity universal and not leave out one single being who is worth while. If I want economic change, it is because the present system protects and fosters a vast swarm of wasteful spenders, no better in their quality and much worse in their lazy pretentious traditions than the general run of mankind. If I am opposed to nationalism and war, it is not merely because these things represent an immense waste of energy, but because they sustain a cant of blind discipline and loyalty and a paraphernalia of flags, uniforms, and parades that shelter a host of particularly mischievous, unintelligent bullies and wasters ; because they place our lives at the mercy of trained blockheads. Militarism and warfare are childish things, if they are not more horrible than anything childish can be. They must become things of the past. They must die. Naturally my idea of politics is an open conspiracy to hurry these tiresome, wasteful, evil things—nationality and war—out of existence ; to end this empire and that empire, and set up the one Empire of Man.

And it is natural that I should exalt science. In the scientific world I find just that disinterested devotion to great ends that I hope will spread at last through the entire range of human activity. I find just that co-operation of men of every race and colour to increase Man's knowledge. We can all be citizens of the free state of science. But our political, our economic, our social lives have still to become illuminated and directed by the scientific spirit, are still sick and feeble with congenital traditionalism.

—

American Opinion and India

After Professor Rushbrook-Williams Dr. Thompson ; then Sir John Simon—and the latest cables announce that Lord Meston is also going to Amsrica. There seems to be a trek of British politicians and publicists to the West to state the British case there. No reasonable person will grudge Great Britain her desire to retain the good opinion of America, if in her turn she would only not grudge other nations their wish to win the support of American opinion and deny to Americans their right to have some independent and intelligent opinion of their own. This mistake seems to have been committed by Dr.

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Thompson, at any rate, who has gone out of his way to make some accusations against *The New Republic* for having the temerity to state the Indian case in the United States. *The New Republic* replies to his charges in in a leading article in course of which it makes the following observations :

The British have suddenly become disturbed about the American attitude towards India, and quite properly so. There is hardly any other question at present which constitutes a more serious threat to the friendly relations between the two powers. Moreover, American support for their aspirations is an important factor in determining the attitude of some of the chief Indian leaders.

It is regrettable, however, that some of the British discussion of the American attitude has thus far been conducted in unrealistic terms. To read certain comment on this subject in the British press, no one would suppose that the Indians had any sort of legitimate grievance or that any American except one very stupid or shamefully misled could support their aspirations. Two blanket charges are made : first, that American periodicals which present the Indian case are deliberately unfair to Britain ; and second, that due to the false statements about India in American journals and books, opinion in this country has been led astray, the inference being that were it not for these falsehoods, opinion here would favour the British cause....

Mr. Thompson's major point in his series of articles in the *The London Times*, that America has been misled by erroneous statements about India, is fallacious. It is one of those easy generalizations about America into which visiting Englishmen, even when they are as intelligent as Mr. Thompson, are so easily betrayed. Only one book about India has sold in large numbers in the United States in recent years, or has had any appreciable effect upon opinion here. That is Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, a work which is cruelly unfair to the Indians and their cause, and is the most effective pro-British propaganda ever written. Aside from this book, the one important source of American opinion has been the Indian news reports in the columns of our press. Very much of this news, probably more than half of it, has come from British sources, through Reuter's, the British news service which has a co-operative arrangement with the Associated Press. This news, written by Englishmen for Englishmen and passed by the British censorship certainly has not been unduly tender of the Indians.

We do not pretend to say how numerous are the Americans who sympathize with the Indians ; but however many they may be, it is naïve to suppose that they are the victims of a special Indian propaganda. The attitude of these Americans is substantially that of many people in England. It is the same recorded by Ramsay MacDonald in his books written within the past four or five years, after he had visited India, where, as a former Prime Minister and as the leader of the Labour party, he must certainly have had the case for English rule put to him as strongly as possible. In short, we feel confident that if Mr. Thompson and his friends will make a careful investigation they will find that British propaganda in America is quite as extensive as the Indian, or more so, and that it has been skilful and persistent. If in spite of this fact many Americans lean to the cause of India, we suggest that perhaps that cause has some innate merits which are deserving of consideration.

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The New Sexology and After

"In a state of midsummer madness induced by reading and reviewing too many books about Sex, the Libido, the Œdipus Complex, and the premarital customs of the Trobriand Islanders, I began to speculate on the future of Love as foreshadowed by that science or religion known to its adherent as the New Sexology." So writes Mr. Malcolm Cowley in introducing his delightful article to the readers of *The New Republic*. It is impossible to quote it in full as we wished to do. But the following extracts from it will give not an inadequate idea of the trend of his thoughts and conclusions :

The reforms proposed by leading sexologists, in their eagerness to end our present state of erotic bankruptcy and guide us toward the brisk future of love, are numerous in every field, but especially in that of education. By liberating the children of today from their repressions, compulsions, psychoses, neuroses—by giving their little libidos room to grow and kick and squirm—they are training the triumphant lovers of the future. But let me give a few concrete examples :

In the Hasenpfeffer-on-Hudson Experimental Kindergarten at Hasenpfeffer-on-Hudson, the happiest results have been obtained by substituting Floyd Dell's "Love in the Machine Age" for McGuffey's "First Reader." A kind of shorter catechism based on Mr. Dell's ideas has been prepared for the benefit of the tots who are still unable to read. It is an inexpressible pleasure to hear them repeating in their fresh voices :

Q. What is our aim ?

A. To follow the higher mammalian mating pattern.

Q And why should we follow the higher mammalian mating pattern ?

A. In order to achieve wholly adult lives lived from almost wholly instinctive motives.

Q. And why should we achieve such wholly adult and almost wholly instinctive lives ?

A. In order that we may all live happily ever after in heterosexual matehood.....

An even more interesting experiment in education has lately been proposed by Hyman L. Jones and Imogene Smeet. It is based on a fundamental doctrine of the new sexology—namely, that everything goes by opposites. Thus, men of the Don Juan type are really homosexual, as is obviously shown by the way they run after women. Messalinas, so called, are the blameless victims of their frigidity. Philanthropists, says Dr. Tritz Wittels, a very distinguished pupil of Freud, are suffering from a sublimated form of sadism. People are cleanly because they love dirt, masculine because they are feminine, feminine because they

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neuter, and neuter because their mothers dreamed of snakes, trees, the Woolworth Building, vacuum cleaners, Mussolini, or fried herrings. Now, the Jones-Smeet System consists in applying this knowledge gained from the battl-field of love in the arena of education. To give a very simple example, the little boys who pull cats' tails will no longer be whipped. Instead they will be cheered on to other ventures—tying tin cans to puppy dogs, sticking pins in their baby brothers, daubing their mothers' evening gowns with their sister's best rouge and exploding giant fire rackers under their fathers' chairs. Other children will be encouraged to imitate them; and thus, by developing millions of little sadists under the Jones-Smeet System, we shall develop millions of aged philanthropists. Poverty and Bolshevism will be abolished in the next generation.

But what of the little boys who cannot sublimate their sadistic impulses? What of the adolescents who still delight in the infliction of pain on their parents, their teachers, their schoolmates? Under the Jones-Smeet System, they too will have their useful place. They will be taught the history of Tiberius, Nero, Genghis Khan, Ivan the Terrible and the Spanish Inquisition; they will be encouraged to improve on ancient cruelties by the methods of modern science; and then, when they grew up, they call all be dentists.

Yes, in the future, in the bright sexological by-and-by, every day will be Sunday for happy lovers. Every day will be Sunday for almost everybody. The world will have been made safe for the universal libido. Divorce, frigidity in men, Bolshevism, crime, the drug habit, unemployment, hippophagy, athlete's foot and manic-depressive insanity, all will have been cured by the new sexology. Everyone will be normal—perfectly, unquestionably, altogether normal. Everyone will be perpetually in love. "The libidinous natures of men and women," says Dr. Schmalhausen, who knows so much about them, "for so long cramped and mutilated and sorely wounded within the straitjacketing confines of family life, will break beautifully and abundantly into acts of social compassion and humanistic love." Men and women will love one another. Boys and girls will love one another. Cats and dogs will love one another. Freud, Jung and Watson will love one another. The lion will lie down with the lioness one side and the ewe-lamb on the other. Nation will yearn after nation, and there will be a great outpouring of French love into Germany, of German love into France, of British love into America, of American love into those Caribbean countries that lie panting for our embrace.

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The Red Menace in China

The renewed civil war in China has, in the opinion of journalists, revived the danger of Bolshevism in that country. Commenting upon the editoral opinions expressed in different periodicals *The Literary Digest* says:

That this new phase of protracted civil war in China should provoke much alarm and speculative interpretation is not surprizing. Its anti-foreign and anti-Nationalist characteristics appear to many commentators as evidence of Russian Soviet penetration to foil Western influences and Chinese Republican development. The outbreak occurs in the region where Soviet organization under Borodin's direction was carried on when Sun Yet Sen's operations swept northward from Canton in 1922. But in 1926 Borodin was sent back to Moscow with disavowals of Communism by the Nationalists. Yet now dispatches detail trade-union and peasant league organization, armies marching with Communist slogans, and reputed formation of a native Soviet government for "the conquered parts of Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces with a Red leader, Li Lin-san, as President." Our readers will recall the claim of *Pravda*, the Moscow Soviet organ, that the South China rebels against Chaing Kai-shek's Nationalist government are really Sovi-et-Communist revolutionaries with a Red Army 62,000 strong....

It is at least conceivable that the predicted inevitable sometime war between Western Europe and Russian Communism is now being fought out in peace-loving China, observes the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, which points out that Soviet obliteration of the recognized Nationalist government would wipe out "such protection as now extends, in theory at least, to foreign-owned property and such official recognition as now sustains the special privileges of foreign political and trade groups." Further:

"Soviet strategy in China is identical with Soviet strategy in India. Its aim is the humiliation of European interests, political and otherwise in the eyes of the whole Orient. Once you are humiliated in China, once you 'lose your face', you can never again be the same. Asia, dominated economically and politically by Moscow, would be a spectacle vastly disconcerting to all Europe. More than one great empire would feel badly shaken."

—

Machinery and Unemployment

The relation between the adoption of machinery and unemployment is dealt with in an editorial note in *Scientific American*:

The blame for unemployment has always been placed, more or less, upon machinery and, in times past, labour has fought its introduction into industries where handwork had been the rule. Even at the present time, there are numbers of pessimists who deprecate the increasing use of machinery and lugubriously point out that it is a Frankenstein monster. Their memory is short; they have been told time and again of the wage earner's gain through machinery, but they seem never to learn. Thus it is necessary to repeat.

Machinery made it possible for one man to do, in 1925, what 3.1 men did in 1914. Thirty years ago, 200 unskilled workers were required to do the work now performed by one steam shovel. In the glass industry, one machine takes the place of 600 skilled glass blowers of a few years ago. In 1920, there was perfected an automatic machine for producing electric light bulbs, that displaced 994 men: and recently this machine has been so improved that it now displaces something like 2000 men. Many other cases are as strikingly significant.

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From these figures, it would seem that the pessimists' assumptions are correct. They're not. The number of wage-earners increased 3 per cent during the eight years between 1919 and 1927, but—and this is far more important—our production increased 50 per cent! With increased industrial prosperity, better wages have been possible and at the same time the worker has been freed from the bondage of labour. Working hours have been cut down: first from a 12-hour day to a 10-hour day, then down to eight hours, and now proposals have been made to make a further cut to six hours. The workingman's week was cut down from six to five and a half days, and it is now proposed to cut it to five.

Better pay and more leisure in which to enjoy the fruits of his work—these are the dividends of the American wage-earner. There is bound to be some temporary unemployment caused by machinery, but this is in an unimportant proportion to the benefits accruing. Nevertheless, certain adjustments are necessary, and it is up to the workingman himself, as well as to industry, to study the question thoroughly so that, as more and more machinery is put into operation, these adjustments may be made with the least loss and an economic balance may be reached.

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The "Daily Herald" on the Simon Report

The *Daily Herald* had the following editorial on the second volume of the Simon Report:

If the purpose of the Simon Commissioners was to devise ways and means of improving the Indian Constitution while retaining the present regime in all essentials, then they have succeeded. But this is scarcely the problem which confronts the two countries to-day. The British nation is pledged to the establishment of dominion status for India. Honour and wisdom alike demand that the pledge should be fulfilled; and on this point the Commissioners are rightly agreed. The problem is to provide ways and means of passing through the inevitable period of the transition.

Here the Commission is not overhelpful. Its proposals, so far from preparing the way to a rapid transformation, seem to us to tend rather to the indefinite stabilizing, on essential points, of the final authority and power in the present system. Real power is, under the Report's proposal, retained in the hands of the Viceroy or the Governors.

The Government of India, in short, remains responsible only to the Viceroy. He can, if he so wishes, veto all acts of the legislature. He can himself legislate without its consent. He can sanction expenditure and even impose taxation. Even in the provinces, where the Report envisages more rapid progress toward autonomous government, the rights and powers of the elected assemblies are subject to the overriding authority of the Governors.

This is not self-government, nor is there, as one had hoped, even the provision of means by which the present order may be gradually but definitely transformed. The proposals concerning the powers of the Viceroy and the Governors—the core of the problem—are a negation of the machinery of self-government which, elsewhere, the Commissioners advocate.

Here is the fatal weakness of the Report: fatal not only to all hope of its acceptance even by moderate Indian opinion, but fatal to all value in the present situation. It has evaded the main problem.

And yet the work of the Commission has not been wasted. For many of its judgments are surely right. It seems to us emphatically right in concluding that the ultimate form of Indian Government must be federal. It is right in emphasizing—though it tends to over-emphasize—the necessity of bringing the Indian States into the future federation. It is probably right in proposing the immediate separation of Burma. In very many details there arise suggestions which the most nationalist of Indians would be foolish to ignore.

All this is unfortunately vitiated by the central weakness—the failure to face the central problem boldly and generously. From start to finish the Report suffers from a lack of imaginative policy. 'A thousand and one reasons,' wrote the Prime Minister in the *Daily Herald* in 1927, 'are given for just a little more tutelage.' That was a prophetic summary of this Report.

Mr. MacDonald's remedy still, we feel sure, remains the same 'plain, practical commonsense.' 'India must be in the Empire on equal terms. The time has come for us to take that step.'

Along that courageous line, not among the hesitations of the Simon Report, the two countries will find the solution of the problems that face them. If the Round-Table Conference, to which we still hope that Gandhi and his colleagues will come, can freely discuss the way of attaining dominion status in the light of the Commission's Report and of Indian opinion, peace and friendship may yet be attained.

—

"The World Tomorrow" on India

The World Tomorrow is an American monthly which is neither pro-Indian nor pro-British. It adopts a critical attitude. It thinks,

Death before birth is the chronology of the Simon Commission Report. The Commission itself barely survived the paralyzing boycott by infuriated nationalists who bitterly resented the exclusion of all Indians from its membership. The unfortunate offspring died of malnutrition and racial poison. Its demise is sad but salutary.

That is the reason why British Imperialists have been trying to galvanize it into something resembling life.

The journal proceeds:

We say the Report is dead because we simply refuse to believe that the Labour Government is utterly bankrupt of ideas and courage. If the Commission's recommendations are as far as Great Britain is prepared to go in the direction of Indian autonomy, a day of mourning for "the lost dominion" should now be proclaimed. The proposed Round Table Conference in October will also die

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before it is born unless the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India quickly assure Indian nationalists that the Government is ready to travel miles beyond the terminus fixed by Sir John and his colleagues. Semi-autonomy in the provinces subject to British veto on major decisions, together with a loose national federation under British domination, will not satisfy even the right-wing Indian patriots. One by one the moderate leaders are identifying themselves with the civil disobedience campaign. If the men and women now in jail are excluded from the Round Table Conference or refuse to attend, that assembly will prove to be a tragic fiasco, should the Government be blind enough to proceed with it.

No permanent solution is possible without the participation and support of Mahatma Gandhi.

As regards Mahatma Gandhi's influence, it observes:

That the British officials have seriously underestimated his influence is now apparent. An illuminating sidelight on this point is found in the article on Gandhi in the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in March of this year. The writer of the article, a former Lieutenant-Governor of one of the Indian provinces, says that after Gandhi's release from prison in 1924 "he was no longer a power to sway the masses . . . and his more recent incursions into politics have been ineffective . . . . he expected too much of human nature . . . . His endeavor to unite Hindus and Mohammedans lacked sincerity . . ."

Yet the response to Gandhi's appeal has far exceeded all expectations. Not the least of the surprises has been his ability to reduce violence to an absolute minimum. When the intensity of the nationalists' desire for freedom and the almost intolerable provocations to which they have been subjected are taken into account, it is nothing short of a miracle that so few outbursts of violence have occurred. Indeed, the self-control which enables Gandhi's followers to refrain from retaliation even when physically assaulted by the police is awe-inspiring.

—

American Marriages

A German writer translated in *The Living Age* gives a very interesting description of court-ship in America:

What distinguishes the attitude of the average American toward women is his lack of moderation. It is an attitude of either immoderate worship or immoderate contempt. Since the American is very clever at displaying his best qualities to the world, most of us Europeans are only familiar with the attitude of immoderate worship.

The average American's attitude toward love is not based on those sound naturalistic and animalistic foundations which engender a condition of spiritual and physical community. Exceptions, of course, occur, but the outwardly serene appearance of married couples often conceals deficiencies, especially since Americans pay so much attention to appearances. The American wants to possess in love as well as in life. His erotic career avoids everything spiritual, tense, or dramatic. The American merchant has a very special idea of love. He has an ideology of his own based on economics and best explained in economic terms. The task of the American man is to possess a wife. He must have one just as he must have a bank account. The American woman, who is superior to the man in all animal respects, has met this crazy theory more than halfway and makes the thing as economically difficult for the man as possible. Disdaining all romantic appeals, she demands of her suitor as many tasks and sacrifices as she can get him to perform. If he observes the rough-rider school of premarital love peculiar to his country, the woman bleeds him white, but she grits his teeth, for he is determined to conquer her. The man knows that during this love game the woman always holds the whip hand, but the rules compel him to strike the attitude of a toreador. He runs up debts, boastfully invites her on automobile rides, and plays the part of a great spender, although in reality he may be a clerk, earning, perhaps, fifty dollars a week. When the woman decides to marry him and thinks this gruesome game has gone far enough, she lets herself be subjugated. But as soon as the bonds of matrimony are sealed the rules demand that the two players change roles. The wild conqueror becomes the tame husband. The poor little creature that he subdued suddenly expands and becomes a mighty queen. American marriage laws give the woman thousand opportunities to keep her husband up to scratch, and since many American women are really much better educated and more intelligent than their husbands, their marriages look like very orderly affairs indeed.

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An Industrial General Staff for India

The increasingly large number of economic questions that modern states are being called upon to deal with has made it necessary for them to have a body of experts at their disposal whom they could consult on these technical and complicated questions. Some years ago a distinguished British economist, Sir William Beveridge, put forward a plea for an economic "General Staff" for the British Empire. The idea has taken root, and when the Labour Government came into power last year, they established a supreme economic council for Great Britain. A similar suggestion was made for India by Sir Alfred Chatterton in course of a lecture before the East India Association, published in the *Journal* of the Association:

The Government of India has, however, very restricted powers and is without the organization to enable it to frame a broad and effective industrial policy which will take full cognizance of world movements and of the conflicting claims of widely divergent internal interests. It, therefore, seems desirable that there should be established with the Government of India the necessary machinery for the evolution of an active policy of industrial development analogous to the General Staff of the military department. The Finance Minister has recently promised to set up an advisory industrial

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council, but something more than this is necessary to meet the needs of the situation. The Council may tender advice of a valuable character, but it will be rendered futile unless there is an executive staff competent to work out plans. Such a staff does not at present exist, and it should be created.

India has little to gain by the acceptance of Imperial preference as part of its fiscal policy, and there is no hope that in the immediate future proposals leaning in that direction will meet with anything but uncompromising opposition in the Legislative Assembly. At the present time there is a lack of goodwill towards British interests, and every measure is minutely scrutinized to discover if it offers any advantage to British trade at the expense of Indian interests. There is, however, a very wide field which has not yet been explored in which British and Indian manufacturers and capitalists can co-operate to the mutual advantage of both countries. Ideas of this kind are in the air in the cotton trade, but no definite proposals have yet materialized. There is still greater scope for action in the chemical and metallurgical industries, and with assured markets in India there is some reason to assume that instead of leaving them open to foreign penetration they can be secured to the Empire by commercial arrangements which would protect the Indian consumer and divide the processes of manufacture in a rational and equitable manner between the associated groups in the two countries.

An Imperial industrial staff is necessary to investigate the prospects of advancing along these lines and to indicate what action on the part of the State is necessary to enable private enterprise to embark upon such schemes as may be considered feasible.

That India can ever become a great industrial country is not possible, and it must look to the improvement of agriculture for any great amelioration in the condition of its many millions. It can, however, advance far beyond its present status, and it is urgent that progress should be accelerated. To the extent that this occurs external trade will undoubtedly be stimulated, and though the character may change to some extent, the change will be gradual and in the direction of commodities of superior quality and of more complex character.

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Mahatma Gandhi's Programme and Ideas

The editor of this review contributed to the *Asia* magazine of New York an article on the meaning of the political struggle in India. Though some of the facts and arguments must be necessarily familiar to Indians, the article is reproduced here in part :

Hitherto wars of independence have been sanguinary. Mahatma Gandhi is the first man in history to wage a bloodless war for independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation, self-control and profound faith in the perfectibility of human nature to make this new departure.

The Mahatma's march on foot to a seaside village to prepare salt has been taken by some Westerners to be merely a ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage. Symbolic it may be in a certain sense. It prefigures and symbolizes the funeral rites of armed warfare as a means of winning independence. It symbolically sounds the deathknell of war. It foreshadows the feasibility of a perfectly peaceful revolution by means of civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi's method, no doubt, requires infinite endurance, patience and perseverance ; but these qualities are not unattainable, and in his method every failure is a steppingstone to success.

But the march is more than this. The government salt monopoly has been the cause of the disappearance of the indigenous salt-manufacturing industry from all seaside places and all inland regions where there are saline deposits and salt-mines. It has impoverished the country to the extent of two hundred million *rupees* or more—a rupee is now worth approximately thirty-six cents—and has saddled it with oppressive taxation amounting to more than seventy million rupees—taxation of which the incidence falls heaviest on the poor, because they require more salt than the well-to-do, in order to add some relish to their scanty and coarse fare. The vast majority of Indians are poor and live by and on agriculture. They and their cattle cannot get enough salt to eat and hence become sickly. The reason why they cannot buy enough salt is that the monopoly and the tax have made it very many times dearer than it used to be when there was no monopoly and no tax. American and European readers will be able to realize the oppressive character of this monopoly and tax when they are reminded of the historic French gabelle, or salt tax. The resemblance between pre-revolutionary France and present-day India is an omen.

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion—and he is right—independence is required most for the poor, who form the vast majority of our people. The response to his call to break the salt law has been very widespread. There is not a single province of India where thousands of people in hundreds of places are not actively engaged in manufacturing or hawking salt. And for every active volunteer doing such work, there are tens of thousands of sympathizers. All classes of people are to be found in varying proportions among both active volunteers and sympathizers.

It would be a mistake to think that Mr. Gandhi has been receiving direct or indirect support only from non-cooperators and members of the National Congress. As a result of the civil disobedience movement, almost all other political movements are at a standstill. The Sapru conference was called to support the proposed London Round Table Conference by bringing together all non-Congress parties on a common platform ; but its sittings have been indefinitely postponed. The Hindu Mahasabha session at Akola has been postponed *sine die*. The "untouchable" classes, who lately pressed. or were made to press, Mr. Gandhi to take up their cause first and enable them to enter all Hindu temples, threatening to thwart his movement if he did not, have themselves for the present given up their attempt to force entry into temples, and their leaders are selling contraband salt in the streets in many places. Many Indian merchants have given their whole-hearted adherence to Mr Gandhi ; others are neutral—the attempt to incite them to active opposition has failed. The Liberals, or Moderates, could not of course take a

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favorable view of Mr. Gandhi's movement. Some of their organs, most of which have a small circulation, continue to carp at it, but the party dares not launch a counter movement. The one big minority group in India of which the attitude of a considerable number of members seems uncertain—perhaps in some cases hostile—is the Moslem community. But the British people would be living in a fool's paradise if they thought that that community as a body is hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Many important Mussulmans, like Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who was appointed by Mr. Gandhi to succeed to the leadership if he should be arrested, have openly and actively joined the movement. Others, not so well-known, have become volunteers or manifested sympathy with civil disobedience in other ways. Most Moslem bodies are sitting on the fence, watching the developments of the civil disobedience campaign.

The active support which women have given to the cause has surprised many. In the manufacturing and hawking of contraband salt, the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, the distributing of propaganda for the boycott of foreign cigarettes and cloth, the holding of meetings and processions for popularizing the cause and the resisting of attempts by the police to snatch away contraband salt and to destroy the pans for manufacturing salt—in all these activities women are taking an enthusiastic part. It is not merely the progressive section of Indian women from which the Mahatma has received recruits and supporters. Even women in villages, who belong to an older world, so to say, have been enthusiastic in their adherence to the movement. For instance, one such old-world village mother has sent four out of her five sons to join it, to face imprisonment and death if need be. And she herself and her daughters have become *satyagrahis*—civil resisters.

The students have been roused. All the teachers and students of Mr. Gandhi's college have joined the movement. There have been a number of students' strikes on account of the unsympathetic attitude of the principals of some government and government-recognized institutions. Many students and other young men have already broken the salt laws and gone to jail. But, whether many others do likewise or not, during the summer, when there is a long vacation, large numbers of them will do their best to stop or materially reduce the sale of foreign cloths and cigarettes in their home towns and villages. There is already a perceptible fall in the sale of these articles. In and outside the student group, most of the active workers are young men.

The laboring people have grievances of their own. Since they are poor, the salt tax hits them hard. They are aware of Mr. Gandhi's sympathy for the poor and revere him for his saintliness and ascetic life. There is no question, therefore, that they are with him. As things are, there are frequent mill-workers' strikes in various places. It has been officially acknowledged that Mr. Gandhi's influence with both mill-owners and mill-hands in Ahmadabad has kept that great industrial centre much quieter than its bigger neighbour, Bombay. The support and sympathy of the mill-hands everywhere are unquestioned.

Since self-rule is the birthright of every nation, no one need offer any apology for starting a movement for making his country free and independent and for taking up an attitude of irreconcilability to even the best foreign rule—if such a thing can exist. So, if I mention a few facts to show that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called by his countrymen the Mahatma for his great soul, has not been an irreconcilable throughout his political career, it is not by way of apology, but only to point out that British statesmanship has disappointed and disillusioned the greatest Indian political leader, who co-operated with the British government, often in the face of the hostile opinion of his countrymen, in a manner and to an extent that cannot be claimed for any other leaders in British India, living or dead, however much they may be commended by Britishers in power for their loyalty and spirit of "co-operation."

In the Boer War of 1899-1902 Mr. Gandhi's personal sympathies were all with the Boers. But his loyalty to the British rule drove him to participation with the British in that war. He felt that, if he demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also his duty as such to participate in the defence of the British Empire. He held then that India could achieve its complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire. So he gathered together as many comrades as possible and with great difficulty got their services accepted in an ambulance corps, which acquitted itself well. At the time of the Zulu rebellion in Natal, after the Boer War, he offered his services to the Natal government and led the Indian ambulance corps attached to the Natal forces. During the World War he raised recruits for the British government. "You are a votary of *ahimsa*—non-violence—how can you ask us to take up arms?" "What good has the government done for India to deserve our cooperation?" These and similar questions used to be put to him during his recruiting campaign.

The Constitution of the Indian National Congress, presented by Mr. Gandhi at the annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur in 1920, stated the goal to be the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without if necessary. This was his oft-repeated political creed up to the time when, late in December, 1929, he was forced to conclude that the Indian people must declare that their goal was independence and must strive to reach the goal. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 a strenuous effort was made by the more ardent spirits to have the Congress declare that its goal was independence. It was Mahatma Gandhi who then moved a compromise resolution to the effect that, if the British government did not grant Dominion status to India on or before December, 31, 1929, Congress would declare for independence. Mr. Gandhi personally wanted to give the government two years to make up its mind to grant India the freedom which was its birthright, but others did not agree to give more than one year. When, on November 1, 1929, Viceroy Lord Irwin made an announcement that Dominion status was England's political goal for India and that a round table conference would shortly be held in London to which representative Indians would be invited, Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders gave His Excellency credit for sincerity and expressed a hope of being able to tender their cooperation to His Majesty's Government at the conference, if certain conditions were

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fulfilled. None of these conditions was accepted, nor was anybody able to extract from the government any definite information or promise relating to the time when India might expect to be a Dominion.

All this many Indian publicists, including the writer, had foreseen—they did not require to be disillusioned. But Mr. Gandhi wanted to be charitable and to give all possible credit to the British government for good intentions. On the eve of the historic session of the Congress the last week of December, 1929, at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi and other leaders saw Lord Irwin by request. But the Viceroy was unable to give any assurance that the purpose of the proposed round table conference in London was to draft a scheme for Dominion status. So, accordinding to the compromise resolution of the Calcutta Congress, Mr. Gandhi moved, at the Lahore Congress, to declare independence to be India's political goal.

Even after the passing of this resolution, Mr. Gandhi published a list of eleven very simple but all-vital needs of India, none of which involved India's independence or the severance of the British connection. Said he : "Let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience and the Congress will heartly participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand." There was no response from the government. So, before launching the civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Gandhi despatched to the Viceroy his now historic letter, which was an appeal to him "on bended knee" to consider and remedy the evils of British rule. But the appeal went for nothing. It elicited only a curt, formal reply from the Viceroy's private secretary. Then followed the civil disobedience campaign.

It is necessary to bear in mind all these facts to understand the full significance of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign to free India from subjection to Great Britain. It is not a campaign led by a doctrinaire advocate of independence who does not consider whether the foreign rule to which he is subject is bad or comparatively good but wants to get rid of it simply because it is foreign. On the contrary, it is led by a man who at one time believed that India could become free only within and through the British Empire and in that belief served the British people and government and cooperated with them. The civil disobedience of such a man and his co-workers and followers means the bankruptcy of British statesmanship ; means that the cooperation which the British government expects of Indians is not the self-respecting partnership of free equals but the subserviency of slaves ; means that even sincere service in times of the direst need cannot arouse any deep or lasting feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the British people ; means that, argument or no argument, they are "not prepared to give up the Indian spoils" and that consequently India must think of some other means of freeing itself.

Sufficient pressure of some kind must be brought to bear on England to make it agree to India's acquisition of freedom. Force of argument and the natural appeal made by friendly help rendered in time of need having failed, India could resort either to armed force or to some moral equivalent of a war for independence. Probably most of those who are against the use of physical force for obtaining independence are so because they believe it to be impracticable, though obviously such a belief cannot be the result of experiment or thorough public discussion. But Mahatma Gandhi is opposed on moral and spiritual grounds to all violence and therefore to any armed war of independence. On the positive side, he believes that civil disobedience, coupled with the endurance —without even the thought of retaliation—of all sufferings, even unto death, which it may bring on the civil resisters, is an active force sufficient for attaining freedom.

If the Indian civil disobedience movement succeeds, it will be a gain to all humanity. Armed rebellions for independence will no longer be absolutely necessary. That will mean the saving of much expense on both sides—on the side of the patriotic rebels as well as on the side of those desiring to crush them. The economic ruin brought on by war will also be prevented. But the moral and spiritual gain will be of far greater value. The chief redeeming feature of war is the heroism it evokes. In war men bear endless suffering, carry their lives in their hands and meet death with perfect nonchalance. In civil disobedience, while the civil resisters remain nonviolent, their official opponents can be and often are violent. The civil resisters are violently assaulted, and many are clapped into prison and ill-treated in many ways. So civil disobedience does not make men less heroic than does war. There is thus no moral loss. On the contrary there is great moral and spiritual gain.

In ordinary wars, keeping one's plan secret, taking the enemy by surprise, ambuscades, camouflage and other falsehoods, treachery and trickery of various kinds are not only considered legitimate and permissible but are taught, recommened and enjoined. In Mr. Gandhi's civil fight everything is open and aboveboard and honourable. His objective and plans have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists, has nothing up his sleeve. He has, when necessary, acted generously too. In the *satyagraha*, or passive resistance, campaign in South Africa, he kept his movement in abeyance during the strike of the white railway men, in order not to embarrass the government. So that the sugar cane plantations might not be put to loss, the Indian labourers joined the strike only after having despatched the sugar cane to a safe place. Similarly, when the indentured labourers of the Durban Municipality struck, Indian sweepers and the Indian workers of the hospitals were asked to go back to their work and they did so gladly.

There is no question, then, but that civil disobedience is a more economical, more humane, more moral and more spiritual solution of dispute than war. Whether it will prove more, or at least equally effective, remains to be seen. But all those who are interested in the peaceful solution of international problems, all who are individually or collectively anti-imperialists, are cooperating to the full extent of their power and opportunities, to make it effective. India means to be free, must be free. She can be free either by peaceful methods or by bloody methods, and she has chosen, the methods of peace.

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The Indian States and the Simon Commission

Sir M. Visveswarayya examines the proposals of the Simon Commission with regard to the Indian States in *The Feudatory and Zamindari India*. He begins by saying that the people of British India have by prolonged and persistent agitation brought matters to a stage when the British Government has to grant them some sort of self-government, but that political advancement is lagging behind in the Indian States. Says Sir M. Visveswarayya :

The Rulers of Indian States have hitherto carried on autocratic or semi-autocratic rule within their territories to the extent permitted by the paramount power. The majority of the Princes, though not unwilling to participate in the responsibilities and privileges of a Central Government, have shown little enthusiasm, so far, to introduce responsible Government within their States. The people of Indian States, though in many respects circumstanced like their compatriots in British India, are not in a position to put pressure on those in authority over them, for similar concession because they are controlled by two masters, namely, the Rulers of Indian States and the Paramount Power—the British Government.

There is some kind of alliance and unity of purpose at the present time between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, mainly because the control of the subject population is shared by them. A quarter of a century ago, the Chief Minister of an important State, now living in honourable retirement, was questioned by the writer in regard to the general trend of administration of Indian States, in those days, and his answer was summed up in these words :— "When the British Agent supported the Maharaja, the Maharaja became the Czar. When the Maharaja made mistakes and was at the same time disliked by the Agent, the Agent took control and became the Czar." Matters continued in this state down to the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms, about the year 1910, after which the British Government gave the Princes some liberty of action, presumably with a view to win their support in the fight against democracy and nationalism.

Then he comes to the specific proposals of the Commission :

In the case of the Indian States, the Commissioners are for the maintenance of the 'status quo.' To them, the Princes in the States are everything and the subjects nothing and it has not occurred to them that the States' subjects are also likely to have ambitions and desires for the betterment of their condition.

The Commissioners seem to imply that the Princes are opposed to a Federal Union. This is hardly correct. More than a dozen years ago, the the question of a Federal Government at the Centre was considered by a Committee of Princes and Ministers of Indian States, when, in the capacity of a Minister, the writer happened to be a member of that body. Even at so early a date, a few leading States considered the proposition as quite feasible and were prepared to send representatives to a Federal Legislature.

The Commissioners have made no effort to present the case for a federal constitution in a favourable light. While protesting that they are preparing the country for an all-India Federation, they have suggested the setting up of a Council composed of representatives of British India and Indian States to serve as a "permanent machinery of consultation" and they talk of the "creation of a tradition" in the working of that Council. The words quoted here either misrepresent the intentions of the Commissioners or they indicate a desire on their part to relegate the question of the Federal Union to the Greek Kalends.

No one reading the recommendations of the Commissioners on this part of the subject, can escape the conviction that the hesitation of the Commissioners proceeds from a general disinclination on their part to facilitate constitutional advance, whether in British or in Indian India.

The encouragement that is being given to the Princes to rule as they like is deprecated by Sir M. Visveswaryya

No help has been given to the Princes to understand that it is more honourable and comfortable for them to be constitutional rather than autocratic rulers. There will be no guarantee that in this democratic age, any but the most capable and efficient among them will be able to hold their own. Some of the changes suggested may not be palatable to them at first but reflection will show that whatever the character of the ruler, a constitutional government will always keep up a respectable standard of Administration in the interests of its subjects. It should be remembered that whatever the defects of the ruler may be, monarchical succession in his line and the privy purse will be more assured under a constitution broad-based on the people's will.

It is hoped that the Princes and Chiefs will not be misled by the Commission's view but will take time by the forelock and initiate a movement to demand a Federal Legislature from the start. A strong legislature representing all the interests in the country, with an Indian Cabinet giving effect to the wishes of the people under the orders of the Crown, should be welcome to the Princes, on grounds both of common interest and patriotism. By the States' people and British Indians coming together constitutionally, national solidarity will

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be promoted and the Princes will feel that they have a share in the Government of their motherland.

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The Problem before the Cooperative Movement

In course of the Presidential address before the 15th Bengal Provincial Co-operative Conference, Mr. S. K. Ganguly, the officiating Registrar of the Co-operative Societies of Bengal dwelt on the educational problem of the co-operative movement. As the personal factor is in every way the most important aid to the success of co-operative movement, this is undoubtedly a very grave question. Mr. Ganguly's suggestions are as follows :

The co-operative movement itself may provide for the training or recruitment of men, or Government may be asked to find such men for the societies concerned. If we are to follow the practice of western countries we should adopt the former course.

In this connection, I would commend to your notice the following advice that Sir Horace Plunkett gives to Indians in the course of his memorandum to the Agricultural Commission ! "What stands out in the Irish Movement, as I remember it and have tried to present it—with what measure of success I shall shortly know—are principally," Sir Horace says, "its humble beginnings, sustained by the abiding faith of my fellow-workers in the efficacy of self-help. This was surely remarkable in a community taught for centuries to believe that the paralysing abstraction, 'The Government' was the cause of all evil, and the potential source of all good things. Even more strange was it that, when the Government was appealed to, the demand was not for demoralising doles, but for education, in the broadest sense of the term, to fit the chief wealth-producers of our country for their work."

If it is desired that the progress of the co-operative movement should be more rapid than is the ease at present, co-operative societies should, instead of waiting for help from outside, themselves undertake the work of expansion and organisation. In matters of education and training. help from Government should, of course, be asked for, and, I believe if properly considered schemes of co-operative training and education are prepared, such help, if sought, cannot be withheld from the movement. The movement cannot be expected to be based on a solid foundation so long as arrangements are not made for the introduction of a regular system of co-operative training and education. Any such scheme to be effective must consist of three distinct parts. First, there should be a wide extension of general education among the vast mass of people. Secondly. a training in the principles and practice of co-operation is to be imparted to all persons connected with co-operative societies, whether official or non-official. Thirdly, arrangements should be made for the training of experts for the management of various types of co-operative societies. This work has already been begun, though on a modest scale, in some of the provinces in India. Bengal should not lag behind other provinces in a matter of such supreme importance. The attention of the more important among the co-operative societies in the province should be directed to this question.

I have dwelt on two of the more important among the problems facing at the present moment the co-operative movement in this province, namely a development of the movement commensurate with the economic needs of the vast mass of its people and the pressing need for the introduction of a suitable, all round scheme of co-operative education and training.

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First Things First—Swadeshi

A strong plea is put forward by *Stridharma* for the promotion of Swadeshi :

The movement for supporting Home manufacture moves ahead. The necessity of buying things devolves on everyone. Every buyer has the right of choice. With a right and a necessity there is also a responsibility. People have learnt that they are not serving their country if they buy the products of other countries thoughtlessly or in preference to their own manufactures. Especially in the matter of cotton cloth, people had taken a wrong turn. But we are changing all that. Now we hear that there is hardly a yard of foreign cloth sold in the bazaars in Delhi. Bombay merchants and small traders are making patriotic sacrifices rather than sell foreign stuff. Nine thousand bales of foreign manufacture are lying unclaimed on the docks of Bombay. Many towns are holding Swadeshi Exhibitions and these enormously stimulate indigenous industry. After they are over Emporiums for certified home manufactures are opened and directories give addresses of shopping centres. Khaddar Vastralaya Depots have become centres of pilgrimage and taken on a shrine-like quality, Gandhi caps are sold by the thousand and women are taking the greatest pride in finding nice bits of khaddar for little kurtas for the toddler, little khaddar frocks for the girls going off to school, and they are determined to have at least one khaddar saree each for all public functions. In Cocanada this month full half the town turned out to walk in procession in honour of the Khaddar movement after the opening by Mrs. Cousins of a Spinning Home given by Mr. Pyda Venkatanarayana, a local Zamindar. A procession proper had been banned by the Magistrate but as the leaders elected to walk the mile and a half to their bungalow after the function and refreshments were to be served there to the public no one could prevent the thousands who had been at the meeting from walking home with their host and thousands more joined in. A typical incident happened. The procession met a motor in which was one of the chief members of the All-India Women's Conference for Andhradesa. Her heart was with the procession, but she would not walk with it because she "had not on a khaddar saree and she would feel ashamed."

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Internal Security and British Soldiers

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer contributes a very important article to *Triveni* on that portion of the Simon Report which deals with the Army in India. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy further deals with all the points raised by the Simon Report, out of which we can only quote his remarks with regard to the need for maintaining British soldiers in India for the purpose of keeping internal peace.

It may be said that the composition of the personnel of the army is also a matter for military experts and that we must take their *ipsedixit* as to the necessity for British troops and officers and the proportion of the British element to the Indian. The views of the military authorities upon this question cannot be accepted without a heavy discount owing to their interest and prejudices. For the benefit of the lay reader, it may be stated that the purpose of the army in India is defence against external danger and the maintenance of internal security and that it is divided into three sections, the covering troops on the frontier, the field army and the internal security troops. It will be a matter of surprise to the reader that, while the ratio of the British element to the Indian in India as a whole is about 1 to 2·5, the ratio of British to Indian in the covering troops which have to meet the first onslaught of the invader is 1 to 6.7 and in the internal security section it rises to 1·24 to 1 or in round numbers, about 8 to 7. The extraordinary disparity in the proportion of the British element required in the internal security calls for explanation. The only reason attempted to be given by the Simon Commission is that, owing to the communal tension which prevails in India, the British troops of the army are called into requisition for the purpose of putting down internal disturbances almost universally and that this is due to the fact that the neutrality of the British soldier, unlike that of the Indian, is above suspicion. For various reasons this explanation of the high ratio cannot possibly be accepted as convincing. In the first place, the primary agency to be employed for maintaining internal order and tranquillity is the police force. The neutrality and loyalty of the Indian police forces have never been questioned. On the contrary, tribute has often been paid to the fearlessness with which the police have discharged their arduous duties in the most trying circumstances of civil disorder. Otherwise, one would have suggested a proposal to have been put forward for such admixture of the British element in the police force also. If a requisition is made for the employment of the regular troops, it is not because of the neutrality of the police cannot be depended upon but on account of the fact that they are not adequate in numbers and armament. There is no ground for suggesting that the Indian soldier has gone through a severer training and discipline than the police officer is not dependable in dealing with communal disturbances. But it is urged that, though the Indian soldier may be as reliable as the policeman or the British officer, his neutrality would be suspect in this country. It has been also urged that as a matter of fact requisition have been made for the employment of British troops. No figures are given as to the manner in which these requisition have been complied with by sending British, or Indian troops alone, or both combined. It has to be remembered that the requisitions are made by the governments and not by any responsible ministry and that they cannot be used as evidence of the want of popular confidence in Indian troops. That the local governments may have more confidence in the British troops is beside the question. Moreover, even assuming the undesirability or inexpediency of employing troops likely to be swayed by partisan feeling or local attachment it should be quite easy to send Indian troops free from any probable bias to the affected areas. Granting even that the use of British troops may be necessary for the purpose of dealing with internal disorder, one would be disposed to think there is no justification for the enormous disparity in the British ratio between the internal security troops and the field army. The only credible explanation is that this enormous British element is maintained not for dealing with-inter-communal strife, but for the purpose of putting down any national uprising against the Government.

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About Indian Insurance Companies

The Government Actuary's report on the Indian Insurance Companies furnishes an occasion for the editor of *The Indian Insurance* to put forward some constructive suggestions on the subject:

There are some very constructive suggestions in the report of the Government of India Actuary in regard to the working of insurance companies in this country. It is true that in general insurance business the position is that the bulk of the premium income is still going to non-Indian companies. As against 8 or 9 general Indian insurance companies of which only 5 are doing all classes of business, there are over 150 foreign insurance companies in our midst to compete for the Indian insurance business. General insurance business, however, is largely of an international character and companies try to spread their risks as wide as possible by making arrangements for the sharing of the business. Taking the British companies alone, even today, 70 per cent of the premium income in their fire, marine and motor car business is derived from outside Great Britain. But one redeeming feature to the advantage of the British companies is that the British People, wherever they are, exclusively insure with British companies; no matter whether they are in a civilised city or in the remotest corner of the world. Recently when a question was put to Mr. Henry Ford where he effects the insurances of his various factories spread over several parts of the world. he replied that all his insurances were placed with American companies. Probably if a similar question was asked to the Japanese people doing businss in India, the same answer that all their insurances were being placed with companies of their country would be given. It will be so with regard to many other nationalities as well. It is this spirit of looking to one's own country at all times for all things, that has been responsible for the building up of large insurance companies

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and we commend this spirit to the people of our country at a time like the present when it is engaged in getting freedom in all spheres of activity.

Touching on the suggestions of the Government of India Actuary, we have already pointed out in the previous issue that his opinion is that no life company should be brought into existence in India unless it is assured of 2 lacs of paid up capital to start with. We trust that not only promoters of future life companies will take this to heart but we would suggest that even some of the new companies that have been formed will do their very best to amplify their capital, to as large a figure as possible. Life insurance, it must be understood, is a long time contract. It is provision made, in many cases, for dependants, such as widows and children. No trust money is more sacred than life insurance monies and it is the bounden duty of the management of life insurance companies to see that nothing happens to life insurance contracts, which are entered into with them. The difficulty with many of the new life insurance companies has been that the small paid up capital with which they start business leaves little or nothing after the company has worked the first two years. Naturally when the first valuation had to be made to know the real position of the company, it was found that policyholders' interest was jeopardised. If only proper precautions were taken even from the very beginning to have as ample a paid up capital as possible the interests of the policyholders would have been intact. In life insurance, it must be understood, it is the policyholder who is the mainstay of the business, the shareholder taking only a secondary place.

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Should we have a Universal Language

Mr. K. Venkatappayya, B.A., B.L., B. ED., argues the case for a universal language for the whole of world in *the Educational Review*, and in this connection surveys the attempts that have recently made to establish one,

Among the many attempts to establish peace and harmony in the world and to bridge the gulf between races speaking diverse languages, the invention of a universal language deserves the best consideration of all lovers of mankind. A common language sufficient to serve as a medium of thought is nothing short of a necessity in these days of inter-dependence of nations. Modern European linguists have spared no pains to solve the problem of inventing such a language. The attempt that is being made in India of making "Hindi" the *lingua franca* of this country also lends support to the importance given to the problem by the cultured minds of the East and the West.

The invention of a universal language based upon scientific principle is, however, a desideratum. For a long time, Latin was the common learned language in Europe. The rapid development of modern science and modern thought dislodged it from that position long ago and various proposals have been put forward for the establishment of a Universal language in Europe. The adoption of an existing European language was one of such proposals but such a course is neither easy nor practicable. A second proposal was to promote a particular language like English, Spanish or French to the honour but such a procedure would obviously result in giving undue advantage to the native speakers of that language. It would also create national jealousies and wound the patriotic feelings of the speakers of other languages. A third proposal was to select one of the classical languages like Greek or Latin for the purpose, but this method also is out of the question, for being dead languages, it would be impossible to "give dead bones life." Lastly, the adoption of a language like Norwegian spoken by a few and possessing a simple structure was proposed. The objection to this suggestion is that Norwegian is a natural language, and as such it is not easy to learn, nor is a natural language a perfect expression of thought.

He then goes on to enunciate the principles on which an artificial universal language should be constructed and gives a lucid account of artificial universal languages.

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Christian Missions on the Cross-roads

"Are Christian Missions out of date?"—this is the question asked by Rev. Dr. Wilbur S. Deming, in an article contributed to *the National Christian Council Review*. The mediocre success of the Christian missions in India ought to have brought the question of the fore even before this. Dr. Deming would suggest that it is not so much the spirit of the whole movement, but the methods which need revising :

During the past year the Christian world has been faced with a somewhat new situation, namely a defeatist attitude on the part of some of its friends. The idea has been spreading that Christian Missions may be out of date and that the West has little to share with the East. In the Orient today nationalism is the movement of the moment. And while this has brought a curious co-mingling between cultural borrowing and cultural reassertion, it has not made the East any more friendly to outside religious influences. Turkey and Japan have borrowed freely from the West, yet Turkey, with its materialistic bias, is not friendly to Christian evangelism. While the news from China may be exaggerated, it cannot be denied that the atmosphere in general is not helpful to Christian preaching. Communism, materialism and the reassertion of Chinese culture are three influences which are becoming dominant. As the national movement in India gathers momentum, what will be its effect on Missions or Christian evangelism? This is a question that is in the thoughts of many today. The Christian pronouncement at Allahabad had a great reception, but this was due to its patriotic tone rather than any tribute to the value of the Christian view point as such.

In the face of growing opposition, cultural and materialistic, can we say that evangelism or Christian Missions are out of date? Have they 'shot their bolt'? Only one answer can be given.

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so long as there is a Christian religion, so long will evangelism be a potent force in the lives of Christians. In saying this, however, it must be recognized that methods do change. Some methods have become out of date. For example, securing Christian decisions by coercion as it has been known in past centuries is entirely out of date. Whether this coercion be by official pressure as in the case of Francis Xavier at Goa or in the form of material inducements, the issue is the same. Similarly, when working with school children, evangelists or teachers must take great care in seeing that all Christian decisions are spontaneous and not forced. Our own observation is that such coercion today is very rare.

Primary education as an evangelistic agency is nearing the end of its era, owing to governments and local bodies taking over this essential public duty. Missionary publicity has undergone radical changes this past century. It is no longer 'good form' to make unfair comparisons between religions. The survival of a religion does have a vital relationship to its value for human beings and its influence on life. While inferior religious beliefs will thus gradually be discarded, the process need not be hastened by invidious or provocative attacks.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

The Jute Disaster

Considerable anxiety is caused throughout the country as a result of the publication of the final jute forecast in the first week of September. Jute is by far the most important product of Bengal, bringing to this province no less than Rs. 80 crores per annum on the average. More than fifty per cent of the cultivators of this part of India are dependent on the production of jute, and the amount of capital and number of persons engaged in the trade and industry far exceed these in any other manufacturing industry or external and internal trade. A danger to such a product must necessarily shake the placid tranquillity of various sections of our countrymen.

The final forecast of the jute crop of 1930 shows that, taking the consolidated statement for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam into account, the revised estimated area for the three provinces is 3,485,600 acres, an increase of 70,635 acres, as compared with the revised final forecast for 1929. The crop, it is estimated, will yield 11,231,000 bales of jute or about 560 lakhs of maunds, exceeding last year's revised total by 845,800 bales. The summary of the forecast is given below :

Province	Area in acres			Yield in bales		
	1929	1930	Difference	1929	1930	Difference
Bengal (including Cooch Bihar and Tripura)	3,020,365	3,062,300	+41,935	9,264,200	9,966,000	+701,800
Bihar and Orissa	238,000	238,000	...	769,400	670,000	— 99,400
Assam	156,600	185 300	+28,700	351,600	595,000	+243,400
Total	3,414,965	3,485,600	+70,635	10,385,200	11,231,000	+845,800

The departmental final forecasts for the three provinces give us some idea of the position that has led to this state of super-fluity.

In Bengal, the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Rajshahi, and Malda had marked absence of rainfall in May and early June. The June and July rainfall in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, as also in East Bengal tended towards an excess. On the whole, the conditions for growth had been favourable. The production averages were calculated on the basis of divisional normals as follows ; Dacca and Chittagong divisions—3·7 bales per acre or about 5·6 maunds per bigha ; Rajshahi division—3·5 bales per acre or 5·3 maunds per bigha, and Presidency and Burdwan divisions—3·2 bales per acre or 4·8 maunds per bigha.

In Behar the preliminary estimate was for some reduced acreage but subsequently the estimate was raised to 238,000 acres, the figure attained last year. The conditions of production were not so favourable, and at first it was believed that only about 58 per cent of the normal crop would be obtained. Subsequently however, the return was estimated to be 78·1 per cent of the

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normal, and the average outturn was calculated to be 3⅓ bales per acre or 5 maunds per bigha.

In Assam the season had been generally favourable for the crop except in Sylhet, and although some damage was caused by earthquake, hailstorms and insects, at places, the return was estimated to be 92 per cent of the normal per acre, against 64 per cent of last year. The acreage was estimated to have increased from 156,600 to 185,300, and the average yield has been taken to be 3·5 bales per acre or 5·2 maunds per bigha.

It will be observed from the above that in each case the authors of the forecast have been particularly liberal in their calculations this year, and there should be no great surprise if the estimates given above prove to be far out of the mark. We feel that taking the figures, as they are, there is some room for doubt as to their exactitude. Perhaps some portion of the present anxiety is without proper foundation. But surely, that may offer only a small relief to the cultivators. In any case, however, in view of the serious implications involved in a cirsis in the jute trade we cannot afford to sit idle at the present juncture, and the attempts that are being made by various bodies to find out ways and means to ease the acute difficulties of the moment are welcome.

Speaking at the quarterly meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce nearly three months ago, Mr. D. P. Khaitan, the President, dwelt at length upon the gloomy outlook of the trades and industries of the country. While drawing special attention to the jute trade that is passing through a severe depression for some months past, Mr. Khaitan observed: "The price of both raw and manufactured jute had declined to a level which was considered low even in the pre-war period." Further, although the full effects of the depression were not yet felt by the industry, the mills were carrying on a precarious existence. The Calcutta Gunny Bazar could no longer absorb the output of the mills, which they used to do months ahead of actual production. Steps were taken by the Jute Mills' Association to rectify the mistake prompted by them two years ago when they increased their hours of work from 54 to 60. They not only reverted to the 54-hour week but decided also to close down the mills one week every month for the present. Even this decision failed to improve the situation. Owing to excessive production by the mills at a time when consumption was on the decrease large stocks of manufactured goods accumulated in all centres. The prices of hessian and gunny having reached an inordinately low level the mills find themselves in a most unhappy situation. Whatever little they may produce at the moment only goes to add to the difficulties, and the raw materials in their hands are accumulating. It was estimated that on July 1 the stock of raw jute in the hands of merchants in Calcutta together with that held by them in the mofussil aggregated 37 lakhs of bales. Taking into consideration the critical condition of the jute industry abroad it was believed that the total requirements in the current year would not exceed 90 lakhs of bales as against an estimated total stock of nearly 152 lakhs of bales. This means that by the end of this year nearly 60 lakhs of bales or more than six months' requirements of the world will be carried over. If the present position is therefore permitted to continue unchecked there is no knowing when the tide of the depression can be stemmed.

The depression in the jute trade is bound to have serious repercussion on the entire economic life of the presidency. Besides aggravating the state of unemployment in the country it is bound to adversely affect every other trade and industry. Owing to the decline in his income the cultivator will not be able to make his usual purchases, and the sale of all sorts of goods consumed by the ryot must necessarily decrease, thereby throwing numerous traders and manufacturers into a state of distress. Nor can the Government go unaffected by the difficulties. The collection of income tax and many other dues in the country must be materially reduced and there must be serious deficiency in the finances of Government. It was, therefore, urged that both in their own interests as well as in the interests of the ryots the Government should come forward to take measures for improving the present situation in the jute trade.

Such was the warning issued over two months ago, and yet nothing could be done. Nature has proved herself to be unusually bounteous at a time when the market is already overstocked and the slackness in demand is most acute.

In recent weeks pointed attention has been drawn to the question by several

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newspapers. During the last few months there has been a big fall in the price of jute, and the present price in the mofussil is from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3-8 a maund. According to the figures supplied by the Director of Agriculture to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee the cost of production of jute is estimated at just below Rs. 6 per maund. The present price, therefore, is nearly half of what it costs the cultivator to grow his jute. Of the total estimated production this year, of 112 lakhs of bales or 560 lacs of maunds, only about one-fourth has been marketed already. It is difficult to say at what price the remaining three-fourths will be sold. However, taking the present price as the minimum that the cultivator can be forced to go down to, the total net loss to them will be about Rs. 20 crores. If the losses that are likely to be incurred by the mills and the merchants who help in the collection and distribution of the raw material and the product are taken into consideration the total loss to Bengal will be incalculable.

Along with the fall in the price of raw jute there has been a severe fall in the price of manufactured goods. The price of 9 oz. Hessian has fallen to Rs. 8-8 which is the lowest price for 15 years.

The total value of exports of jute and jute manufactures during 1929 was about Rs. 90 crores. Assuming that the quantity exported this year will be the same as last year, the total value at the present market rates will be about Rs. 40 to 45 crores. This means a reduction in the income of Bengal to the extent of about Rs. 40 crores.

As a result of the condition in the jute trade the economic situation in the whole of Bengal has become serious. Hardly any section of the population—the landholders, professionals, and business men—has escaped its effects, although the cultivator is the first sufferer. The question that one is naturally inclined to ask is what is the fundamental cause of this distress in the jute trade and what might be the remedy for it. It is argued that this plight is due to world causes and world depression. While admitting that the falling prices all the world over have to some extent influenced the market for jute, it is no use dismissing the whole issue by attributing the entire distress to world conditions. India commands a virtual monopoly in the supply of jute and there are few contending interests in the organization of its trade. With some judicious measures it should be possible to take concerted action not only to relieve present difficulties but also to make the repetition of the same phenomena impossible.

Putting it in a nut-shell the present deplorable plight is due to over-production. This is merely a relative expression, for it involves both the question of consumption or demand and production or supply. Summarizing the causes and conditions that have led to the distress we find the following :

(a) Slackening in world demand for jute.

(b) World depression in agricultural prices.

(c) Holding of large stocks over and dealing in futures.

(d) Nature's bounteous yield for two or three years.

(e) Manipulation of prices of raw jute to the detriment of the trade, and promoting production through the raising of false hopes at sowing time.

(f) Deflation of currency which has accentuated the evils of falling prices.

(g) Complete maladjustment between production and consumption of jute, and absence of any machinery for effecting harmony.

Over some of these causes we have perhaps little control, but there is no reason why our business men and financiers as well as representatives of the Government and of the producers should not be able to devise means to check the evils arising out of the others.

Coming now to the remedies it has to be pointed out that these must be classed under two heads, namely, those directed to effect immediate relief, and those meant to remove the difficulties permanently. We give below the various suggestions that have come to light and deserve attention :

Regarding present distress the remedies proposed have been :

(a) Deputation to Government for advances to cultivators and for the suspension of payment of rent for the Aswin Kist.

(b) Deputation to landlords for the remission and suspension of rent collections and for loans to enable the ryots to tide over their immediate difficulties. They may also be requested to accept part of their dues in kind in jute, which they will hold back for the time being.

(c) Appeal to Government to impress upon them the seriousness of the situation,

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and to ask them to help in withholding from the market a part of the stock. This can be done if Government agrees to purchase about 30 lakhs of bales with about 5 crores of rupees, and to keep this in reserve in warehouses. The finance for this measure may be obtained by issuing paper currency to the required extent against the security of such goods held in stock.

(d) Propaganda amongst the villagers bringing them a message of hope and asking them to hold back as much stock from the present market as possible.

It must be realized that no amount of attempt at relieving immediate distress can be successful without a simultaneous endeavour to stop the possibility of future overproduction. Much of the trouble is due to the fact that we have this year one of the biggest jute crops ever known coinciding with an acute trade depression. While there is yet time we must try to prevent another big production next and subsequent years. With that in view, as well as with a view to increase the price of manufactured goods the following remedies have been suggested :

(a) Declaration of a bold policy by the jute mills to bring about an effective curtailment of the present stock of manufactured goods, and to reduce future production substantially.

(b) Legislative provision to control the production of jute under licences obtainable from Government.

(c) Reforms in the present arrangements for collection and publication of forecasts ; and the dissemination of information about approximate annual requirements and probable prices to the cultivators sometime before sowing season.

(d) Propaganda amongst the cultivators asking them to distribute their agricultural activity, and to restrict the production of jute generally.

It is yet premature to say which of these steps will really give permanent relief. But obviously there is something to say for all these suggestions. In consideration of the seriousness of the situation we believe that there should be no further delay in the adoption of some measures. The efficacy of the measures may be watched and the procedure may be modified gradually.

It must here be observed that in matters financial and economic no useful purpose is served by being an alarmist. It is easy to add to the despondence of the people and create a feeling of conflagration amongst our countrymen. But it is difficult to inspire hope and create confidence. At a time like the present there is great need for bringing to the cultivator the message of patience and perseverance, courage and industry. World demand must soon show signs of improvement, and who can tell that the gloom will not disappear at an early date.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

Polish Independence and Insurance

How independence of Poland has been quickly followed by striking development of indigenous insurance business in that country was related at the last Congress of Actuaries in Stockholm. In 1914 there were in Poland only two proprietary and eight mutual national insurance companies transacting life, accident, fire and plate glass business. Other classes of insurance were entirely in the hands of foreign insurance companies.

At present there are fifteen proprietary and eleven mutual national insurance companies transacting thirteen kinds of insurance business in Poland. Legislative restrictions have been imposed on the activities of foreign insurance companies—only three of them are licensed to transact business throughout Poland and four are permitted to write insurances only in certain districts of the country. In 1928 the total premium income of Polish companies amounted to nearly ZL 8½ crores while the corresponding figure for foreign insurance companies came to only ZL 2¹ crores. It is quite evident that non-national insurance companies have lost their footing in Poland. Besides, now, under law, foreign insurance companies transacting business in that country must appoint a Polish citizen as their chief representative in Poland.

Life Insurance and Mussolini

An interesting question has been raised in the Insurance world whether policies on the lives of Dictators can be issued at ordinary rates. After the last war Dictatorship had been established in several countries *e.g.* Primo De Rivera in Spain. Prof. Valdemaras in Lithvania, Pilsudoki in Poland and Mussolini in Italy. The first two have since been overthrown. Several attempts have been made on the lives of these dominating personalities and there is no indication the

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no further attempt might not be made. At present informations are required from the proponent as to his making aviation a full or part time job, proceeding on active war service, etc. An ingenious insurance expert suggests an additional question.—Do you intend to become a Dictator?—which seems to be a more dangerous occupation.

The question came to the fore in connection with a recent attempt made by an enterprising Insurance agent to tackle the great Mussolini for a life policy. The world-renowned Dictator is as much, if not more, in need of protection for his wife and children as any other responsible head of a family.

This "live-wire" life assurance man wrote policies on the lives of two Presidents of the United States. He sought an interview with the Duce (meaning the chief, as Mussolini is popularly called in Italy) in Rome with the help of his country's Ambassador but he was informed that the great man was so much taken up with important matters that it was impossible to grant him an interview unless he waited for a month or six weeks. The Insurance agent then straight went to the house where Mussolini resides to snatch an informal talk. On return he said, "I never know so many soldiers could be crowded into one place. They came out in droves. Some secret service may also join the crowd." Asked if he could see Mussolini he replied, "No, but I wasn't arrested either."

Insurance Year Book, 1929

The Insurance Year Book which has just been published by the Government of India reveals certain interesting facts. Altogether 245 companies are transacting insurance business in India. Of them 97 are constituted in India, 72 in the United Kingdom, 29 in the British Dominions and Colonies, 13 in the United States of America, 19 in the Continent of Europe, 10 in Japan and 5 in Java. Life assurance business is carried on by 102 companies, Fire or Marine insurance by 151 companies and other classes of insurance by 171 companies.

The total premium income derived from life assurance business in India amounts to Rs. 6¾ crores, of which nearly Rs. 3 crores go to non-Indian companies. Besides about half a crore of rupees is derived from the Postal Insurance Scheme, which is run by the Government of India. The premium income of non-Indian companies from General Insurance business comes to over Rs 2 crores, out of a total of only Rs. 2½ crores. So altogether we are placing annually over five crores of rupees out of our savings in the hands of foreigners.

The average sum assured under a policy of a non-Indian company is Rs. 3,500 while only Rs. 1,700 represents the average policy value of an Indian concern. It is evident that comparatively well-off persons patronize foreign institutions in preference to indigenous concerns. This stands in striking contrast with the records of other countries where people lend their support exclusively to national concerns. Foreign companies transacting business in those countries are patronized by their own nationals only.

Propaganda against Indian Insurance

A sinister propaganda is being carried on to discredit Indian insurance companies. Anonymous leaflets have been distributed at various places and recently in Bombay was circulated an interesting leaflet printed at the Government Press and presumably issued under the authority of the Bombay Government. The latest Insurance Year Book also appears to be an indirect propaganda against Indian insurance. Attempts are being made to arouse suspicion in the minds of people with regard to the financial stability of Indian concerns and it is alleged that they are not prompt in the settlement of claims.

With regard to the first point it may be pointed out that, in spite of defects in some small concerns, average Indian insurance companies are as sound as the British ones and the better class of them can stand any test to prove their soundness and security. On the other hand, British insurance companies are not, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. Instances of failure of British concerns are not rare and only re ently a life office of London went into liquidation under regrettable circumstances.

The allegation that Indian insurance companies do not settle claims promptly is also unfair. The delay in the settlement of claims in India is not due to any defect inherent in the companies concerned; the real explanation lies in the social and legal complexities of the people and their habits and disabilities. If particulars can be obtained regarding outstanding claims of foreign companies with regard to their Indian

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business, perhaps it will be found that their experience is worse than their Indian rivals.

International Congress of Actuaries

The ninth session of the International Congress of Actuaries met in Stockholm during the end of last June. The Congress was originated in 1895 and usually it meets every three years; but owing to the intervention of the war there was no sitting for twelve years. The most important question discussed at the Stockholm Congress was with regard to distribution of surplus. The Actuaries are trying to determine an equitable method for the bonus distribution in conformity with fluctuations of interest, mortality and expenses. Another important task undertaken by the Congress is to investigate the mortality of persons with a personal history of diseases with a certain or supposed connexion with tuberculosis. The question of tubercular risk is of considerable interest to Insurance companies and it is hoped the efforts of the Congress will contribute materially to the solution of this problem.

S. C. Ray

Indian Womanhood

Mrs. Srichand Lall, *née* Dharmasila Jayaswal has sailed for England for a degree in English literature in London University and to qualify herself for the Bar. She is the second Hindu lady from Bihar to go to England for general education and the first from that province to go there for legal training. She studied at home up to the B.A. course and obtained that degree as a private candidate. She passed her M. A. examination in English from the Benares Hindu University. She is the daughter of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Bar-at-Law, of Patna.



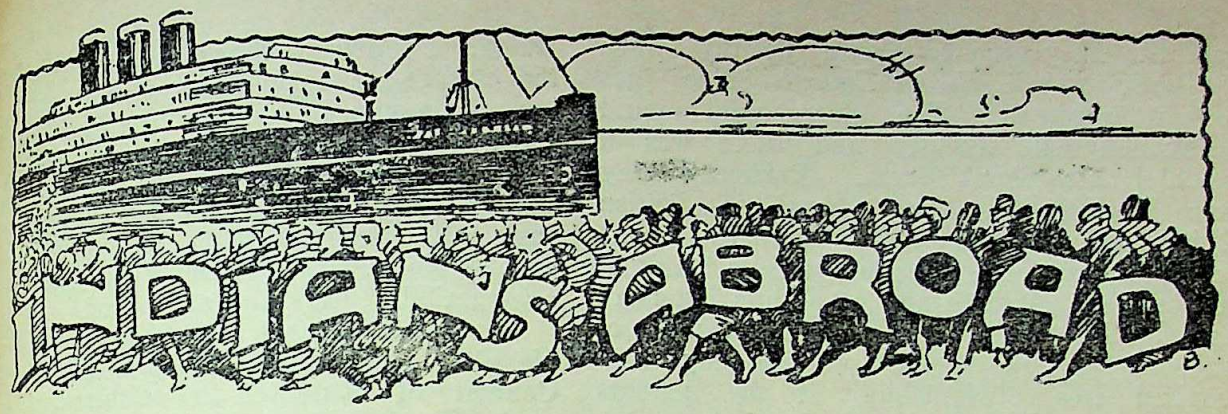
Mrs. Dharmasila Jayaswal



Mrs. Jyotsna Mitra who has been sentenced to imprisonment for picketing foreign cloth shops

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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Returned Emigrants at Matiaburz

It was in the year 1921 that Mahatma Gandhi and Dinabandhu Andrews asked me to look after the emigrants who were returning from Fiji during that year in such large numbers. Since that time I have visited Matiaburz quite frequently. For outside readers I may add here that Matiaburz is a dirty suburb of Calcutta, full of slums, where more than a thousand returned emigrants from colonies are living in a wretched condition.

Though, as I have said, I have visited this place frequently never did I see such pitiable scenes as I witnessed in my last visit. Formerly these people could get some employment and they were pulling on somehow but now they are mostly unemployed and this unemployment has brought them on to the verge of starvation. Some of them were turned out of their 'houses' (if those pigeon-holes could be given this name) and had to pass their days and nights under the trees during the rainy season. When I was visiting some of these 'houses' a returned emigrant remarked, "Look here Panditji, are not these houses worse than pig-sties?" I could see that there was no exaggeration in this remark. The lanes through which one has to pass are full of mud and stench. There are pools with stagnant water—breeding places for mosquitoes and malaria, and consequently a large number of these returned emigrants are often suffering from malarial fever.

Matiaburz has been a death trap for hundreds of returned emigrants during the last ten years, and it is a disgrace to the municipality and the town that such an abominable slum quarter is allowed to exist at all. How these returned emigrants got there is a long story. From the days of the indenture slavery the place has been associated with emigrants. There was a coolie depôt at Garden Reach from where thousands of Indians—men and women—were shipped to colonies every year under that hated labour system founded on fraud and carried on through falsehood. A large number of people who return from the colonies are absorbed in their village population but a certain percentage—probably 20 per cent—get stranded and they come to this congested quarter of Calcutta. The problem of these returned emigrants has engaged the brains and energies of Mr. Andrews, Mr. F. E. James (formerly of the Y. M. C. A., Calcutta) and others but has not yet been tackled successfully. There are several factors that have stood in the way of a successful solution of the problem. Take the social side of it. There are a number of people among these returned emigrants, who have married outside their caste, and they have their families and surely it is almost an impossible task to get these people taken back in their respective social organizations. The question of marriage of their children raises another serious difficulty. Then the children who were born in the colonies, find it most difficult to adjust themselves to their new surroundings. Having been accustomed to live in the socially free atmosphere of the colonies where they could get a living wage, these colonial born children chafe at the caste-ridden atmosphere all around. Add to these the economic distress—the want of employment—and you can imagine the miserable lot of these people.

Here are some cases. Two sons of a Bihari Brahman returned from British Guiana more than a year ago with their

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parents. They looked quite healthy when they came to the *Vishal Bharat* office just after their return. The elder child could speak English fluently and there was a colonial air about them. Evidently they were reading in some school in British Guiana and I advised the father of these sons to take them to Benares to get them admitted in some school there and gave him letters of introduction. But the poor man could not succeed for none could promise any help beyond free studentship. If the parents had not made the blunder of returning to India both the boys would have been getting their education in some colonial school but now there seems no possibility of their getting any education at all. The elder child is earning three or four annas a day by working in a match factory where he is paid at the rate of three pice for filling two hundred match boxes. He looks a mere skeleton of his former self and it was difficult to recognize him in his dirty rags, so different was he from the decently dressed colonial boy who came to my office a year ago. I asked him:

"How do you like this place? Would you not like to go back to Demrara colony again"? The question moved him and I could see tears in his eyes. He realizes that gone for him are the days when he could move freely when his father could earn enough by working as a priest in British Guiana. That an intelligent boy of his tender age should be engaged in the monotonous work of filling match boxes in a factory day in day out, instead of getting his education in some school, is a pathetic thing indeed.

There is another colonial born boy who was working as a jocky in race courses in British Guiana. He is a decent-looking boy and his father, who was a Sardar of labourers, relates with pride how his son used to win in race courses. The poor boy cannot find any employment here. It may be mentioned by the way that a system of bribery is prevalant in many offices at Calcutta and the ill-paid clerks of these offices insist on being paid five rupees or ten before they give employment to labourers.

The case of those unhappy people who have left their kith and kin behind in some colony is very tragic indeed. Here is an old lady who has lost one eye and who left her sons and grandsons in Demrara. Bitterly does she weep for those children whom she will never see again in her life, for British Guiana is fourteen thousand miles away and the passage costs not less than Rs. 375—an impossible sum to manage for a poor woman.

A Vaishya of Jhansi district, who has taken to begging, bewails his lot more than any one else. He was not taken back in his caste. His people refused to recognize him even. "No one in my family has ever been a beggar" he says and sobs aloud.

On 25th September 1929 when the Honourable Mr. Ramaprasad Mukerji asked in the Council of State if the Government had made any effort to alleviate the grievances of these returned emigrants, Sir Fazl-i-Husain replied:—"Government are considering whether anything can be done to help the repatriates."

A year has now passed and we do not know of anything done by the Government for these poor people. It is to be noted that the problem of these returned emigrants are after-effects of the hated Indenture system and the Government that was responsible for this system cannot escape its moral responsibility so far as these people are concerned. The least that they should do is to establish a semi-official organization like the Indian Emigrants' Friendly Service Committee to do some social service to these people and to help them in getting employment. It is a pathetic sight to see the children in these wretched surroundings. There is a look on the faces of these children which betrays want of nourishment and joy and it seems that these children have never smiled. And what can be more moving than the sight of girls who have not got enough of clothing to cover their body?

In the name of these people who are starving, these boys and girls, who havn't got even clothes, in the name of suffering humanity, I would appeal to the readers of these notes to do what they can to help these returned emigrants.

Any help in money or clothes should be sent direct to Jatan (of British Guiana) Baman Thakur's House, Matiaburz P. O. Garden Reach, Calcutta.

News from Fiji Islands

An esteemed correspondent writes in his letter of 12th August 1930:

I believe that you are already aware of the fact that after the resignation of the three Indian Members from the Legislative Council the Governor proclaimed a fresh election, and though

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a month was given, not a single man came forward to file a nomination! Having failed at this game the government called several prominent Indians for a conference, with a view, of course, to force upon them the unwanted and *twice* rejected communal franchise. At this so-called round table conference, our representatives made it plain that the Indians will not be satisfied with anything less than common franchise.

Subsequently in opening the Council the Governor stated that should any of the Divisions desire a fresh election he was prepared to accede to the request. No one as yet has taken the bait. Nor there is any likelihood. What a disappointment to the Governor and his advisers!

While lethargy prevails amongst the workers of the cause dear to our hearts the government supporters are busy in spreading all sorts of rumours to mislead the Indians from their determination to achieve their aspirations in regards to common roll. Opinion already seems to be divided amongst our people and if nothing is done soon, things may take a turn for the worse.

Next Sunday the 17th inst. we are holding a conference of the prominent Indians with a view to decide something definite and concrete. It was our intention to send a deputation to India but as things are so unsettled in India we have given up the idea. It is now our intention to send a deputation to London with a view to press the Colonial office to extend the East African policy of common franchise to Fiji. Of course, everything is in the melting pot and I am not in a position to say whether or not this will appeal to our friends. Financially we are very weak indeed and that is where all our misery lies.

The economic condition of our countrymen in Fiji seems to be going from bad to worse and every one is feeling the pinch of it. There has been no rain to speak of for the last few months with the result that the cane crops—the only crop that bring in our livelihood—have dried out and if there is no rain for another week or two the next year is going to be one of the worst in the history of Fiji. Wherever one may go, from Ra, Tavua, Ba, Lautoka, Nadi and Nadroga, there is just one gloomy picture to see. Things are really very discouraging and one does not know what to do. The price of sugar seems to be going down daily with the result that the cane-growers are becoming hopeless in regards to their future.

The Arya Samaj which until recently was one of the best Indian institutions is now degenerating and if the Samajists don't soon wake up they will find themselves left in the lurch.

The Fiji Indian National Congress, which was established last year has already become defunct with its president Mr. A.D. Patel and secretary Mr. A. Rahiman Sahu. As one of the admirers of this great institution I have been trying to bring life in it but I find little enthusiasm in the office bearers of the Central Congress Committee,—the Executive—and this is very disappointing indeed.

The Indians in Suva seem to have nothing else to do than be at one another's throats. They are creating parties like mushrooms which help them a great deal in bringing about more and more misunderstanding and personal bickerings. The Christians and Mohammedans who until a few years ago had the field quite clear for converting Hindus to their fold find that their monopoly has been suddenly snatched away by the Arya Samaj and this has naturally upset them. Both the Christians and Mohammedans are out to enlist the sympathy of the Sanatanists—a great majority of whom are illiterate and ignorant with a view to run down the Samajists and thus hamper them in their work. In this respect they have to some extent succeeded in creating bad blood between the Hindus and the Samajists.

The Sanatanists have recently got a preacher from India to go about preaching. The idea seems to be to run down the Samajists.

The Mohammedans are trying to induce the government to grant them a separate electoral roll! The less said the better.

The government is out to make cultivators of us all! It does not suit them to have educated Indians in Fiji.

Whichever way you turn your attention you find trouble and disaster awaiting you. So, on the whole, this is our lot in Fiji and if I am feeling despondent on the subject, I am sure that I am not the only one.

Foreign Department in the Sarva Deshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha

The joint June and July issue of the *Sarvadeshik*—the organ of the Central League of the Aryasamajists—contains a scheme of work for the Foreign Department of the League. The scheme is no doubt quite elaborate and workable but it requires men of energy and imagination to carry it through. There are unfortunately very few Aryasamajist leaders having the organizing capacity of Swami Shraddhananda or the propagandist power of Swami Darshananand. Most of our present-day Arya Samaj leaders lack creative imagination without which there can be no possibility of spreading the Vedic message far and wide among Indians settled in distant parts of the world. More than six years ago the following resolutions were passed at the time of Dayanand Centenary at Muttra:

(a) Every educational institution of Aryasamaj shall admit one (or more than one if possible) student from colonies giving him free studentship and free boarding.

(b) A scheme for doing religious and educational work among Colonial Indians shall be prepared by a committee which shall include some prominent Colonial workers also.

(c) A full report of the work done by the Aryasamaj in the Colonies shall be prepared and published.

(d) Help shall be given to Colonial institutions and journals which are doing religious, educational or Hindi propapanda work among Indians abroad.

(e) Every Aryasamaj shall help the returned emigrants in being admitted in the society.

The Sarvadeshik Sabha neglected these resolutions for a long time till its attention was drawn towards it by Sannyasi Bhawani

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Dayal of South Africa. He prepared a scheme for the Foreign Department of the Sabha and this is being circulated among Aryasamajes in the colonies and opinions are being invited regarding it. We are glad to note that now the Sabha has taken up the work seriously. First of all they are going to publish a survey of the work of Aryasamaj in the colonies. We would request the workers of the Sabha to push on the work vigorously. They have neglected it so far and their negligence has caused considerable despair in the hearts of our workers in the colonies.

Christianity and Imperialism

It is our conviction that so long as Christian preachers ally themselves to the British Imperialists, true teachings of Christ will never make any headway among the intelligent classes in India. In fact, these Imperialist preachers of Christianity have done greater harm to the cause of Christ than any one else. We have therefore sorry to note that one of our own countryman, Rev. J. W. Netram, Indian Evangelist of Theological College, Indore, is following the objectionable ways and methods of the white Imperialists in his preachings in Trinidad.

Here are some extracts from an interview given by him to the *Trinidad Guardian* and published in that paper of 3rd August.

"The people of India seem to be beginning to feel that Christ is the solution of India's problems—economically, socially, mentally, politically and spiritually. The old faiths of India seem to have failed her in the hour of her greatest need. They have had a trial long enough and instead of solving India's problems they have actually aggravated them, until India has begun to feel very keenly the weight of the dead hand of the past.

Extremists and Liberals

Asked for the views on present conditions in India Mr. Netram said : "I know Mahatma Gandhi personally. I have been at his home as his guest, and have met most of the leaders of India.

"The situation in India is just this : There are at the present time two important political parties. On the one hand, there is Mahatma Gandhi and his party called the Extremists. On the other hand, there are the Liberals. Both are equally strong and have equally good brain and influence.

The Extremists have no use whatsoever for the British Government in India, and therefore they are asking for complete severance from the British Empire.

The Liberals are all for Dominion status. They have no intention whatsoever of going outside of the British Empire.

Then there are between six and seven hundred native States ruled by Indian Chiefs. 72,000,000 of the people of India live in these native States. Everyone of the native rulers is loyal to the British Crown, but mainly, I suppose, in their own interests, because they get British protection both from foreign invasion and internal encroachment.

Hooligan Element

"Thirdly, there are the merchant classes. The merchants know that they cannot carry on business successfully under chaotic conditions. India holds the jute monopoly of the world, and since the British Government maintains peace and order in the country, in the interest of business at least the merchants of India want the British Government to stay.

Fourthly, there are great masses of the people living in the villages, most of whom are dependent upon farming. These poor illiterate people have learnt from experience that invariably they can get justice and fair-play in a British law court, more than they can ever hope to get in the court of a native ruler. Therefore naturally, they want the British Government to stay.

"This leaves a very small section of the country for the Extremists to work upon—mostly composed of the student class. Some of these young students not having the advantage of native judgment, get out of hand and clash with the constabulary.

"There is also a hooligan element which tries to make capital out of the present political situation. Therefore you read in the newspapers of so many killed and wounded. About half of them are just hooligans.

"There is, however, plenty of quiet goodness in India which never gets into the newspaper.

Rev. Netram thinks that the Simon Commission has taken a very sane view of the whole situation and that with the progress of Christianity India will find the unifying force and the dynamic which she needs.

We are afraid the Reverend gentleman has gone absolutely on the wrong track in some of these statements.

By saying that the Extremists and the Liberals are equally strong and have equally 'good brain and influence' he has betrayed his crass ignorance of the Indian situation.

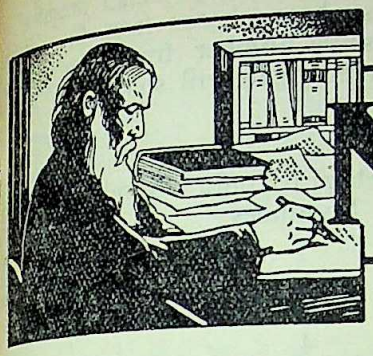
His statement that about half of the killed and wounded are just hooligans is not only untrue but also uncharitable. His views about the merchants and the masses are coloured with prejudice and ignorance. By doing this sort of Imperialist propaganda Rev. Netram is doing disservice to himself, his cause—the spread of Christianity—and also to his motherland.

Wanted Correspondents

I shall be much obliged if some of our colonial friends will send me the names and addresses of their friends in Jamaica, Surinam, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia Portuguese East Africa and Madagascar. It is rarely that we read anything in the papers about our people in these places.

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NOTES

Personnel of the "Round Table" Conference

It was shown in a recent issue of this review that the conference to be held shortly in London between the representatives of the three British political parties and the Indian nominees of the British-Indian Government could not be called a "Round Table" conference. It is also known that the Congress, which in the opinion of *The Leader* of Allahabad (a Liberal organ), "represents the strongest and most influential political organization in the country," will not participate in the Conference directly or indirectly. In the absence of Congress men, the Conference could have been claimed to be representative of other political groups and other communities if these had been asked to choose their own men. They have not been so asked. It is true that if they had been so asked, the choice of some of them would have fallen on some of the British nominated Indians. But as this has not been done, no political group, no religious community, and no other kind of group will be bound by the speeches and actions of any British-nominated Indians, however distinguished they may be. For the groups to which they belong have not given them any mandates.

It may be interesting to scrutinize the manner in which the British-Indian Government has made use of its self-assumed power of choosing the so-called representatives of India.

The two main divisions of India are British-ruled India and Indian-ruled India. The latter also is in reality British-dominated. But let us stick to the external and apparent division. The total population of these divisions, with the number of men chosen by the Government from them, is shown below :

	Population	Number of British nominees
British-ruled India	247,003,293	51
Indian-ruled India	71,939,187	16
India (including Burma)	318,942,480	67

The nominees from British-ruled India number fifty-one. The name of Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan has been added later, but this does not increase the number of nominees as Dewan Chamanlal, one of the original nominees, has refused to accept the nomination on the ground, it is reported, that his voice at such a conference would be a cry in the wilderness. If the population of British India were taken to be 100, the population of the Indian States would be 29. But the nominees from the States would be represented by the figure 32, if the nominees from British India were represented by the figure 100. The population of the States is very much less than one-fourth of the whole of India, but their nominees are very nearly one-fourth of the total number.

Coming to the religious or other groups *in British-ruled India*, one finds that there has been discrimination in favour of some and against others The population figures are taken from the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1930, page 121.

Groups	Population	No. of Nominees
Hindu	163,144,700	23
Sikh	2,367,021	2
Jain	455,855	Nil
Buddhist	11,490,815	2
Parsi	88,464	2
Muslim	59,444,331	15
Christians	3,027,881	3
Jews	19,221	Nil
Aborigines	6,904,167	Nil
Others	17,745	Nil
English-speaking	308,071	3

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It is to be noted that the Depressed Classes, who are *officially* estimated to number 60,000,000, have only one nominee—Dr. Ambedkar—though their numerical strength is equal to that of the Muslims. Proportionately a very small number of nominees has been chosen from the Hindus and an excessive number from the Muslims, as the following table will show :

Province	Total Population	Hindu	Muslim	Number of Hindu Nominees	Number of Muslim Nominees
Assam	7,606,230	4,132,968	2,202,460	1	nil
Bengal	46,695,536	20,206,859	25,210,802	3	2
Bihar & Orissa	34,002,189	28,166,459	3,690,182	1	1
Bombay Pres.	19,348,219	14,816,236	3,820,153	4	3
C. P. & Berar	13,912,760	11,62',044	563,574	2	nil
Madras	42,318,985	37,511,234	2,840,488	9	nil
N.-W.F. Province	2,251,340	149,881	2,062,786	nil	1
Panjab	20,685,024	6,579,260	11,414,321	1	5
U. P.	45,375,787	38,610,462	6,481,032	2	4

Roughly the Hindus form two-thirds of the population of British-ruled India, but British-nominated Hindus form less than half of the total number. Moslems form less than one-fourth or less than 25 per cent of the total population of this area, but about 30 per cent of the nominees came from that community. Buddhists are much more numerous than Sikhs, Parsis, Indian Christians, and Europeans. In view of that fact the number of Buddhist nominees is very small. Parsis and Europeans are very much over-"represented."

We have all along been opposed to "communal" representation in the legislative and other really or nominally representative bodies. Our analysis of the figures given above must not be taken to mean that we have receded from that position and now want any such kind of representation or nomination. We want only to show the absurdity of the claim that there has been or can be any equitable communal representation.

The opposition of the bureaucracy and of die-hard Britishers to Indian Swaraj is claimed by them to be due in part to their anxiety to safe-guard the interests and welfare of the Depressed Classes, the Aborigines and other uninfluential minorities. The figures given above do not show that this anxiety is more than a profession. Should it be urged that these groups did not contain a sufficient number of men qualified even to cry ditto to the dicta of the bureaucracy at an English-speaking conference, one would be entitled to ask whether that fact was a measure of the beneficence of British rule for more than a hundred and fifty years, so far as these minority communities were concerned.

It would be interesting to note the number of nominees taken from different provinces, in order to ascertain whether the nominations were in proportion to population. But as in many cases it is difficult to know to what province a nominee belongs, we cannot draw up an accurate statement. But we shall try to give a fairly accurate idea of how some of the provinces stand. *Justice* of Madras states that out of the fifty nominees ten belong to the Madras Presidency. Some other figures also can be ascertained and are given below :

Province	Total Population	Number of Nominees from each Community	Total No. of Nominees
Assam	7,606,230	1 Hindu	1
Bengal	46,695,536	2 Muslims, 2 European and Anglo-Indians, 1 Bengali Hindu Zaminder, 1 Bengali Government Servant, 1 Bengali Hindu Moderate	7
Bihar & Orissa	34,002,189	1 Hindu Zamindar, 1 Muslim	2
Bombay Pres.	19,348,219	3 Muslims, 2 Parsis, 4 Hindus (including 1 non-Brahmin and 1 Depressed Class	9

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Province	Total Population	Number of Nominees from each Community	Total No. of Nominees
Burma	13,169,099	3 Burmans and 1 European	4
C. P. & Berar	13,912,760	1 Hindu non-official, 1 Hindu Govt. Servant	2
Madras	42,318,985	9 Hindus, 1 European	10
N.-W. F. Province	2,251,340	1 Muslim	1
Panjab	20,685,024	1 Hindu, 2 Sikhs, 5 Muslims	8
U. P.	45,375,787	2 Hindu, 1 European, 3 Muslim non-officials, 1 Muslim Government Servant	7
		Total Number of Nominees	51

As regards the Muslim community, the following figures show the proportion of their representation :

Province	Muslim Population	No. of Muslim Nominees
Assam	2,202,460	nil
Bengal	25,210,802	2
Bihar & Orissa	3,690,182	1
Bomb y Pres.	3,820,153	3
C. P. & Berar	563,574	nil
Madras	2,840,488	nil
N.-W. F. Prov.	2,062,786	1
Panjab	11,444,321	5
U. P.	6,481,032	4

The Hindus in the Panjab number 6,579,260 and the Sikhs 2,294,207. But two nominees from that province are Sikh and only one a Hindu. In Bihar and Orissa the Hindus number 28,166,459, and yet there is only one Hindu nominee from that province ! Orissa has not a single nominee chosen from it.

As regards the Indian States *(we are not taking Burma into consideration)*, out of a total population of 69,168,521, the Hindus number 53,589,886 and the Musalmans 9,290,902. Out of this vast population of Indian States' subjects, there is no nominee who has been chosen to "represent" them. Only sixteen Ruling Princes and their officers have been nominated. The Indian States' peoples do not count ! Of these peoples the vast majority are Hindus. Of the sixteen Princes and their officers nominated by the Government of India, four are Musalmans. The figure would have been different if due importance had been attached to the numerical strength of the communities and the progressiveness of the administration of the different States.

Nothing is yet known definitely of the number and the names of British representatives of the three parties who will attend the conference. Nor has the name of the chairman of the conference been definitely announced. But whoever they may be, they will be entitled to speak and act on behalf of their parties, as they will be chosen by their party leaders and organizations. They will be representatives of the three organized British political parties and, collectively, of Great Britain as a whole.

The same cannot be said of India, as has been indicated above. The Congress, incomparably the most influential and best organized political body in India, is entirely out of the show. None of the other political bodies were allowed or asked to elect their representatives. They were not even asked to place in the hands of the Governor-General a panel of names from which he might choose the requisite number of persons. The religious and other communities have received the same kind of autocratic treatment. The British bureaucracy have chosen men to suit their own convenience, just including in the list a few really distinguished men, who tower in comparative political solitude, to lend it a "representative" colouring. But even the most distinguished among them have very little following. All the persons in the list taken together cannot 'deliver the goods', because they have never taken any risk and will not do so in the future.

Those officials who have chosen the men betray by their choice their prepossession in favour of communalism, which is calculated to keep India divided and weak, and their bias against nationalism, which is calculated to make the country united and strong.

Quite unabashed, the official selectors have nominated three Indians who are members of three provincial executive councils and one Khan Bahadur who is only a deputy commissioner of a Panjab district ! They are certainly representatives of India *par excellence*.

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Work and Procedure of R. T. C.

Nothing has been definitely announced as to the work to be done by the "Round Table" Conference and the way in which it will be done. The name of the chairman has not been definitely announced, nor those of the representatives of the British political parties.

In the absence of definite information about the kind of work to be done at the conference, it would not be unfair for the present to assume that the work of the Indian nominees would be to put India's case before the British representatives and indirectly before the British people. We need not stress the point that this has been done repeatedly and *ad nauseam* by Indian Nationalists of various schools during the last few decaders, and that if that has not produced sufficient effect on the British mind, the speeches and arguments of some Indians, not the most freedom-loving, cannot possibly produce a greater effect on that mind, particularly as care has been taken to choose Indians of a different kind who of themselves or under inspiration would make the opposite kind of speeches. No, we would not stress that point. What we wish to say here is, that the Indian nominees would be somewhat like witnesses before a committee or a commission allowed to place their views and facts before the representatives of Britain. We say this, because there is not a single Indian in the British side of the Conference, or in the British Cabinet, or in the British House of Commons to modify or try to modify in the slightest degree the proposals, based on "the greatest measure of agreement" reached at the Conference, to be placed before Parliament. The position is thus substantially like giving evidence before the Simon Commission. One may object that the Indian members of the so-called round table conference would be entitled to argue. But witnesses before the Simon Commission were not precluded from doing so.

Let us now see why the Congress, the Muslim League, the Indian National Liberal Federation and the Hindu Mahasabha, and perhaps some smaller bodies, boycotted the Simon Commission. Broadly speaking, some at least of the members of these organizations wanted self-determination, they did not relish the idea of being examined, school-boy-like, as to their fitness for political graduation. And all of these organizations resented the underlying false assumption that Britishers and Britishers alone were impartial judges of India's fitness for self-rule—the assumption which led to the appointment of an all-white Commission, yclept the Simon Commission.

Now, the same thing is being repeated in a cleverly camouflaged form. The British side of the Conference is all-white, the British Cabinet is all-white, the British House of Commons is all-white, and, except for the present Lord Sinha (whose pardon we beg for saying that he is a non-entity), the British House of Lords is all-white. And it is these all-white collections of men who are to judge and dispose of "the greatest measure of agreement" which may be reached at the Conference. But except the Congress, none of the boycotters of the all-white Simon Commission find anything humiliating or illogical in appearing as glorified and comfortably provided witnesses before other all-white bodies.

It is not known how the greatest measure of agreement at the Conference is to be arrived at. If unanimity is to be understood by that kind of agreement, we are afraid nothing of importance, nothing politically worth having, would form part of the unanimously agreed upon conclusions. For there would be a sufficient number of "extremists" among the British and Indian members of the Conference to oppose any advanced political constitution for India. Some have said—and it is a fact—that among the Liberal Indian members there are advocates of Dominion status. But it is certain that there cannot be unanimity on that subject in a conference so carefully packed. And it is also almost certain that even if proposals carried by a majority were to be held as agreed upon by the conference, there would scarcely be a majority for Dominion status at such a conference. We need uot examine the chances of other similar proposals being accepted by it unanimously or by a majority of votes.

Confining attention to the Indian side of the Conference, one would like to know whether the Indian States members would be allowed to have their say on the constitution and political status to be given to British-ruled India. If they are to be so allowed, would any of the British-ruled India members be allowed to say that they would like the Indian States' subjects to become citizens, being given effective power to

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mould their destinies? We are afraid few Indian States potentates would relish the idea of being shorn to any substantial extent of their autocratic powers. If so, would it be logical for them to take part in discussions relating at least to the internal problems of British-ruled India? And would it promote the self-respect of British-ruled India members if they were not given exactly the same opportunity to discuss Indian States problems as might be given to the States' rulers to discuss British-ruled India's problems?

The Conference has been so constituted that it would afford ample scope for British journalists and news-agents to present it to the world as an epitome of an excessively divided India which does not know its own mind and cannot frame its own constitution, and for which therefore the supremely benevolent and altruistic Simon Commission have taken philanthropic pains to provide a constitution, acting in their disinterested labours as the agents of a still more disinterested and philanthropic British nation. "The world" may not stop to reflect that from any independent country men could be chosen by an alien party to show up that country's divided opinions and sectional bickerings and jealousies. Nor may "the world" understand that the Indian members of the Conference are British nominees holding a position really inferior to the British members, *not* India's representatives sitting as equals of the British members.

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What R. T. C. Indian Members Should do

In his note, dated 23-7-30, to the Nehrus, Mahatma Gandhi made the following observation which the Indian members of the R. T. Conference should treat as a suggestion which ought to be acted upon:

> Even if the foregoing terms are accepted, I should not care to attend the Conference unless in the event of going out of prison I gained the self-confidence which I have not at present and unless among those Indians who would be invited there was a preliminary conversation and agreement as to the minimum by which they should stand under all circumstances.

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Congress Unwisdom

Much has been written about the fanaticism of the leaders and rank and file of the Congress and their unwisdom in not accepting Lord Irwin's terms—assuming that there were any definite ones—and in not calling off civil disobedience. We have never supported everything done or said by the Congress leaders and Congress workers. We may, therefore, entertain some faint hope of being forgiven if we say that non-Congress people derive most, if not all, of their 'importance' at the present juncture because of the presence of a strong body of opponents of the British bureaucracy in India. To think otherwise now or in the near or distant future would be perfectly foolish and unhistoric. To build high hopes on the cessation of opposition and on the consequent reign of ease-loving sweet reasonableness all round would be equally foolish.

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Failure of Peace Talks

The voice of frank criticism has been silenced in India. It has, therefore, become very easy for all Anglo-Indian papers, some Indian papers, and most British papers to lay all the blame for the failure of the peace talks through the medium of Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar on the shoulders of the Congress leaders. It is not necessary, however, to take up the cudgels on their behalf. Let us try to understand the situation and the preliminary condition a little.

Why did the Congress leaders want some definite and dated assurances from the Government? Why could not they depend on the vague and dateless promise of that far-off divine event, the attainment by India of Dominion status, made by this British statesman or that? Plainly because of the deep-rooted distrust that there is of British promises in general. It is usual to support and justify this distrust by a long array of broken pledges and promises and by quoting the well-known sentence in a no-longer confidential document indited by the Viceroy Lytton wherein he spoke of breaking promises made to the ear. We will refer to a more recent piece of writing. It is a book called *The Reconstruction of India*, by Mr. Edward J. Thompson, published on the 28th of August last.* He is the same Mr. Thompson who has been doing pro-British propaganda work in America and Great Britain and picking holes in the armour of American protagonists of Indian freedom. This is what he writes on page 52 of this his latest work:

> "The Indian Government has long had a reputation, magnificently earned and set down in

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the admissions of high authority such as cannot be dismissed as envious or seditious, for making fine promises and then shelving them. It has always played for time, and postponed the evil day when unholy voices would make themselves heard in the inner sanctuary. In John Company days, it was the 'interloper' (the unauthorized trader) who was regarded as the extreme of human depravity. In later days, it was the person who used the license of 'interpellation,' who asked questions, instead of looking silent gratitude for information vouchsafed. During the last forty years, it has been 'the half-baked, so-called educated Indians,' the seditious few 'who represent no one but themselves' (as if it were not important to represent yourself, if there is no one else to represent you)."

On an allied topic Mr. Thompson delivers himself as follows in the same book :

"There is 'Dominion Status'—the right way out, but how beset with difficulty!...Dominion India, unless the best brains of all parties in the Indian problem put their work into its manifold perplexity, is going to take over a heritage of embarrassment that will take generations to dispose of. Yet any delay, however necessary, will be so liable to misunderstanding that the Extremist ranks will be augmented by moderate and reasonable men. This is the penalty of having let resentment and wounded self-esteem fester through so many decades and grow to intolerable exacerbation, of having for so long refused to give any considerable training in self-government or any fair expression to promises often made and with especial solemnity set forth by Queen Victoria and each succeeding King-Emperor." Pp. 40-41.

Many promises have been tried to be explained away and belittled, and quite recently the promise of dominion status, even in the distant future, has been denied by British die-hards.

It has been said that neither Pandit Motilal Nehru nor Mahatma Gandhi adhered to the terms set forth in the interviews they gave to Mr. Slocombe, the representive sent to India by the *Daily Herald* of London. Before examining or seeking for an explanation of this indictment, let us ask a question. Assuming that the leaders did deviate substantially from their previous position and supposing that they had not done so, where is the indication, not to speak of the guarantee, that Lord Irwin would have accepted their previous terms? We have read all the papers placed by the mediators before the public, but we do not find any such indication. There is, in fact, little *firm* ground in what the Viceroy has himself written and what he is reported to have told Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar on which Indian Nationalists could or can take their stand.

In the note, dated 23-7-30 from Yeravada central prison, which Mahatma Gandhi gave the mediators to be handed over to the Nehrus, he expressly says :

"This opinion of mine is purely provisional, because I consider a prisoner has no right to pronounce any opinion upon political activities of which he cannot possibly have a full grasp while he is shut out of personal contact. I, therefore, feel my opinion is not entitled to the weight I should claim for it if I was in touch with the movement. Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru may show this to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and those who are in charge of the movement."

In the "statement submitted to Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay on June 25, 1930, and approved as the basis of informal approach to the Viceroy by a third party," it is stated in relation to the assurance therein asked for from the Viceroy that "Pandit Motilal Nehru would undertake to take personally such an assurance... to Mahatma Gandhi and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If such an assurance were offered and accepted,....."

The two foregoing extracts would show that neither Pandit Motilal Nehru nor Mahatma Gandhi thought or stated that what they said were final and binding on the Congress party. The terms or conditions laid down by them were naturally liable to alteration and addition in consultation with other Congress leaders. And such modifications did take place.

Not a single condition laid down by the leaders appears to us to be unreasonable. But it may be questioned whether it was either necessary or tactful or timely to press them all in detail. In our opinion, it would have sufficed if the single condition had been pressed that the "Round Table" Conference would meet to prepare a Dominion constitution for India, giving her all the rights possessed by all or any of the Dominions, and that this constitution would come into force with the least possible delay, there being the minimum of some transitory provisions for a short period. But we say this with all respect to the leaders, who may have been right in what they did.

Critics have vigorously attacked two of the conditions. One is India's right to secede from the British Empire at her will. Now, this right is tacitly understood to be possessed by the Dominions, and there is no reason why India should agree to have a lower political status than they. What is tacitly understood to be possessed by them is going to be made quite clear in the case of South Africa by General Hertzog in the coming Imperial Conference.

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This right to secede has been asked for not by Congress men alone. The Right Hon'ble S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., leader of the Indian Liberals and President of the Servants of India Society whose creed includes belief in everlasting Indo-British connection, has advocated it. It has been supported by such Englishmen as Professor Dr. Gilbert Slater. The advocacy of this right does not mean that, if India got it, she would exercise it at once or at all.

The other most vigorously criticized condition is "the right to refer, if necessary, to an independent tribunal such of the British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the national Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India." This has been interpreted by the Viceroy and most other British critics as the right to repudiate all the public debts of India. The words quoted above certainly do not admit of such an interpretation. It only wants each doubtful item to be examined by an independent tribunal. The proposal is neither unprecedented nor wicked. Have not many post-war conferences been held and many plans, like the Dawes plan, the Young plan, been formulated to fix the exact amount of liabilities of Germany, etc.? Have these conferences always upheld all the demands of the creditor nations? Is not Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, trying by negotiation to reduce Britain's debt to America? Were all the debts incurred by Tsarist Russia and repudiated by Soviet Russia justly claimable from the people of Russia?

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India's Public Debt

It would be convenient if our readers got a brief survey of the history of India's public debt. The following brief summary given by Mr. N. R. Sarker in the course of a speeeh at the St. Paul's College Economic Society would be found handy :

Public debt in the sense in which we use it now-a-days was practically unknown in India before the days of the East India Company. It was the Company which was responsible for creating a permanent debt in the country; and when its regime ended in 1858, the Indian taxpayers were left with a legacy of nearly a hundred million sterling of public debt. I should emphasize that almost the entire amount of this debt was created by unjustly debiting India with the cost of the various wars, which the Company entered upon, not that India might be benefited but that the Company's hold over her might be consolidated. In 1792, the total Indian debt stood at £7 millions; and in 1858 it had risen to £69½ millions (excluding the mutiny items); most of the items which were thus saddled on the country ought to have been, in fairness, borne by the Company itself. Then came the mutiny, the whole charge of which was again thrown on India, bringing the total debt beyond the one hundred million mark. This included the compensation paid for the East India Company's stock to the extent of £12 millions. The humour of the situation—or, may I say, the tragedy of the situation—was that while India paid for the property, the ownership went to Great Britain!

The cost of the Abyssinian and Chinese Wars was similarly debited to India; and these, together with the expenditure of the Government on State Railways, and irrigation works, famine relief, and maintenance of the exchange (yes, the problem of the ratio has been with us for two generations!) raised the total Indian debt to £212 millions at the close of the last century. By March 31, 1930, we have reached the colossal figure of £850 millions or, converting the sterling debt at 18*d*, to the rupee, Rs. 1,132 crores. This phenomenal increase in the public debt in the present century was largely due to the great War, during which the debt was considerably increased, first, in 1915-17 to meet the general budgetary and other requirements of the Government of India, and secondly on account of the contribution of £100 millions made by India to Britain. In the post-war period, the new debt incurred exceeded £200 millions in the last decade, due to the large-sized deficits persisting through five years in the national budget, increased civil and military expenditure, and losses on account of the sale of reverses. The total unproductive debt of the country, which came down to £.225 millions in 1916, mounted up to more than £192 millions in 1924, and this was due to the increased expenditure during the war and the post-war periods. The chance, which presented itself in 1916 for wiping out the unproductive debt, was missed; and the country's debt position has since become worse than ever.

As some public works constructed with borrowed money are productive and paying, the debts incurred for the purpose are justly payable by India. There may be other similar debts. But it cannot be taken for granted that all items of the public debt of India are similar in character.

—

The Viceroy and the Peace Talks

That throughout the peace *pourparlers* the Viceroy stood on his dignity was only to be expected. We do not blame him for it. But it is certainly amusing that he should complain of the tone of the letter of the Congress leaders. Was his own tone unexceptionable? In his letter to Mr. Jayakar, dated July 16, he said, "the civil disobedience movement is doing unmixed harm to the cause of India." A passage in His Excellency's letter of the 28th August

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seems to imply that he wanted the leaders to repent of what they had done. Here is the passage :

"I fear, as you will no doubt recognize, that the task you had voluntarily undertaken has not been assisted by the letter you have received from the Congress leaders. [The Viceroy's own letters, too, scarcely assisted the task.—Ed., *M. R.*] In view both of the general tone by which that letter is inspired and of its contents, as also of its blank refusal to recognize the grave injury to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy not the least in the economic field, I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions there made, and I must frankly say I regard a discussion on the basis of the propo-als contained in the letter as impossible. I hope, if you desire to see the Congress leaders again, you will make this plain."

Of course, as Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders want a change of heart in the rulers, they need not and would not complain that the Viceroy returned the compliment by expecting them to repent. But as the Viceroy has seen nothing wrong in any detail of the programme of repression which is being stiffened every day, he might have been philosopher enough to take the stiff attitude of the leaders as a natural psychological reaction. We do not say that it was a reaction. They were perhaps merely trying to adhere as closely as possible to the Lahore Congress resolution. As Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru wrote on the 28th July :

"As representatives of the Congress we have no authority to alter in any material particular its resolutions, but we might be prepared under certain circumstances to recommend a variation in details provided the fundamental position taken up by the Congress was accepted."

In the final reply given by Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Srijut Vallabhbhai Patel and Srijut Jairamdas Daulatram, it is said in relation to the Viceroy's letter of August 28 :

"The letter you have now brought from His Excellency reiterates the original position taken up by him in his first letter and we are grieved to say contemptuously dismisses our letter as unworthy of consideration and regards discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible."

—

The Viceroy's Main Position

The Viceroy's main position is repeated in his letter of August 28, in which he writes :

"In my letter of July 16, I assured you that it was the earnest desire of myself, my Government and, I had no doubt, also of his Majestey's Government to do everything we could to assist the people of India obtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as could be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they were not at present in a position to assume responsibility. It would be among the functions of the Conference to examine in the light of all material available what those matters might be and what provision might best be made for them."

With regard to this vague assurance and the minor promises made by Lord Irwin and in relation generally to the repressive policy pursued and stiffened during the negotiations, the leaders (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram, Syed Mahmood and Jawaharlal Nehru) rightly observe :

"We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in terms of the national demand framed last year at Lahore."

On the Viceroy's letter of August 28 the Nehrus wrote on 31-8-30 as follows, in part :-

"Lord Irwin in his letter considers even a discussion on the basis of these proposals as impossible. Under the circumstances there is or can be no common ground between us.

Quite apart from the contents and tone of the letter, the recent activities of the British Government in India clearly indicate that Government has no desire for peace. The proclamation of the Working Committee as an illegal body in Delhi province soon after a meeting of it was announced to be held there and the subsequent arrest of most of its members can have that meaning and no other. We have no complaint against these or other arrests or other activities of the Government, uncivilized and barbarous as we consider some of these to be. We welcome them, but we feel that we are justified in pointing out that a desire for peace and an aggressive attack on the very body which is capable of giving peace and with which it is sought to treat, do not go well together. The proscription of the Working Committee all over India and an attempt to prevent its meetings must necessarily mean that the national struggle must go on whatever the consequences and that there will be no possibility of peace, for those who may have some authority to represent the people of India will be spread out in British prisons all over India."

Regarding the Viceroy's main assurance they observe :

As we pointed out in our joint letter, *this phraseology is too vague for us to assess its value. It may be made to mean anything or nothing.* In our joint letter we have made it clear that a complete national government responsible to the people of India, including control of the defence forces and economic control, must be recognized as India's immediate demand. There is no question of what are usually called safe-guards or any delay.

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Adjustments there necessarily must be for the transference of power and in regard to these we stated that they were to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

—

Lord Irwin's "Sincerity and Generosity"

A British paper has observed that the imprisoned Congress leaders have made no response to Lord Irwin's "sincerity and generosity." We can say nothing, one way or the other, regarding his sincerity. He and God know whether he is sincere. If he has any very intimate friends to whom he unbosoms himself exhaustively, they may also know, were he a Roman Catholic, his Father Confessor might also perhaps have known.

Moreover, it is not possible to judge of his sincerity by comparing his words and the actions of his Government. For, nobody can say for how much or how little of both he is personally responsible. So we must refuse to discuss the subject of his personal sincerity. But there would be no discourtesy shown to him if it were pointed out with reference to the Government's repressive policy that there was no special appropriateness—to use a mild word—in imprisoning Pandit Motilal Nehru just after he had made a pacific gesture through Mr. Slocombe. It looked very much like trying to frighten into a still greater pacific mood. True, he was thrown into jail for something "illegal" which he had done a short while ago. But months before that he had prepared illicit salt and done other "unlawful" things. If the Government had been forbearing so far, what was the sense, the statesmanship, in clapping him into prison just when peace negotiations could have commenced?

Similarly, when peace talks were actually in progress all the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, except two ladies, were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. True, they had disobeyed orders. But why need such orders have been passed at all at that time? They had been doing "unlawful things" for some time past without being punished. Were those in authority afraid that if the Working Committee Members were not brought to book and to their senses speedily, people might think that the Government were suffering from defeatism?

The real reasons for some particular actions of the Government cannot be known. So people may go on guessing that some were done to show that Government were not afraid and some to frighten the leaders. Similarly, as the leaders were human beings, they may also have been sub-consciously led to do and say certain things by way of "responsive co-operation" and to show that they were not frightened.

Both parties appear to have stood on their dignity, and neither can be praised or blamed without praising or blaming the other.

As regards the "generosity" assumed to have been displayed by the Viceroy during the peace talks, we may say without hesitation that we find no trace of it in his letters. Of course, if it were assumed that Indians had no rights and were beggars, then no doubt the position taken up by the Viceroy could be called generous.

—

"Terms Dictated by Victors"

It is one of the British sarcasms levelled against the conditions for a peaceful settlement mentioned by the Congress leaders that victors in war could not have thought of dictating such terms to the defeated.

If we have understood the spirit of the *satyagrahis* aright, such sarcasm seems out of place. They know that if the whole might of the British Empire were arrayed against them, it might be possible to make the *present satyagraha* movement temporarily ineffectual. But even under such conditions of utter defeat, a true *satyagrahi* would not be a consenting party to the British domination which obtains in India. Alike in victory and defeat he is for a free India.

—

Flogging for Picketing

The Free Press Journal of Bombay of September 10 prints the following news:

Karachi, September 9.

For the first time during the present movement in Sindh a political worker has been punished with flogging. Hussein Bux, a Mohammedan Satyagrahi volunteer of Karachi, was sentenced today to receive twelve stripes on alleged charge of snatching away a bottle of liquor near a liquor shop from a customer. The customer was not produced in court as a witness. The section under which he was charged is one relating to theft. The volunteer was, it is stated, made completely naked in jail while being flogged and was fastened securely. He bore the flogging cheerfully.

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There have been some other recent cases of flogging for similar technical offences in some other parts of the country. Even for heinous offences involving moral turpitude flogging has come to be looked upon in enlightened countries as a barbarous and brutalizing punishment. The infliction of such punishment for technical political offences is nothing short of an atrocity.

—

Viceroy Praises and Blames Peace Mediators

In a letter to Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru the Viceroy praises them for their courageous efforts to bring about peaceful conditions in the country. There will be general agreement that this praise is well deserved. His Excellency then passes on to express surprise that they should have made public a reference to the private conversations he had with them at Simla. He also complains that they did not show him their note to the Press before making it public. On these points outsiders can say nothing; for they do not know whether Lord Irwin told the mediators that the conversations between him and they were confidential and that if they drew up a note for the Press it was to be shown to his lordship before being used. It is probable that there has been some misapprehension or partial lapse of someone's memory. Ordinarily one would say that one man's memory is more likely to fail than the memories of two men *working conjointly*. But there may, of course, be exceptions, though one would not ordinarily think that such distinguished lawyers and discreet negotiators as the mediators both have an exceptionally bad memory of a recent conversation. But such speculation is futile.

Though we are unable to say anything as to the uuderstanting, if any, regarding the confidential character of any conversation between the parties, we may make a few general observations. The conversations which the parties had related, not to the private affairs of private individuals, but to the grave public problems affecting the public relations of two countries. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar could not possibly have made the position of Lord Irwin clear to the Congress leaders without reporting the conversations to them. The public also could not possibly understand why the negotiations failed in the absence of full information relating to the Government's position. Hence publication of the substance of the conversations was necessary. If no public use was to be made of them, we do not understand why the Viceroy wasted his time and energy and those of the intermediaries in these private talks.

The Viceroy practically gives away his case when he adds :

"I understand, however, that as the Congress leaders referred in their letters of August 31 and September 6 to some matters touched upon in our conversations, you considered it right that the public should be more fully informed of their character. While I readily appreciate your motives, I regret that I had not the opportunity of approving the note before it was published as it contains points in regard to which a mistaken impression might, though quite unintentionally on your part, be conveyed of the attitude of myself and my Government."

Lord Irwin then tries to remove a possible misapprehension which may arise from what the mediators have given out in relation to His Excellency's views on the public debt of India. He says that he is opposed to the repudiation not only of the whole public debt of India but of even a single item of that debt. He does not say, however, that he did not use the words whose public use by the mediators may, in his opinion, give rise to erroneous ideas relating to his views on the subject.

The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be unavoidable that Lord Irwin did say that while *all* financial obligations in the nature of public debts incurred by the Government could not be allowed to be repudiated, questions might be allowed to be raised relating to some particular items or other, and that now, either on second thoughts or under instructions or advice, His Excellency puts a safe construction on what he said.

We have already shown that the Congress leaders never said that they wanted a self-ruling India to repudiate the whole public debt of India. What they want is an examination of all the debts by an independent tribunal. Of course, if on such examination any items appear unjust, then the question of their repudiation by India and taking over by Britain might arise.

—

Recrudescence of Terrorism

The recrudescence of terrorism is greatly to be deplored. It may spoil the chances of success of *satyagraha*. But whether it does so or not, it would certainly diminish the respect in which India has begun to be held

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foreign countries for the non-violent and spiritual valour of many of her sons and daughters. Highly as we may prize the good opinion of foreigners, it is not, of course, for winning such opinion that we should act in any particular way. It is the high ethical and spiritual ideal evolved in India which we should conform to, whether foreigners admire and respect us for it or not.

Men who consider themselves practical may not care for any talk of high ideals. But practical considerations may also be placed before terrorists and would-be terrorists which, if pondered over, ought to wean them from the wrong course they have chosen. Of course, if revenge, private or public, be their motive, in any particular case only spiritual conversion can cure the desperate among them. But if they think that by terrorism they can put an end to British domination and liberate the country, they are mistaken. Success in such a venture would depend on no men being found to take the places of murdered executive or police officers. Now, during the last quarter of a century or so, several executive and police officers, European and Indian, have been assassinated or seriously injured. Have the vacancies created by their deaths or disablement been left unfilled in a single instance owing to the scarcity of men fearless enough to step into their shoes? There has never been any such unfilled vacancy and never will be. Again, the successors of the murdered or disabled officers have generally acted just like their predecessors, undismayed by the fate of the latter.

So ethical, spiritual and practical considerations must lead all thinking men to condemn political assassination and other terrorist methods.

In one of their weekly surveys of the civil disobedience movement the Government said in effect that the failure of that movement would be likely to give a fillip to terrorism. That is a true observation. For terrorism is born of despair of other methods.

But the advisers of the Government also know that in India it is easier to suppress violence, which is not organized on a sufficiently large scale and cannot be widespread, than it is to suppress a movement of non-violent rebellion. Hence they may consider themselves to be between the devil and the deep sea.

—

British opposition to Briand's Scheme of European Federation

According to a Reuter's message, dated London, September 14.

M. Briand's scheme of European Federation is expected to be shelved at the League Conference at Geneva by a reference to the Committee as the result of the British attitude. Viscount Cecil in the *Petit Journal*, says the time is not ripe for a federation on the lines proposed. *Europe contra mundum* would be a more formidable menace to peace than the present rivalry of nations. Even a fiscal union of Europe with the inevitable tariff barriers would be a danger to the world. If the average Englishman were given the choice between European Federation and Anglo-American co-operation he would certainly choose the latter. The British Empire being, in effect, a federation of closely allied free nations, is another reason why Britain cannot enter an exclusive European organization.

As the biggest nation in the British Empire is not yet free, it is not true to call it a federation of closely allied free nations. But it is undoubtedly true that insular Great Britain would not find a continental federation advantageous to her.

Speaking from the point of view of India the Maharaja of Bikanir has spoken against M. Briand's scheme. The unorganized peoples of Asia and Africa cannot but be afraid of a pan-European federation.

Alleged Police Assault on Calcutta University Students

On the day of Miraben's (Miss Slade's) arrival in Calcutta, the police, it is alleged, entered the Calcutta University class-rooms in Ashutosh Building and assaulted the students so severely that many had to go to hospital and the Vice-Chancellor, himself a medical man, coming soon after, saw marks of blood in the rooms. The police version is that some people cried "shame, shame" and threw brickbats from the balconies of the building. Taking this untested and unverified version to be true, was it lawful for the police to indulge in indiscriminate assault on innocent and guilty alike? Even those caught in the act of doing something wrong can only be arrested according to the law.

—

Death of Ajit Bhattacharya

In a note in the August number of this *Review*, we recorded the death of a Dacca University student named Ajitnath

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Bhattacharya. His brother Sjt. Surendranath Bhattacharya asked permission of the Government of Bengal to prosecute Mr. Eric Hodson, then Superintendent of Police in Dacca. Permission was refused. The brother also filed a petition against some European and Indian policemen. The Additional Magistrate of Dacca has rejected the petition.

As to the cause of this young man's death, there were two versions before the public: one, that he died of injuries received during a *melee*, and the other, that he was only a spectator and was the victim of an entirely unprovoked assault. Owing to the failure of his brother's efforts to obtain what he considered justice, the public have no tested data before them to decide which version is true. The Magistrate's inquest cannot have the same value as a regular and open trial.

—

Injuries received by Dacca Medical Students

It having been suspected and alleged that the man who shot two European officers in Dacca is a medical student, the police searched the medical messes there. Many dozens of medical students were injured, several rather seriously. There are two versions of how they came by their injuries: one, that the police assaulted them (and took away some of their property); and the other, that they stampeded on the approach of the police and got injured thereby.

Perhaps the true story may be that they assaulted one another to give the police a bad name.

—

University Action on Alleged Assault on Calcutta University Students

At a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate held on September 20 Lieutenant-Colonel Hasan Suhrawardy, the Vice-Chancellor, referred to the "regrettable and painful" incidents in the Ashutosh Buildings on September 9.

After referring to the resolutions of the joint meeting in pursuance of which the Committee was appointed and the circular which he had issued on the basis of a written assurance from the Commissioner of Police, naming certain professors and officials of the University without whose permission the Police would not enter the University Buildings, the Vice-Chancellor mentioned the representation made to him by the students on the subject.

Proceeding, he said that the students had demanded an apology from Mr. G. D. Gordon, who was in charge of the police party that entered the Asutosh Buildings, failing which they insisted that legal proceedings should be taken against him. The students denied the allegation that the Ashutosh Buildings were used as a rampart from where the Police were attacked or that they threw brickbats at the Police. They further demanded that the Police should not be allowed to enter the University Buildings between the hours of 7 A.M. and 8 P.M. and that the University should issue a statement contradicting the statement of the Police and of one Calcutta paper that the Ashutosh Buildings were used as a rampart for purposes other than those of a seat of learning and that brickbats were thrown at the police from the Buildings.

The Syndicate has accepted the Committee's recommendation that His Excellency the Chancellor should be approached and requested to secure reparation as well as a guarantee against repetition of such incidents. The Syndicate has also recommended that all papers connected with the enquiry should be sent to the Chancellor in his official capacity as head of the University, as also as the Governor of the Province. The Chancellor has assured the Vice-Chancellor that when the report reaches him he will give the matter his earnest and sympathetic consideration.

The Vice-Chancellor informed the Senate that the question of taking legal proceedings against the persons concerned was receiving consideration of the Syndicate and it was hoped that a decision would be arrived at at an early date.

There was a discussion at the meeting on the question as to whether the Report of the Committee which was marked confidential should be released for publication. After some discussion the Senate unanimously decided to release the report for publication.

The following were members of the Enquiry Committee:

Dr. Hasan Suhrawardy, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Sir C. V. Raman and Prof. S. Radhakrishnan.

The following paragraph is taken from the report of the Enquiry Committee:

When the two Professors came out of the Secretary's room, they saw the Police Officers coming down the main staircase, apparently after having done their work. They noticed also a student being brought along by a Sergeant, profusely bleeding from the head. Other students also followed with more or less severe injuries on their persons. The Secretary promptly took them to his office and one of the University Lecturers rendered first aid. The two Professors met the Police Officers at the foot of the steps, and demanded what the students had done to merit such treatment at their hands. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. Gordon, was among those who were questioned. The reply was that the 'damned lot of students were at the root of the trouble: they had been at the Police from the beginning; they had pelted stones and sodawater bottles from the balconies at the Police; and they would Police had come there on purpose, and they

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to so over again, if necessary. One of the officers, speaking about the students, is alleged to have referred to them as "undisciplined swine". One of the Professors having protested against the use of such language and the unprovoked assaults on the students was curtly told that if he argued further, he would be held liable as an abettor. The Police then left the buildings. They were not inside the buildings for more than a few minutes.

The conclusions arrived at by the Committee are extracted below:

We proceed now to record our opinion that the action of the Police constituted an outrage on the University and its students for which there was no justification. In no conceivable circumstances could there be an excuse for them to have raided the University premises and indulged in an indiscriminate assault on the students in the way they had done. They did not care to ask the University authorities who were actually available on the spot for permission to enter the buildings, nor did they report their complaints to them. We notice with regret that these excesses were committed by the Police led by an officer of the rank of Deputy Commissioner of Police. As we have already stated in an earlier part of the report, we disbelieved the story that brickbats or missiles of any kind had been thrown at the Police from the Ashutosh Buildings. Not only is such a story improbable, but there is positive evidence to the contrary, and it is significant that in the course of their raid the Police did not care to inspect the balconies themselves to see if there were any such missiles collected there.

Upon the facts placed before us and summarized above, we entertain no doubt that reparation is due from the Police to the University and to the students concerned. As to what form such reparation should take, we express no opinion, beyond saying that it should be full and adequate and should include an unqualified apology from the Police and adequate punishment of the delinquents. We recommend that His Excellency the Chancellor should be approached and requested to secure such reparation as well as a guarantee against the repetition of such incidents.

It will be for the Syndicate to decide as to whether any further action in the way of legal proceedings against those concerned should be taken.

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Education in Soviet Russia

The Times of London has published the following:

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

RIGA, JULY 29

A proclamation was published to-day in Moscow announcing the introduction of compulsory universal education throughout the U. S. S. R. before the end of 1931 for children between eight and ten years of age. Later those up to 11 years and eventually those up to 15 are to be included. It has been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which declares that it is one of the most important political problems. It is proposed to make use of the confiscated houses of *kulaks* (rich peasants) for schools.

We have from time to time published other information relating to the educational efforts made in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, briefly known as U. S. S. R. or Soviet Russia.

—

Report of the Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committee

This committee, appointed by the Bengal Government, consisted of two European members of the I. C. S., and partly for this reason did not enjoy public confidence. The Committee was given "full discretion to select witnesses whom it intends to examine." That was another reason why it did not inspire confidence. Other reasons having the same effect will appear from the words and sentences quoted below from its report:

"We saw no objection to granting a qualified promise of indemnity" to witnesses. Why qualified, and qualified in what way? "In the end we found that the promise of indemnity was not really required." What is the process of reasoning by which they arrived at this interesting conclusion?

"We do not think that we heard all the evidence which might have been produced bearing on the action of particular police officers and special constables and leaders of the two communities in connection with events which were the subjects of complaint in the press or in the gathering places of the citizens of Dacca." The reason given for not hearing all the evidence which might have been produced is quite unsatisfactory.

The members say on page 6 of their Report: "To save time a few of these witnesses were examined not in public, but in the Circuit House or on the launch." Yet six lines after this statement they have the assurance to write: "There can be no question that our enquiry was *entirely* open"! (*Italics ours.* Ed., *M. R.*)

There are indications in the Report that the members were rather in a hurry and could not or did not give to their work the time and care which so phenomenal an outbreak of lawlessness would have required to thoroughly be enquired into. For instance, they say:

"The volume and range of the complaints were so great that investigation by compartments would have been the ideal course, but it required too much time and organization, and would have

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entailed the recalling of the same witnesses again and again."

Again :

"It was impossible in the time at our disposal to enquire into all these events with equal thoroughness."

That the Report has been written carelessly will be evident from a single passage, though others could be picked out. The members say :

"There is an impression that there were no communal troubles *in Dacca* before 1926. This is not altogether correct. In 1907 there was fighting *at Jamalpur in Mymensingh* between the Muhammadan tenants and their Hindu Zemindars, and there is reason to believe that it was only the influence of the then Nawab, Sir Salimulla, which *prevented the trouble from spreading to Dacca.*" (*Italics ours. Ed., M. R.*)

Is "Jamalpur *in Mymensingh*," from which Sir Salimulla "prevented the trouble from spreading *to Dacca*," *in* Dacca ?

In connection with the learning of dagger and *lathi* play by the Hindus, the Report says :

"With the Muhammadans *lathi* and sword play has been practised in connection with the Muharram for centuries and there is no proof of any organized development of the exercise. With the Hindus the habit is new, and the dagger can hardly be looked upon as a weapon of defence."

Have there not always been Hindu *lathi* players and swordsmen during centuries past, and is there any weapon of defence which is not also a weapon of offence ?

Throughout the Report there is so much special pleading for the police and the Muslims and against the Hindus that it is difficult to take it seriously as a piece of judicial writing. We do not wish to play into the hands of our opponents by reproducing passages instinct with communal partiality and communal bias.

—

Resolution *re* Outbreak of Lawlessness in Dacca

The Report of the official Dacca Enquiry Committee does not contain the evidence on which it is based. Hence, it cannot be decided whether the Report is the unbiassed logical outcome of the evidence, however incomplete the latter may have been.

The debate in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy's motion on the outbreak of lawlessness at Dacca was unfettered so far as it went. And in the course of the debate both those who were for and those who were against it could say much either from personal enquiry and knowledge or from the evidence and report of those who had such knowledge. Moreover, the mover wanted only the correspondence on the subject between the Government of India and the Bengal Government to be published. Neither he nor his supporters gave any communal turn to the debate. That was left for Mr. A. H. Ghaznavi to do.

We have printed in this issue the entire official report of the debate, in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves.

—

Rabindranath Tagore on the Dacca Disturbances

In concluding their covering letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, the members of the Dacca Enquiry Committee observe :

"...We are afraid that the utmost vigilance of Government and its officers cannot prevent the chance of recurrence."

What then is the exact meaning of *Pax Britannica* ? What does it amount to ?

The members add :

"If recurrence comes, Government can hardly expect by its own efforts alone to be in a position to re-establish peace more expeditiously than was done on this occasion."

While these are the opinions expressed by two members of the ruling race who boast in season and out that they are here to prevent Hindus and Muslims from flying at each other's throats, Rabindranath Tagore has recently written in *The Spectator* of London of the 30th August last :

We have not the least doubt that the most expensively and elaborately organized power which the British Government has in India is more than sufficient in checking at once any symptoms of violence in our communal relationship. We have been brought up for a long time past on this belief.

The significance of this belief of the poet, which is shared by his countrymen, will not be missed.

His letter to *The Spectator* begins thus :

A fact of very grave significance at the present crisis in the British rule in India has sorely puzzled my mind. I am impelled to write about it, for I find that its importance is not understood in England even by those who are in touch with Indian affairs.

At Dacca in Eastern Bengal, there have been communal riots in which men of vicious character have been brought in, so as to increase the mischief, and unspeakable atrocities have occurred. While the news of a motor accident in Europe causing a few casualties is circulated in all your

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newspapers, these crying evils continuing from day to day in the capital city of East Bengal (whereby the whole neighbourhood was terrorized and all work paralysed) have hardly found any mention in English journals. The number of deaths, the loss of property, the daily sufferings and terrors caused by these events have been enormous ; and yet they have been ignored with a strange and ominous silence. If a single Englishman were injured, or the comforts of English residents were menaced, such silence would hardly be kept. Is it any wonder, then, that we are led to regard ourselves as of no interest or importance in the eyes of the British people, who have taken upon themselves the gratuitous task of our trusteeship ?

The letter concludes thus :

The British people have their comfortable faith in the conduct of their own officials who rule over an alien people. They feel little direct responsibility. Therefore, when our evidence is pitted against that of their own official representatives, we have little chance of credence. Let us acknowledge that this is natural ; yet at the same time we should be allowed for the same reason to have faith in our own people when under conditions like the present they suffer and complain. For we are very unequally matched ; and while your opinion vitally affects us at every point, our opinion may easily remain unnoticed or else be even suppressed by you. But silenced though our people may be and ineffectual in their struggle, we judge ; and in the end it *does* matter. I know from my own correspondence that this event at Dacca has alienated, more than anything else in Bengal, the sympathies of those who were still clinging to their faith in British justice.

P. S. For those of your readers who wish to study our own version of the story about this Dacca situation reference may be made to the *Modern Review* of June, 1930.

—

Boycott—"the Main Success"

In one of their weekly surveys of the civil disobedience movement the Government of India observe that boycott of foreign goods remains the main success of the movement. That shows that the boycott has told and may be still more effective as time passes. But it is scarcely correct to speak of this economic boycott as a part of the civil disobedience movement. There is no element of disobedience in it. Even the British-made laws in India do not require anybody to purchase British or other foreign goods or to refrain from eschewing their use.

The production and use of Swadeshi goods and the consequent disuse of foreign goods must continue until and after India has become self-ruling.

—

Indian Repression Reports in U. S. A. Senate Record

The reader knows that Senator Hon. John Blaine moved the following resolution in the Senate of the U. S. A. on July 17, 1930 :

Resolved that as India is an original signatory of the Kellog-Briand peace pact the United States Senate instructs the State Department to use its best offices to insure peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle with no abridgement of the just rights of the people of India, who are seeking to emulate our own National Independence."

In moving the resolution Mr. Blaine spoke as follows, in part :

"Mr. President, I have arranged in order a number of newspaper cuttings and articles in reference to the conduct of the British Empire in India newspaper reports and editorials, which I assume are based upon facts,...

"Mr. President, I desire to offer these articles to be printed in the record and then submit a resolution and ask that the Resolution be read by the clerk and the resolution lie on the table. And it may be if this special session continues for any length of time, that I shall ask that the Resolution be considered by the Senate if it is not referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SENATE UNOBJECTS

"So Mr. President, I now ask to have printed in the record the newspaper articles and editorials in the order in which I have arranged them. The Vice-President : "Is there any objection ?" The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered."

A PICTURE OF DHARSANA

Among the newspaper reports which Senator Blaine read is one from Mr. Webb-Miller who describes the scenes in Dharsana.

—

Progressive Muslim Ladies

There has been recently held at Damascus a Congress of Eastern Women attended by delegates from every Moslem country. In it,

After much discussion a resolution was passed that the veil be abolished and that women be allowed to appear bare-faced in the street.

It was also resolved that :

Bride and Bridegroom be permitted to see each other before marriage ;

The provision of dowry should no longer be an essential *a priori* condition of marriage ;

Divorce be regularized and made possible for wife as well as for husband. Instead of allowing the husband unlimited licence in this regard as at present ;

The age of 18 be the legal minimum for marriage ;

Elementary education be made compulsory for children of both sexes ;

Children under 14 should not be engaged in employment ;

Arabic culture and industry be widely supported.

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In India Mrs. Shareefa Hamid Ali has circulated a note to the members of the Committee of the All-India Women's Conference on the rights of Muslim women. It concludes as follows :

I especially want to bring this point to the notice of the members of the Standing Committee that not only can a Muslim woman divorce her husband for various reasons of cruelty, adultery, etc., but can indirectly put a stop to polygamy by inserting a clause against a second marriage in her marriage contract. There would be no polygamy as the first marriage would *ipso facto* be void.

I therefore earnestly and strongly press that we must help in spreading a knowledge of the Muslim Law, so that at every Muslim marriage the bride and her relatives should insist on proper safe-guards being inserted in the marriage contract. Just as "Maher" is provided for, so it should be provided that the wife will have the right to pronounce a divorce.

(a) in case the husband marries another wife (b) acts cruelly to the wife, (c) commits adultery, (d) refuses to fulfil the conjugal duties laid down in Islam including the duty of maintaining the wife.

—

Education in Travancore Budget

It is pleasant news that the financial position of Travancore is claimed to be thoroughly sound, its latest budget showing a surplus of Rs. 2,02,000. Among the many commendable allotments in the State's budget is a sum of Rs. 51,61,000 out of a total revenue of Rs. 2,50,79,000, or more than twenty per cent. of the revenue. In Bengal the total expenditure in 1928-29 on education, met from the provincial revenues, was Rs. 1,53,04,485. In that year the total revenue of Bengal was, we believe, not less than 11 crores in round numbers. Therefore, for approaching the Travancore standard, the expenditure in Bengal from provincial revenues should have been at least Rs. 2,20,00,000.

—

A Depressed Classes Colony in Cochin

During the Dewanship of Sir T. Raghavachari a Pulaya colony was started at Chalakudi in Cochin State for improving the condition of Pulayas, Parayas, Nayadis and other sections of the depressed classes.

A number of huts were constructed in the colony at Government expense, and a select number of families brought to live there. There are at present in all 48 huts (occupied by Pulayas and Parayas) with over 170 inmates. A Malayalam primary school was opened for the children of the colonists while there is now a night school for the adults. and there is a paid manager living in the colony who looks after the welfare of the inmates.

An Ayurvedic physician was appointed to attend on those who fell ill. The colony has been receiving from Government a grant ranging between Rs. 2000 and Rs. 3,500 a year. In their lands. the colonists cultivate bananas, tapioca and other vegetables and fruits, To enable them to carry on their hereditary occupation of bamboo-mat and basket-making, free removal of bamboos from the State forests has been allowed.

A store house has been built and a co-operative society organized and registered, and a temple has also been built.

There are also several colonies at Kunnamkulam, Palayannur and Narakkal. In the colonies at Chalakudi and Kunnamkulam, poultry farming is being tried under the guidance of a teacher trained in Y. M. C. A. centre at Ramnathpuram.

With a view to cultivate habits of thrift, the system of maintaining home-safe boxes was introduced and nearly 10,000 boxes have been so far distributed.

—

Ceylon Art Exhibition

The 36th annual exhibition of the Ceylon Society of Arts at the Royal College of Colombo, held in August last, appears to have been a very interesting, instructive and altogether successful function. Nearly a thousand exhibits of various kinds are listed in the catalogue, which is prefaced by an informing paper on "Ideals of Indian Art" by Manindra-bhushan Gupta of Santiniketan. Mr. Venkatachalan, the distinguished art critic of Madras, was invited to deliver a course of lectures illustrated with lantern slides to help towards an appreciation of Indian works of art. It is noteworthy that, though tickets had to be purchased for attending them, the attendance was full. The works of Indian artists, mostly from Bengal, were given the place of honour in the catalogue. They formed about 30 per cent. of the entire collection. Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore led off with 33 exhibits.

The promoters of the Exhibition thanked Mr. Gupta of Santiniketan, who was the Society's agent in getting together the pictures in India, and Professor Dr. Satis Ranjan Khastgir of the University College of Colombo, who was responsible for bringing out the exhibits from India.

—

Japanese Imports into India

The Japan Weekly Chronicle of July 10 last contains the following :—

The outstanding feature is the phenomenal advance of textile imports from Japan, which in

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general gained at the expense not only of Britain but of Europe as a whole, and increased her share of the total trade from 7 per cent in 1928-29 to 9.5 per cent. in 1929-30. In five classes of cotton goods alone British exports to India declined by £5,500,000, whereas Japanese increased by £4,000,000. In the case of cotton and artificial mixed goods Japan more than quadrupled her imports into India, while those of Britain fell by one-half and of Germany by two-thirds

In the case of shoes (other than leather) Japan very nearly cleared her other competitors out of the field in a single year. In 1928-29, out of about 2,000,000 pairs imported, rather over 500,000 pairs came from Japan, while in 1929-30 she accounted for no less than 4,000,000 pairs out of about 6,500,000. Her success was due to low prices with which neither British nor American manufacturers could possibly compete.

These figures serve to show the extraordinary intensity of the Japanese competition which has arisen in the Indian market.

Indian industrialists and Indian consumers should take note of these facts.

—

Mr. Sastri on Simon "Federalism"

Speaking recently at the Liberal Summer School held at Oxford,

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri particularly objected to the irresponsible status of the Central Government as laid down by the Commissioners. Where was the advantage of denying to the Centre powers which were to be given to the provinces? He strongly attacked the whole federal ideal as outlined in the report. He could imagine nothing more likely than this scheme to divide the country permanently, for it was improbable that a weak Central Government, which did not rest upon the popular will, would be able to exercise its authority when it clashed with the authority of the provincial administrations.

India, said Mr. Sastri, should be one and indivisible. Any scheme which had the effect of splitting Indian patriotism into a series of provincial patriotism would lend to destroy the best work of Britain in India. One of the first essentials for a successful solution of the problem was the establishment of a real Central Parliament,

In the above extract Mr. Sastri has pointed out some of the dangers of the "loose national federation under British Domination" recommended by the Simon Commission. Even if, instead of "semi-autonomy in the provinces," as recommended by that body, there were full provincial autonomy, that would not be desirable. Some of our politicians are so enamoured of provincial autonomy that they forget that India can be and remain free only if she can exert her full unified strength, and that unless the whole is free and autonomous, the parts cannot have real freedom and autonomy. One of the causes of India's loss of freedom was that her parts had a separate political existence at the time of their subjugation.

Why the British rulers of India may like to give a sort of provincial autonomy will be partly understood from the following extract from Mojor B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* :—

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy", but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness, on being asked.

"7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous?" answered: "Yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

"7772. Mr. Dandy Seymour.

Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time?" 'Yes.'.

He gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the peoples of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

—

Hindu Gains of Learning Act

The Hindu Gains of Learning Act, for which credit is due to Mr. M. R. Jayakar, is a desirable enactment. According to it,

"gains of learning" means all acquisitions of poperty made substantially by means of learning, whether such acquisitions be made before or after the commencement of this Act and whether such acquisitions be the ordinary or the extraordinary result of such learning; and

"learning" means education, whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general, and training of every kind which is usually intended to enable a person to pursue any trade, industry, profession or avocation in life.

Notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of the Hindu Law, no gains of learning shall be held not to be the exclusive and separate property of the acquirer merely by reason of his learning having been, in whole or in part imparted to him by any member, living or deceased

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of his family, or with the aid of the joint funds of his family, or with the aid of the funds of any member thereof, or

himself or his family having, while he was acquiring his learing, been maintained or supported wholly or in part by the joint funds of his family, or by the funds of any member thereof.

—

India's Disunity—A Symposium

There is no defect of our character and temperament of which a modern Englishman is more woefully conscious than our propensity to be unlike one another. It is to his mind a characteristic and inherent trait, bearing the authentic stamp of India, the land of amazing diversities. Yet, a study of old documents and official reports reveals the interesting fact that even two generations ago, the whole question of the permanence of this trait was causing his forefathers a good deal of anxiety. The question came up in connection with the Indian Army. "The community of feeling" in its ranks had resulted, in their opinion, in the Mutiny, and it was essential to know how to prevent it. The subject was enquired into by the Peel Commission in 1859, and again by a Special Committee appointed by the Viceroy twenty years later. Before both these bodies, officers, both military and civil, carried their fears and expectations.

It had been suggested by some that in order to secure the political non-unity of the Indian Army it was enough to recruit it from a large number of tribes and castes and mix them promiscuously in the regiments. To this contention the wise Lord Lawrence, the future Viceroy of India, replied by saying :

"But excellent as this theory seems, it does not bear the test of practice. It is found that different races mixed together do not long preserve their distinctiveness ; their corners and angles, and feeling and prejudice get rubbed of ; till at last they assimilate ; and the object of their association is to a considerable extent lost." (Parliamentary Papers, 1859, Vol. VIII, p. 677).

This view was confirmed by Colonel Burn who said :

"When the Seikhs were first admitted into our army, I advocated their being kept in distinct regiments, and the late Mutiny has confirmed me in the correctness of that opinion. The Seikhs belonging to the mutinous corps in Delhi went with them, and nothing would induce them to break this unnatural alliance...." (*Ibid.* p. 802)

This was, in fact, very unnatural and very distressing. But it was very difficult to irradicate the trait. Even twenty years later the military officers were loud in their complaint about this. We give only a selection from the opinions expressed, and no comments at all, as none are necessary.

Major Robertson of the 4th Native Infantry said :

"It is well known that the Sikh, by being associated with other races, loses his special characteristics, and in regiments so composed the peculiarities of race no longer oppose each other in a marked manner. This is seen more especially in certain low-caste regiments in which Sikh companies exist. These men by contact with the races which surround them gradually lose their nationality, and are Sikhs only in name." (Appendices to the Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Governer-General to report on the organization and expenditure of the Army. 1880 Vol. IV, p. 752).

Lt.-Col. F. B. Norman of the 24th Punjab Infantry said :

"I think it more advisable that Sikhs should be eliminated from Hindustani regiments. After a few years of service they become brahminized." (*Ibid.*, p. 752).

Lt.-Col. Hudson of the 28th Punjab Infantry said :

"I am inclined to think that if we are to reap the full advantage of all that is valuable in the character of each class, we should keep that class separate by itself. If the classes are mixed up, I think it is more than possible for the rough edges of caste and class prefudice (valuable elements in their way) to be rubbed off." (*Ibid.*, p. 752).

Col. T. Boisragon of the 30th Infantry said :

"Regiments of antagonistic classes could be seat down to oppose and put down the disaffected ones. Antagonism of classes is one of our surest holds on this country." (*Ibid*, p. 751).

Major Crookshank of the 32nd Pioneers indignantly wrote :

"I would not mix Hindus and Muhammadans, nor would I associate high with low caste. In the antagonism and rivalry arising from difference of caste and creed should rest our strength, whereas we are doing all we can to obliterate those distinctions and rub the corners off." (*Ibid.*, p. 752).

—

"Lathi" Charges and Western Civilization

Many Indian daily papers have reproduced from *The Chicago Daily News* the description

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of the *lathi* charges at the Bombay Esplanade by its special correspondent Mr. Negley Farson, who has returned to America. Reproducing the same description, the *Christian Century* of America observes :—

After a delay the censors have permitted the accompaning news dispatch by Mr. Negley Farson, of the "Chicago Daily News," to reach this country. Mr. Farson speaks of the effect which the sights he is witnessing in India are having on him. A veteran newspaper man, yet this clubbing of non-resisting people, whose wrong doing it is that they desire national freedom, has, in his words, "made me physically ill" and "wrung my heart." A reading of his report will have the same effect on many Christians of the west, thousands of miles though they be from Bombay. But this is a wholly inadequate reaction to the tragedy described in Mr. Farson's dispatch. This is the story, not merely of a state's police clubbing non-resistent patriots iuto insensibility, but of the representatives of western civilization smashing the prestige of that civilization to bits on the spiritual valour of the East. The thing that is happening in Bombay is so awful that words fail to describe it, Western civilization is beating itself to death with the clubs of the Bombay police. A few more weeks of this sort of thing and it will seem an insult to any self-respecting Indian to find a single missionary, a single representative of the white man's religion, left in his land. Every premise of the Christian gospel is being destroyed in India at this hour. And when the destruction of the Christian gospel is complete, the spiritual damnation of Western life will follow with swift certainty.

—

Successful Exhibition of Rabindranath's Pictures in Berlin

A very successful exhibition of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings and water-colour sketches was held in Berlin in July. German art critics, especially of the modern school, wrote in enthusiastic terms of Tagore's creative genius in plastic art. Information by cable has been received that the authorities of the National Art Gallery of Berlin have acquired five pictures of Tagore for the Berlin Art Museum.

—

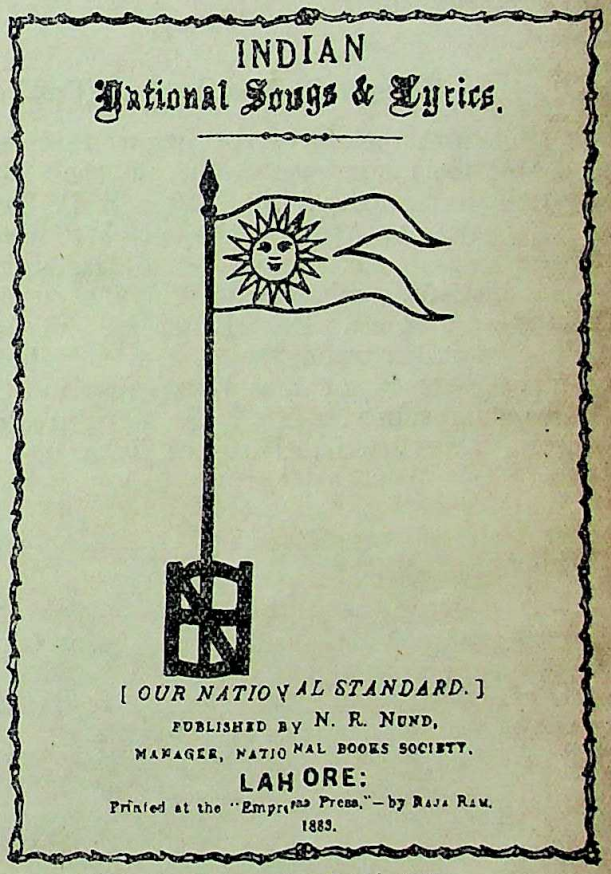
The Vivekananda Mission

The Vivekananda Mission was started recently. One of its objects is to help in the spread of education in all its phases. The Mission has started five free primary schools, two of which are located at Dum-Dum, two in remote villages in the district of Bankura, and the last at the Mission premises, No. 2-1, Ramkrishna Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. It intends to open an industrial school also. The management of the Mission is in the hands of some noted citizens of Calcutta and some Sannyasis of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda order who have experience of this kind of work.

—

Panjab Nationalism 50 Years Ago

In 1883, the Indian National Society was established at Lahore. The moving



The Titlepage of a Book of Songs Published by the Society

spirit of the Society was the late Srish Chandra Basu, founder of the Panini Office, who after completing his brilliant academical career threw himself actively into all the nationalist and social movements at Lahore, where he was born and brought up. He made a National flag, which was paraded through the streets of Lahore. He was then a young man of 23. He composed national songs in English and made some of his friends compose the same in Hindi and

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Urdu. One of his English songs ended as follows :

Is there no hope, is there no scope
For freedom's friendly strife ?
"From Ripon's hand, and old England
Sure justice will arrive."

That was nearly half a century ago. Had he been alive today and seen the attitude of some of the noble lords and commoners of England towards the cause of Indian freedom, he, along with numerous countrymen of his, would have changed his opinion.

—

Death of Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd.)

It is with the deepest sorrow that we learn of the unexpected death, on the 23rd of September 1930, of Major B. D. Basu I. M. S. (Retd). At the time of his death Major Basu was sixty. India has lost a great historical scholar and scientific writer in Major Baman Das Basu. He was an accepted authority on the history of India since the coming of the Europeans in the fifteenth century. His masterly treatise *Rise of the Christian Power in India* is one of the most important works on British Indian history. His *Indian Medicinal Plants* is a standard book of reference for Indian botanists and pharmacologists.

The sudden death of this great and sincere worker in the field of Indian history and science, has been an irreparable loss to India. We expected him to enrich India's store of learning for many more years to come and his death has come as a great shock to his numerous friends and admirers.

Major B. D. Basu had an eventful life and devoted his life to the service of the motherland in diverse fields of activity. A biography of Major B. D. Basu will be published in a subsequent issue of the *Modern Review*.

We offer our sincerest and heart-felt condolences to the bereaved family.

—

Our Annual Vacation

The Modern Review office will remain closed from the 28th September to the 12th October next and will re-open on the 13th October, when the work of its editorial and business departments will be resumed.

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Students of Indian History Please Take Note

Volumes I and II of "Rise of the Christian Power in India" are out of print. The other volumes (Vols. III, IV and V) are available at Rs. 3 per volume ; postage extra.

The work will never be reprinted in its present unabridged and extended form in five volumes. So, those who want to complete their sets, or have the three volumes, which are themselves independently quite useful, should buy these three volumes. They are sold separately.

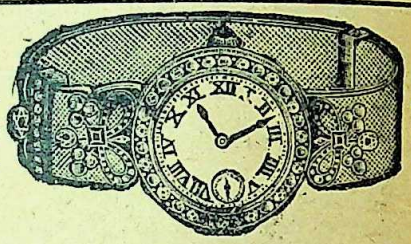
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For other opinions see advts. p. 4 December 1928 and p. 5 February 1929.

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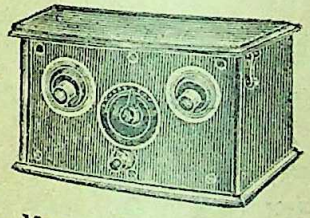
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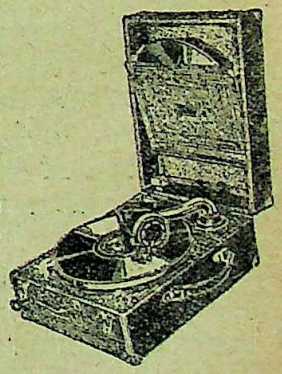
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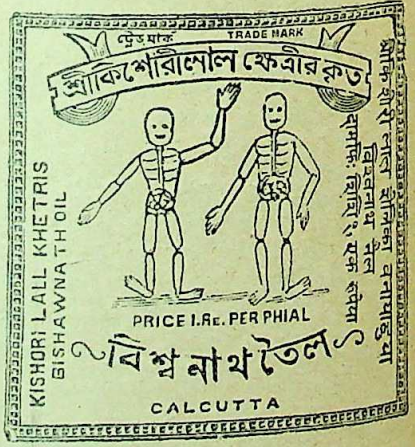
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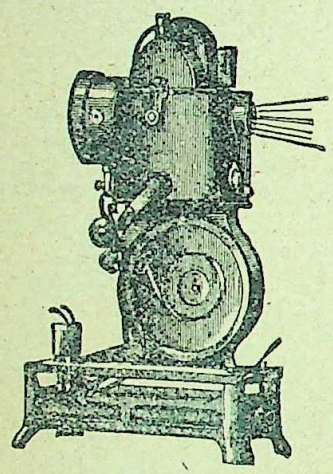
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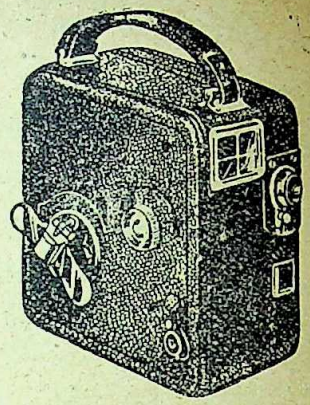


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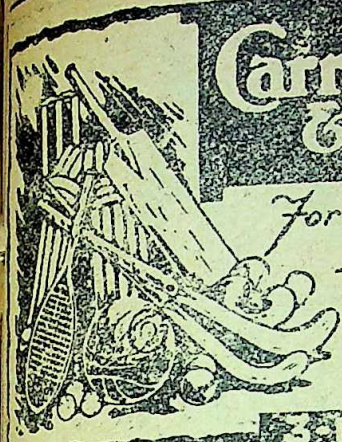
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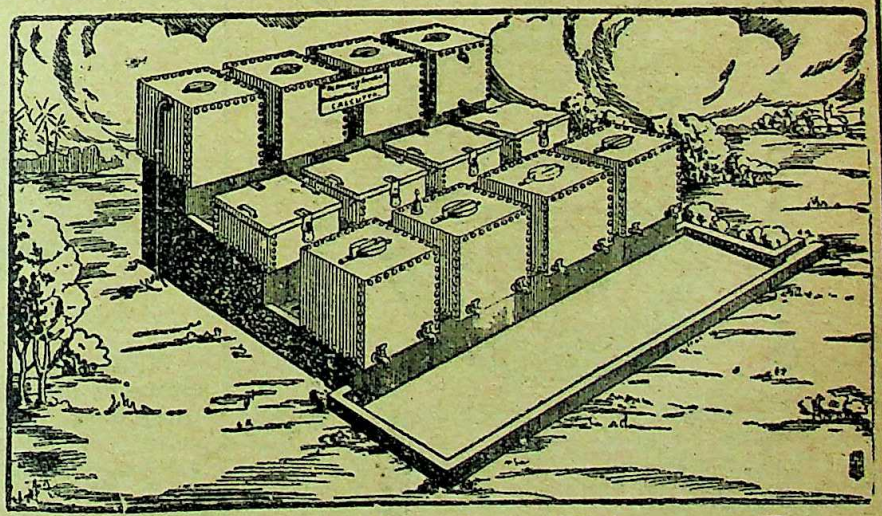
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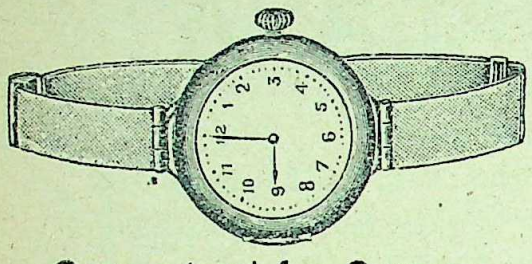
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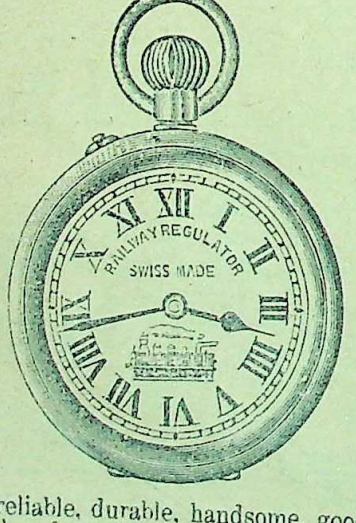
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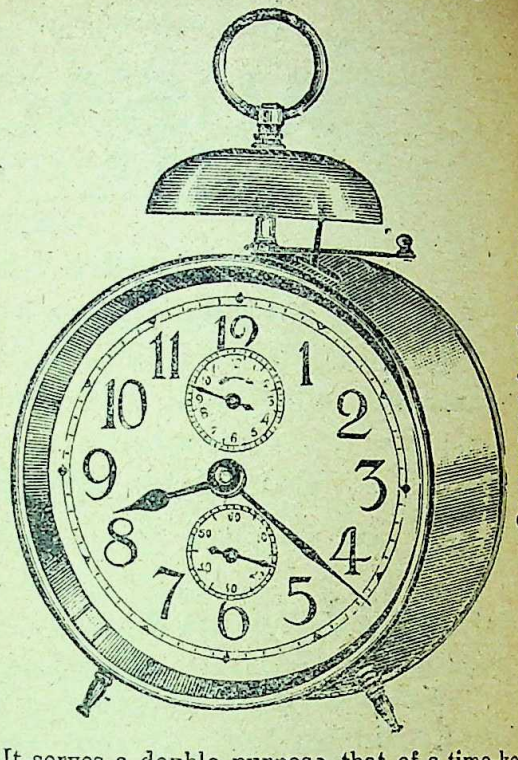
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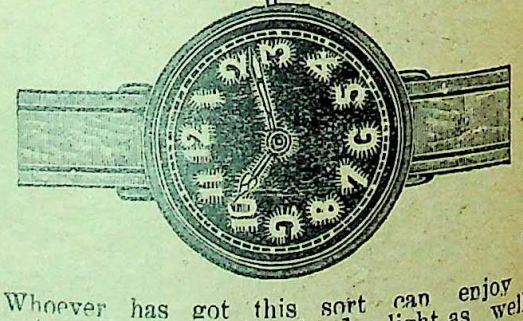
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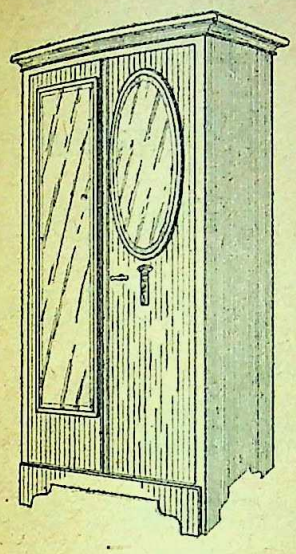
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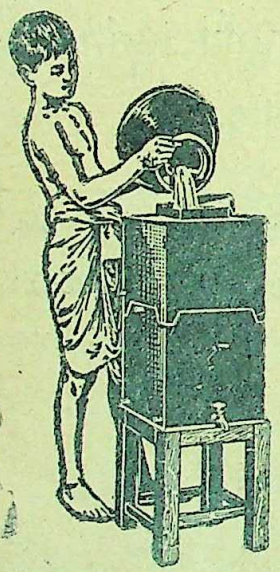
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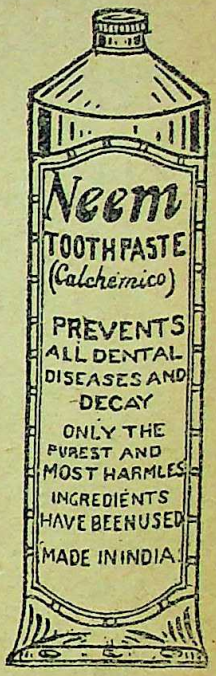
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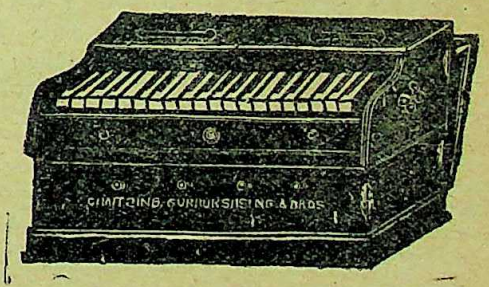
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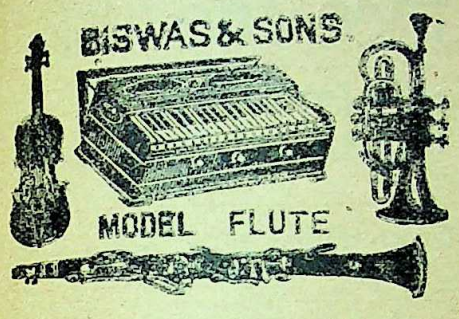
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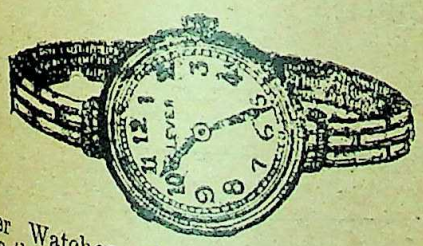
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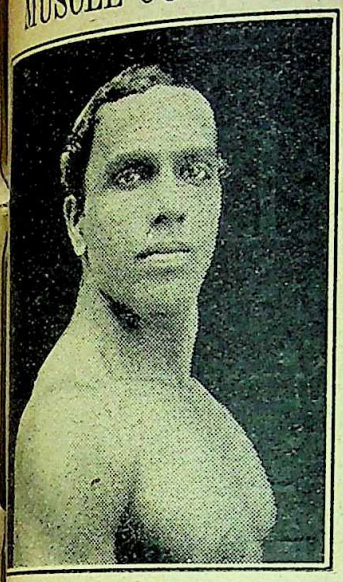
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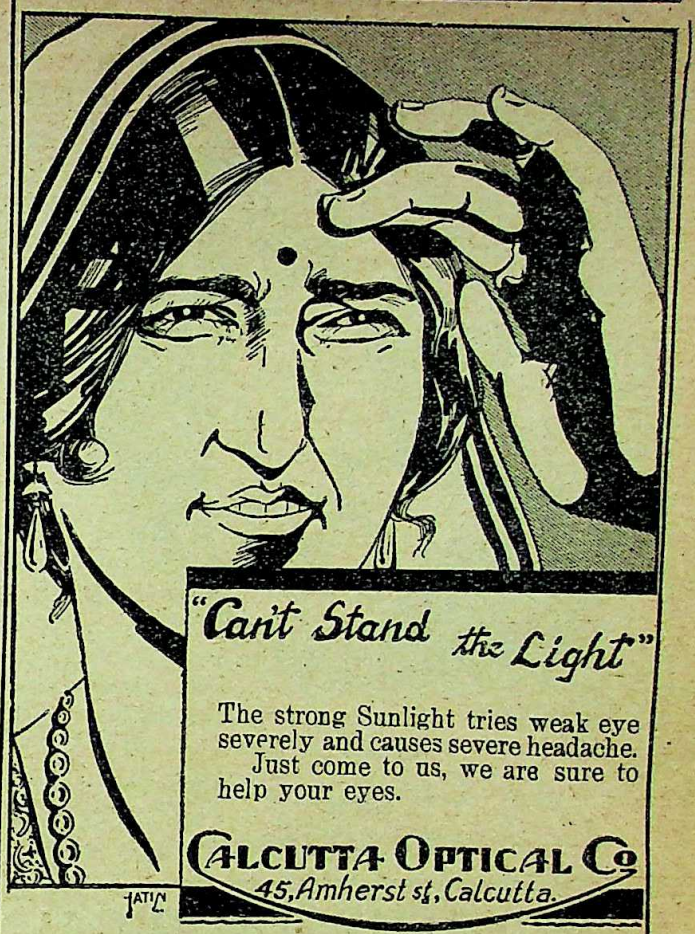
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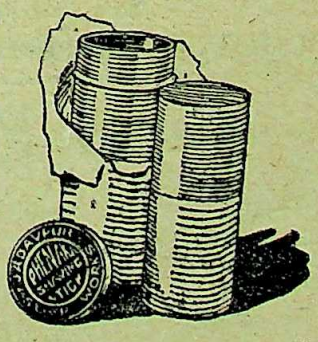
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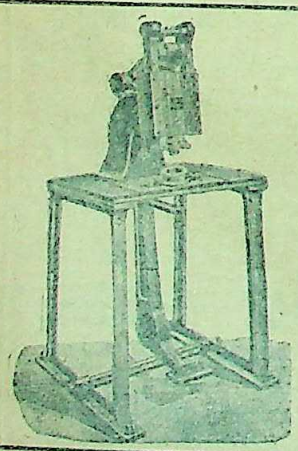
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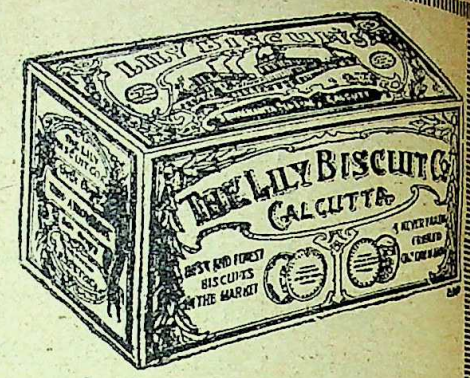
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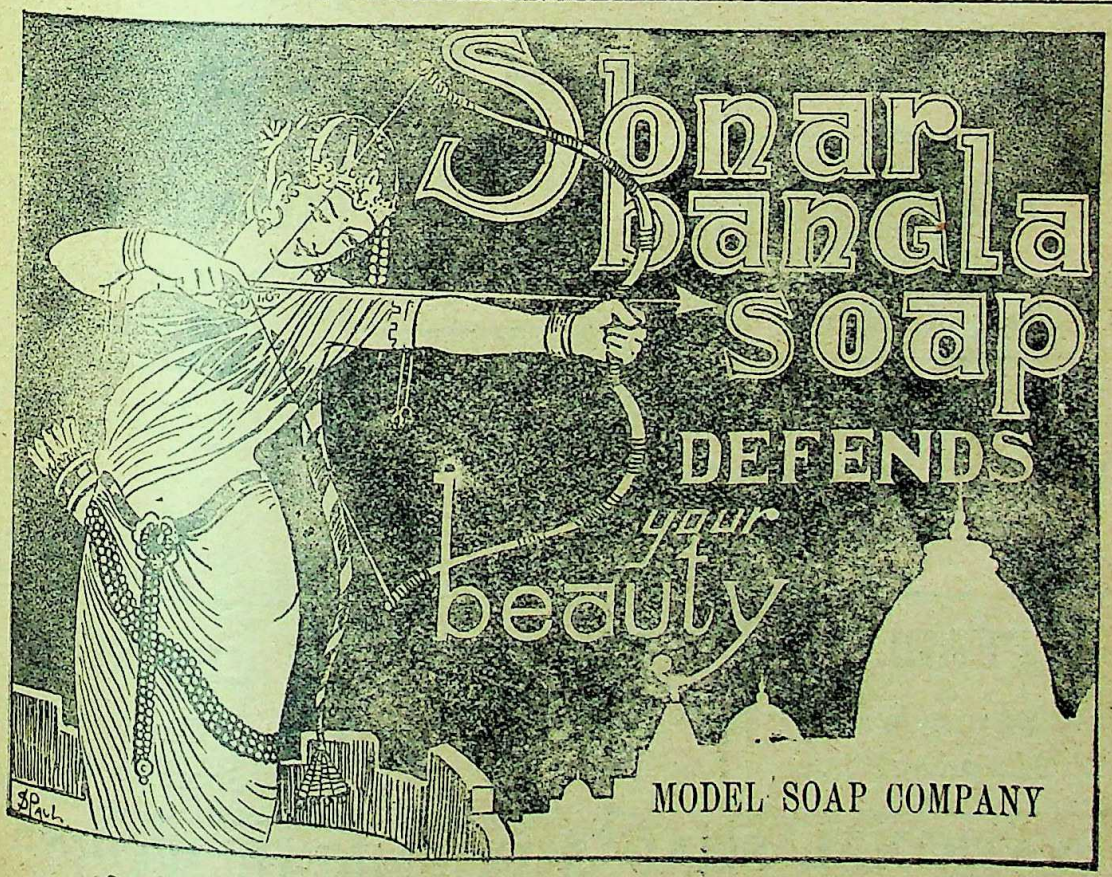
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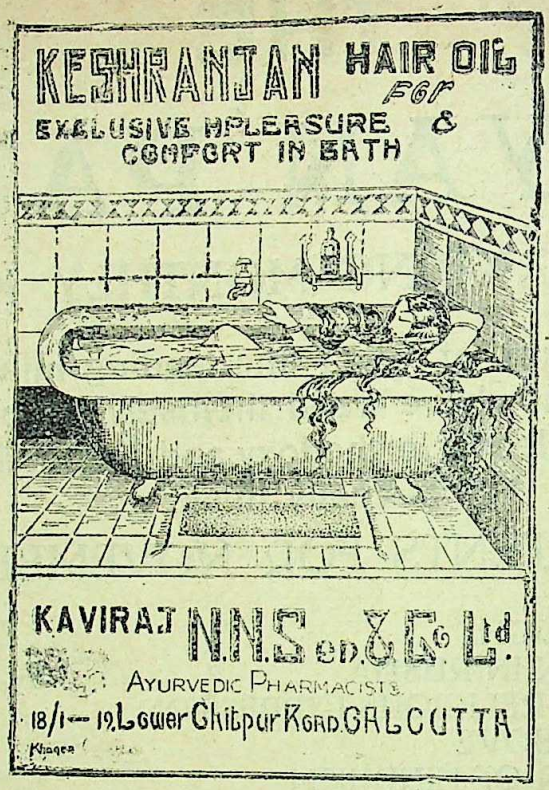
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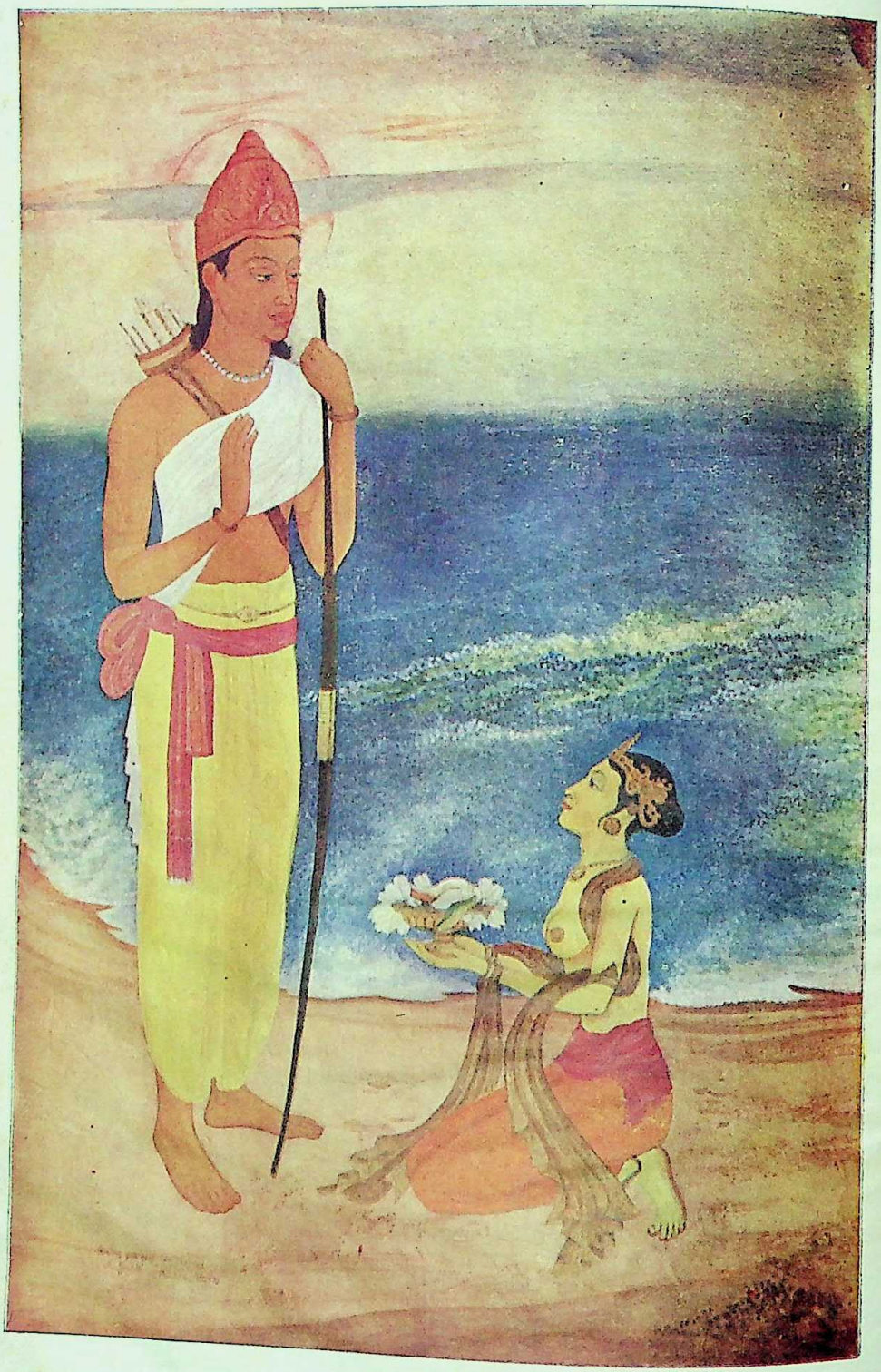
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By Manindra Bhushan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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Our Crime against Trees, Grasses and Rivers

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

I

As we follow the course of the river Ganges towards the delta, the rainfall, the climate, the agriculture, the density of population and the culture improve. It is with filial devotion that the Indian of the plains pronounces the sacred name of the historic river, bowing to her, as Mother Ganges. It is significant that agricultural prosperity which is so closely bound up with the river system fluctuates with the vicissitudes of the rivers, streams and drainage. Everything points to a steady decline of old alluvial tracts and the emergence into prosperity and numbers of new alluvial tracts farthest towards the delta. Thus the Himalayan rivers which must once have built up with silt deposit the upper plains of the Gangetic valley have now cut deep channels in the very plains which they originally formed, and not only cease to fertilize them with fresh deposit, but actually erode and gradually but continuously carry away the silt which they once laid on them. This work of destruction is assisted by the numerous feeders which are cutting more deeply every year into the rich layers of deposit and carrying the most fertile elements of the old silt into the Ganges, Jumna and other large rivers. There goes on in the old alluvial plains a continual process of destruction and renewal. At each bend the concave bank is being eroded, while the opposite shore receives a new alluvial deposit to fill up the void left by the receding river. After a period of years the process is reversed, or the river suddenly cuts a new bed for itself. Between these processes, however, there is an enormous wastage of soil. The wastage in one district alone, *viz.*, Etawah on the Bank of the Jumna has been estimated to be not less than eleven cubic feet of soil per second, equivalent to a steady outflow of earth in a stream thirteen feet wide and two feet deep flowing at the rate of three miles per hour. The processes of erosion and ravine formation commenced within the last four centuries. From the prevalence of old stone sugar mills, the alignment of the old Mughal Imperial road still to be traced by its *kos* marks, the examination of old wells of known antiquity, as well as from the study of ancient records it would seem probable that most of the erosion has occurred during the last 400 years. Along the Jumna, old stone sugar mills are found in thousands. In two villages alone over 600 mills were found, in one 600 and in another over 250. The loss of fertile soil that has been carried from different districts into the larger rivers during the last three or four centuries, is incalculable. It is in the Chambal-Jumna

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tract that the tangle of wild and sterile ravines sloping from the uplands to the river bank shows its worst features. There is a rough country along the Chambal, which drains the Native States of Gwalior and Dholpur and finally joins the Jumna below Etawah. As far as can be seen one meets here a labyrinth of rugged ravines and green valleys covered with acacia jungle, every prominent bluff showing the ruins of some robber stronghold. "This has been for centuries as No Man's Land occupied by wild Rajput tribes, robbers and raiders by profession, who settled on the flank of the Imperial highway through the Doab and were a thorn in the side of the Musalman administration."*

The process of ravine formation is aided by the fact that as a result of concentration of population we find in a mature valley very little of forest belt left on the banks of the rivers which might protect them against erosion during the monsoon rains. There is unlimited and uncontrolled grazing of countless herds and flocks of animals as a result of which the vegetation on these lands becomes very poor after centuries of abuse. There is often a thin covering of scrub jungle, which hardly can absorb any portion of the excess water during the heavy rains. With the hardening effect of the tread of animals and rapid drainage, the monsoon rains penetrate to a depth of few inches only, and this quickly dries, leaving a soil almost destitute of moisture down to the underground spring water level 100 feet or more below. This has reacted very unfavourably upon the agricultural population. The gradual loss of fertile lands caused by the extension of ravines along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna and their tributaries is on the aggregate serious. It has been estimated that the total area of such desert-like and inhospitable ravines in the United Provinces alone is between half a million and a million acres.

In some of the densely populated districts along the banks of the Ganges, the Jumna and their tributaries while the enormous pressure of population on the soil has led to a most phenomenal expansion of the arable area and shrinking of pastures, there is a considerable proportion of wild, sterile ravine lands altogether denuded of surface soil, exposing beds of *kankar* or hard brown, barren clay. The increase of such barren lands in congested districts contributes not a little towards lowering the standard of living of the peasantry.

* Crooke, *North-Western Provinces of Indian* p. 26.

II

There is another way in which the rivers contribute to agricultural deterioration as the plain reaches maturity. In a flat country, which is but little raised above the sea-level, the rivers checked by the rising level of silt-formed plains tend to split into many channels. The distributaries down which the river formerly found its way to the sea degenerate into stagnant lagoons. Many rivers are silted up, while the beds of others are gradually raised by the annual deposition of silt. The silting up of the rivers deprives the country of the silt it formerly used to receive. The main stream of the Bhagirathi was the Saraswati to which was due the prosperity of Satgaon as a far-famed centre of trade and navigation. Only a narrow and extremely shallow *khal* remains to mark its river-bed. Formerly the Karatoya, the deeper portions of the Atrai and the Tista were large and deep rivers affording facilities for navigation and a large export trade. Through the Karatoya in particular was carried on a considerable volume of inland trade, and important marts were established on its banks. The Bhagirathi, the Jalanghi and the Mathabhanga were also the main distributing channels in Southern Bengal. There was indeed an extensive river traffic throughout Bengal which flourished till the middle of the 19th century. Large factories were erected by the East India Company on the banks of many of the above-mentioned rivers. Many of these rivers are now silted up while those which are navigable often bring devastating floods. Russell surveyed the rivers of Bengal in 1781. Many of the rivers in his map are now hardly traceable. Some have completely changed the direction and bed, others have run dry, while still others are choked with vegetation, having scarcely any flow of water. There is at the same time water-logging due to obstruction of the drainage of the country and malarial fever spreads over the region. This has been the case in the western portions of the Gangetic delta which compare very unfavourably with those in the east. The Bhagirathi through which the main current of the Ganges

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formerly flowed southwards to the sea has now become a mere spill channel. In the hot months the connection is lost and miles of sand-banks stand between. The Bhagirathi has been silting up for at least three centuries. Bernier was forced to go overland to Cossim-bazar because sand-banks at its mouth made the river unnavigable.

Often again, the rivers change their course with great suddenness and bring about wholesale devastation. The vagaries of some of the Himalayan rivers like the Ramganga, the Gogra, the Kosi and the Tista are today a barrier to the expansion of cultivation. Both the Ganges and the Jumna, aged mothers, keep sedately within their beds and only roll wearily from one side to the other. But the rivers just mentioned are gambolling vagabonds ; they wander at their own sweet will over many miles of country, carving out beds capriciously for themselves, and leaving them as illogically.* But it is in the delta that the rivers become more formidable and their frolics cause widespread ruin ; they cut away the land in one place and build it up in another in a bioscopic succession gaily working their way through the friable alluvium behind them and leaving it high and dry as proof of their contempt for humanity and all its works. The Bhagirathi itself has changed its course several times. The Brahmaputra, the Padma and the Meghna have changed and are still changing. The most remarkable change which transformed the river system in Northern Bengal was the result of the Tista floods of 1787. The variations of population in a district like Noakhali, for instance, in Eastern Bengal, due to the constructive and destructive powers of the great rivers, are extraordinary in their nature.

Man has aggravated these natural dangers by his unskilful and improvident interference with Nature. He denudes the mountain slopes of forests and thus makes his country a prey to droughts and floods. His fields and grazing lands encroach upon the banks and head-waters of the rivers. These languish in the hot season or become roaring cataracts during heavy rains. He diverts the main stream of the river into canals constructed without full knowledge of the drainage and topography of the region. The whole region becomes water-logged or impregnated with salt. The soil becomes saturated and sour, the well water deleterious to health and cultivation, and the climate generally unfit. Elsewhere the canal lowers the well water level which leads to contraction of cultivation. In the delta, the marginal embankments built along the banks of the rivers, prevent the periodic inundation, which formerly renovated fertility. The rivers being confined to their beds, deposit their silts there and thus gradually raise themselves above the level of the surrounding region. The embankments are consequently made higher and higher. This, if continued for decades, renders the protected country liable to injury in the event of a breach in the bank. When the embankments are breached during a high flood, the devastation is much more serious. In the case of a river like the Gundak which flows from the Himalayas to the Ganges with a fairly straight course in a single channel, the danger of breaches during a high flood is very great. On the other hand, the presence of the flood-banks enables the natural channels to pass a larger proportion of the total flood. Thus the integrity of the channels is maintained. If there were no flood-banks there is a risk that sooner or later the breach in the natural banks will so develop that the original channel will almost cease to function ; and the water will take a new course, causing damage to the cultivated tract, as it will take many years for the new course to have a definite channel. On the other hand, in the case of the rivers of Lower Bengal and Orissa the embankments instead of being useful work mischief. In their downward course, the channels gradually decrease in capacity and eventually can pass only a small part of a volume of high flood. Thus escapes are here of great use as safety-valves. The Bhagirathi is itself an unregulated escape-channel from the Ganges and has a well-sustained flood season.* Thus the absence of outlets or escapes which are of service as safety-valves increases the risks of inundation. Nor is the inundation detrimental to crops and communications as the water would pass seldom and for short periods. On the other hand, the annual inundation renovates soil fertility while a railway or road bank constructed parrallel to a river

* Sir C. Elliot's comparison while writing of Farrukhabad quoted in Crooke: *The North-Western Provinces of India.*

* W. A. Inglis : River Floods considered as a problem of Indian Administration. *The Asiatic Review*, October 1926.

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may act as a marginal flood-bank, or, put in another way, any effective flood-bank may be used as a road or to carry a railway. Unfortunately, the embankments in Lower Bengal often have no outlets, while the railways or roads built without any culverts also obstruct free passage of flood water. This has reacted very unfavourably on fertility as well as the health of the people. A large tract in Central and Western Bengal has been deprived of the fertilizing silt deposit and become less fertile than before. There is also water-logging everywhere causing epidemics of fever. On account of the embankments the beds of some of the old channels have been so raised that they can be drained and cultivated. In summer the channels carry little water and are called dying or dead rivers, constituting a chain of stagnant pools overgrown with weeds. Nearer the sea, however, uncontrolled in its meandering and terrible in its sweep, flows back as it were upon man's habitation, flooding the land or sometimes washing it away.

III

Formerly, the Panjab was covered with a thick forest belt. Forests grew on the Indus—forests with timber sufficient to enable Alexander the Great to construct the first Indus flotilla ; and about the valley of Peshawar there were wide spaces of water-logged and swampy plain, amid the thick reed growth of which the rhinoceros and elephant had their home. There were a large number of populated cities and villages in the valley which now lie sand-buried. Man was improvident. As population multiplied, the careless hand of man destroyed trees so prodigally that the natural conditions of the region where formerly vegetation used to flourish suffered disastrous reversion ; thus the region became dry and uninhabitable Gradually the population shifted from the Indus valley to central and eastern Panjab where the rainfall is less deficient. Irrigation has developed lately ; and there are green spots about the Indus river and the newly spread network of the Punjab canals, which are once again slowly altering the nature of the landscape, but the climate can hardly be changed. Eastern and Southern Panjab is hot and dry and from this tract blows across the Gangetic plain the dry hot winds which are so detrimental to crops. In the United Provinces also the injury resulting from the destruction of forest growth and soil erosion is apparent. In the Jumna tract the forests where the Emperor Babar hunted the rhinoceros are now a waterless tangle of ravines and the beautiful country along the Foot Hills is now buried under sand and gravel. By river-bed erosion which has followed the devastation due to fire and axe and indiscriminate grazing the Jumna has been lowered 50 feet during the last 500 years because the torrents are unhampered by the roots of the plants and trees which man without discrimination has destroyed. There has also been a corresponding sinking of the water-level. The cold-weather level of the Jumna in the Etawah and Jalaun districts is often 120-200 feet below the general level of the surrounding region. The sinking of the bed of the river is draining the country and the well water levels are sometimes as low as 200 feet. The banks of the Jumna or the Chambal in the Agra Etawah and Jalaun districts are now so exhaustively drained that they have become also destitute of vegetation except a desert flora and even this is disappearing. In every country a subterranean reservoir exists at a greater or less depth below the surface. It is the level of saturation which, of course, varies from time to time according to rainfall. At the delta, it coincides with the main tide level but it rises more and more on going inland. It is the level to which wells must be sunk before water appears in them. It is caused by the rain, which is usually said to run off to the extent of one-third, another third sinks in to form this reservoir and the remainder is lost in evaporation. When following a river valley one often notices a line of springs appearing at a certain level ; this is when the valley has been cut down to below the subterranean reservoir, which then forms a wet trough for it to run in When the reverse is the case, *i. e.*, when the river water level is above level of the under-ground water stratum, the river loses a great deal of its water by its percolating into the dry soil around and beneath. In the arid parts of India this last is very common so that rivers very often get smaller and smaller the farther they go till at last they dry up altogether. In many parts of the Jumna-Gangetic basin, this last is not at all uncommon so that streams often get smaller

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and smaller the farther they go till at last they dry up altogether. It is thus that the increase of dryness brought about by complete destruction of the vegetable cover has led to the capture of smaller streams and made agriculture more and more difficult. That the forests in the United Provinces have disappeared within the last four or five centuries is not open to doubt. The eastern districts were till the 16th century covered with large belts of forests. In the *Akbarnama* it is stated that on the march of an army along the south bank of the Gogra in what is near the Azamgarh district, forests were traversed and various wild beasts both land and aquatic showed themselves, a description which is entirely inapplicable at the present day. Finch was told that the journey from Jaunpur to Allahabad was thirty kos "all of which are thorow a continuall Forrest." According to the Settlement Report of the Allahabad district, there are practically no jungles now and what there were at last settlement (1874) seem to have disappeared. There is a singular absence of wild life, no doubt as the result of the steady extension of cultivation. Wild pig, *nilgai* and black buck, which seem to have existed here and there in sufficient numbers at last settlement to attract attention, have either wholly disappeared or have been reduced to a few isolated head or small herds. Even the common birds are not numerous. In Ballia, a considerable portion was waste land at the time of the Permanent Settlement. In Azamgarh, Ballia and Jaunpur districts even pasture lands for cattle are now very deficient. Except during the rains and in the alluvial tracts there is very little grazing and the cattle have to be mostly stall fed. Even the *dhak* jungles are gradually cut down owing to the demand for wood on the part of both sugar-refiners and brick-makers. The destruction of *dhak* trees is followed by an immediate expansion of tillage. In the whole of the United Provinces, of which the area is roughly 100,000 sq. miles, the forest area covers 7,000 sq. miles or 7 per cent only. This in itself by all standards is inadequate. Moreover, the great majority of the forests are concentrated in the sparsely inhabited hills or sub-montane tract. The destruction of forests and even scrub-jungles still goes on, contributing to the gradual drying up of tanks, *jheels* and *tals* and the lowering of the water-level making irrigation more expensive in districts which cannot depend upon the natural rainfall. It is now admitted that the denudation of trees has cumulative ill-effects which tend to reduce the fertility of the country. The reverse is also the case ; a large growth of forests has cumulative good effects tending greatly to increase the humidity of the air, the equality of the temperature and the fertility of the region. The hotter the climate the more careful man should be to preserve his trees, but unfortunately exactly the reverse is usually the case, either from ignorance, want of fuel, or shortness of pasture.*

IV

The great densely populated Gangetic plain is now practically bare of forest growth. It is inevitable that with the disappearance of the forests, the meteorological conditions of the Gangetic valley gradually would change. It has been estimated that of the water-vapour which is condensed as rainfall over the land, about two-thirds is provided by evaporation over the oceans, and the remaining third by evaporation and transpiration over the land. The latter contribution is made up of evaporation of rainfall intercepted by foliage, evaporation from the soil and transpiration, and estimates are made of these three factors for forest, crops or grass land, and bare soil. The figures are expressed as percentages of an average rainfall of 30 inches a year ; for forests they give interception, 15 ; evaporation from soil, 7 ; transpiration, 25 ; total 47 per cent. For crops evaporation from soil, 17 ; transpiration, 37 ; total 54 per cent. For bare soil evaporation 30 per cent. Thus the replacement of forests by crops would tend to increase the supply of moisture to the air and, therefore, the general rainfall slightly ; replacement by bare soils would decrease the general rainfall slightly. The changes in the run-off are likely to be more noticeable, replacement of forests by crops would decrease the run-off by 15 per cent, and make it less regular, replacement by bare soil would increase the run-off but would make it highly irregular. A forest thirty feet high may be considered as adding about thirty feet to the effective height of the ground, and this should increase the local

* Haig : Trees and Climate, *Discovery*, May 1923.

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orographical rainfall by one or two per cent.* On account of the widespread destruction of forests, throughout the heavily populated Ganges valley the rainfall in some parts is already becoming more scanty and the heat of the hot weather months more intolerable. It is not improbable that in some distant future the Ganges valley may share the fate of the Indus valley, where once there was smiling plenty. The traces of ancient river-beds and sand-buried cities extended over a vast space in the desert country east of the Indus testify to the gradual desiccation of a once-fertile region. The débris and mounds, vestiges of a forgotten civilization recently excavated in the sandy deserts of Harappa, whisper a tragedy of famine, despair and abandonment. In the south-western portions of the Doab the desert has already appeared. Further towards the north-west we have the semi-desert tract where can be marked the abandoned bed of one of the greater Panjab rivers, the Hakra, which was a live river probably up to early Muhammadan times and then lost itself in the sands. It appears that the watering of the Panjab rivers gradually transferred the Sutlej from the Hakra system to the Indus system, the Saraswati and its associated rivers were then unable to maintain a flow to the Hakra channel and dried up. Thus the Indian desert extends north-east to broad sandy wastes which merge into the scrub covered plains characteristic of the south-western portion of the United Provinces. This region was formerly productive and well-watered, and composed large and prosperous towns, which are now insignificant and depend for such prosperity as they enjoy upon modern irrigation channels. The change in meteorological conditions is probably due to long-continued human settlement, extension of cultivation and contraction of forests, which formerly protected the head-waters and drainage area generally of the Hakra, the Sutlej and the Jumna and their associated rivers.

The destruction of forests and indiscriminate extirmination of grass-lands has contributed to increase both floods and droughts, to alter both the time and duration of the river flood, factors of great importance to agricultural prosperity; while the silting up of river bottoms has spelt decline of the mature portion of the valley and especially the delta region. Nowhere are forests and grass-lands more important for agriculture than the tropical and sub-tropical regions where the vegetation not only conserves the moisture and ensures fertility by spreading a cover of silt, but also prevents the ground from being over-heated and rendered dry by the sun. Deforestation in these regions is particularly harmful in its effects towards upsetting the balance between the factors which determine climate and hydrographical conditions. The alternation of droughts and floods in Northern India, and the decay of rivers in Western Bengal are merely symptoms of such loss of ecologic balance which man has periodically brought about by either excessive increase of numbers or abuse of vegetation in dry and semi-dry areas of the plain.

* C. E. P. Brooks: The Influence of Forests on Rainfall and Run-off, *Meteorological Magazine*, December 1927.

"The Reconstruction of India" by E. J. Thompson

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"THE Reconstruction of India" is Mr. E. J. Thompson's latest book. It is not a convincing work. It contains many inaccuracies and many statements to which exception cannot but be taken. The publishers (Faber and Faber Limited, 24 Russell Square, London) claim it to be a clear, authoritative and interesting book. It may be clear and interesting, but authoritative it certainly is not. According to the publishers, "Mr. Thompson's knowledge of India is long and intimate. He was engaged in educational work in Bengal for several years before and after the war, and is now Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford." But Bengal is not the whole but a small fragment of India, and teaching in a mofussil college does not by itself make one an authority on Indian politics;—the author himself says in the preface, "Politics were never in my line." As for the authority assumed to be implied in his being "Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford," I showed in my article on Mr. Thompson's book on Rabindranath Tagore,

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published in this *Review* in July, 1927, what poor knowledge of the vernacular of Bengal the author possesses.

The author praises Sir Thomas Munro for his "unpatronizing attitude" towards Indians. It were much to be wished that Mr. Thompson could justly claim similar praise, as also praise for freedom from the habit of giving oneself and one's nation airs of superiority.

One of the besetting sins of this author is to quote the opinions of anonymous persons. Let me, for example, quote one or two passages.

A Nationalist, a very gifted man with a fine University record, used to tell his audiences, in the Partition days—playing on two Bengali words that resemble each other—'The English are here to *rule* and to *suck*.' 28.

Who is or was this Nationalist ?

From April to July, 1926, while England and Australia were settling their own rivalry in a long-drawn-out series of cricket 'test-matches,' the Hindu-Mohammedan communities, as a correspondent wrote to me, were fighting out their own test matches in the streets of Calcutta .....The news, so far from being received with horror by the non-religionists of those participating, fired their blood. I had an eminent Hindu historian rejoicing, in my drawing-room at Oxford, that 'for the first time in history the Mohammedan casualties were greater than those of the Hindus.' I reproved him, a mild Hindu, for speaking these words. 'I am not a mild Hindu', he said. 'I am tired of being a mild Hindu.' 237.

Who was this correspondent and who this eminent historian ?

I suppose I shall be set down as a die-hard Imperialist if I say that the platform, particularly in the United States, has increasingly convinced me of the essential dishonesty and unreality of much of the Indian controversy. But I am reinforced by memory of the many Indians who have in private said as much to me. 299.

Who are these many Indians ?

If these various persons and many others really told the author the things they are alleged to have said and if they are men of any consequence, why does not the author name them ? No man possessed of moral worth would have been afraid of giving the author permission to mention his name. Mr. Thompson has not taken sufficient pains to make all his statements relating to the same subject quite consistent. One example out of many will suffice. On page 221 he writes :

"I cannot believe that England, once compelled to abandon her Eastern interests, would ever go to the expense involved in a return to them. It would be a purely quixotic war, this hypothetical one to rescue India which had no use for the English in peace but could not save itself when they were gone. And an England that had lost its far-flung power and shrunk into being an island folk would be far too poor to do anything."

This passage means that England would become very poor if compelled to abandon her Eastern interests, and by far the greater part of these interests centre round India. So one must understand from it that the possession of India makes England rich. Yet in more than one passage the author says directly or indirectly that England derives little or no advantage from India. For example, on page 295 he says, "there has been growing among Englishmen ..... an increasing tendency to ask whether it was worth it, for the little advantage that Britain now gets from India."

It would take too much space to quote all the passages in the book that relate to General Dyer and Jalianwala Bagh. They show how the author is unable to decide whether he should condemn or justify or extenuate what the General did at Amritsar.

I want to be fair to Mr. Thompson. So I shall now quote some of the passages in his book which would be of use to fighters for India's freedom. The figures after the extracts indicate the pages.

Sir Robert Montgomery has recorded Lawrence's judgment that Indians were happier under their own systems than under ours. Lawrence had known the Punjab, as he was to know that worst centre of native misgovernment, Oudh, both under Native and under British administration. He had been agent in Rajputana, of all regions the most unwesternized, and Resident in Nepal, which is not in British India at all. 19-20.

Sir George Forrest is almost the only historian who points out that the Mutiny showed that under all their differences the Hindu and Mohammedan populations understand one another's systems, as no westerners can, that in normal times these systems interact, and that in 1857 the two religions found a bridge and *may do so again*. (The italics are the author's.) 37.

I do not hold that autocracy achieved the results claimed for it, or was the noble thing it seems to those who dispensed it. 40.

The Indian Government has long had a reputation, magnificently earned and set down in the admissions of high authority such as cannot be dismissed as envious or seditious, for making fine promises and then shelving them. It has always played for time, and postponed the evil day when unholy voices would make themselves heard in the inner sanctuary ....During the last forty years, it has been the 'half-baked, so-called educated Indians' the seditious few 'who represent no one but themselves' (as if it were not important to represent yourself, if there is no one else to represent you). 52.

To Indians the last seventy years seem a vista strewn with broken promises. Again and again

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the House of Commons or some authoritative commission or governing group has conceded things for which they have pressed and the concession has been made a mockery. The facts are beyond dispute I could litter my pages with promises and resolutions, clearly worded, in the highest degree binding, and dated. We have fed them with the east wind. And they have been, the most of them, marvellously patient. 271-72.

It [the Congress] represents Moslems and Sikhs to a very limited extent. It is now wholly extremist. But history teaches the folly of underestimating what an aggressive and strongly organized minority can do. They can, if conditions favour them, coerce a sluggish or indifferent majority into revolution. It is nonsense to sneer at the Congress, and say that it represents merely a discontented handful. Few of Modern India's outstanding names cannot at one time or another be found in its records. Going over these, I pause at name after name, arrested by the distinction of character or of intellectual achievement for which it stands. Not the least hardship which the Indian mind has endured (and with surprisingly little embitterment, everything considered) is the fact that almost every Indian achievement remains provincial and circumscribed. Nowhere else have so many first-class abilities had to be contented with second-class careers. 63.

..... Probably many of us ...will never succeed in giving men of more balanced mind the remotest conception of the detestation with which we view any sort of Special Tribunal, or any kind of extraordinary action taken against emergency. We consider that panic operates, to the exclusion of fairness. Trials by court-martial we hold are usually no trials at all. 113.

The first step in Non-violent Non-co-operation was to be the resignation of honours and office, of every kind, from the highest to the humblest, by Government servants. This, which is not illegal and is morally unexceptionable, had it been carried out, would have paralyzed the Administration. 137.

A century ago, Ranjit Singh, though with hard fighting and some defeats, more than held the Punjab against Afghanistan. If the Sikhs remain loyal to a federated India, the north-west border is safe against Afghanistan alone. If the Princes co-operate within a federated India, Nepal would not be a danger, and in any case would probably continue her present friendly relations. 223.

The real grievances are that Indianization of the Native Army has proceeded far too slowly, and that the army is established partly on the old basis of being an Army of Occupation. 224.

Self-government is a right, not a decoration. 243.

Opium has been a damnable story, a dirty, indefensible business. 252.

When the British came....there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years. 255.

From one point of view the masses in India are deplorably ignorant and degraded. There is another point of view, from which it is seen that they have kept a large degree of that susceptibility to immaterial issues and loveliness, which is genuine culture. Furthermore, such a man as Akbar must be called a highly cultivated man, though he could not read or write. All our brains do not live in our eyes and fingers.

I should like to see education driven ahead with all speed. But illiteracy in itself should not be a bar to self-government, any more than it was in Britain or America. 255-256.

We have laughed at his [Mr. Gandhi's] spinning-wheel movement. But we know that there is sense behind it, in more ways than one. Indeed, the whole Indian question is complicated by there being involved with it a deeper struggle, where our sympathies divide them and us, cutting across all racial lines. It is hard to see how India can support her vast population without industrialization. But she will be cursed by it when it has spread, even as we have been cursed by it. 277-278.

All the same, there is a greater wisdom in the attitude of Tagore, who has seen Western civilization at its best, and knows that it is a finely spiritual thing as well as a grossly materialistic one. India might help to save more than herself, if she could keep her simplicity, fling away her indigenous follies, and accept Western dentistry and surgery and freedom of thought and spirit and person. 277-278.

It is on this side, that of defence, that we have done least to set India on her own feet. 298.

It will now be my duty to draw attention to some of the passages in the book which are open to objection and criticism. As they are rather numerous, I do not cherish the ambition to refer to all of them. Rejecting those which are not important and also those the unsoundness of which can be brought out only by elaborate discussion, I made out a list of those which require examination, and their number is ninety-four. I will refer to as many of these as the time and space at my disposal will permit. I will begin from the concluding pages of the book.

In the table of political events, forming Appendix II, it is stated that in February, 1928 "Sir John Simon invites Indian legislatures to appoint a Committee to meet with his in 'joint, free conference.'" 308. The reader now knows that there was no such 'joint, free conference.' In the same table there is mention of "Punjab riots and suppression at Amritsar" in 1919. 307. This word 'suppression' is used to cloak the Jalianwala Bagh massacre.

In Appendix I, on the Simon Report, the following sentence is quoted from the *Times* without comment :

"Nothing must be allowed to detract from the essential freedom of discussion in open Conference which has been offered to the representatives of British India and of the Indian States." 302.

It is the height of absurdity to speak of the nominees of the British Government in India

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of British India and the
s representatives
Indian States.

"There is no more necessary duty awaiting the
dian patriot than this, that during the breathing
ace still available, while Britain assures her
ontiers, he strives to persuade the less martial
eoples of India that the burden of defence and
ecurity is one which the whole nation must
hare out."

Mr. Thompson ought to know that it is the British army authorities who have "demartialized" the majority of the regions of India and thrown 'the burden of defence' on a few provinces, out of political considerations. A mercenary army cannot be recruited now from all regions of India. A citizen army can be so recruited when India is free. If it seems to be like a vicious circle that India cannot be made free until she has a national all-India army, and she cannot have such an army until she is free, the vicious circle is a creation of British policy for British purposes. For complete proof, see the articles in this *Review* on the "Martial Races of India," published this year in the July, and September issues.

According to the author, "There are only two things in the way of complete self-government in India, Defence and the Communal Questions." 300. But Britain has kept India weak and will keep her weak as long as she rules India. The communal question will not be solved so long as one party or the other can expect the support of Britishers. European countries were free even when Protestants and Roman Catholics burnt each other. America is free in spite of race riots, religious riots and lynchings. Hindus and Musalmans will cease to quarrel when India is free, either by mutual agreement or by fighting it out. There cannot be any settlement so long as there is a third party, a foreign dominant party, in the country.

"India will not object to having a less efficient administration if it is cheaper." 295. The author takes it for granted in this and some other passages that the Indian officers are less efficient than British officers. I have always maintained that British administration in India is efficient only for British purposes and phenomenally inefficient for our purposes. After more than a century and a half of British rule, India is the most illiterate, the most poverty-stricken and the most disease-ridden country in the world under 'civilized rule.' Incontrovertible proof of India's poverty and unhealthiness is to be found in her high death-rate and the fact that the average duration of life in India is about half of what it is in Britain and other European countries and Japan. It will not do to make only our social customs and personal habits responsible for this deplorable state of things. Mr. Thompson himself admits that the "change in our attitude towards social inequality, as also towards unhygienic methods of living, is very recent indeed." 24. Mr. George Lansbury also has quite recently written :

> I remember when we used to pray in Church because of epidemics of small-pox and scarlet fever. There were regular outbreaks of these diseases in poor quarters of London, and they carried off thousands of victims.
>
> The streets were strewn with filth, houses were darkened because of the window-tax, drunkenness abounded and children were sweated and beaten in the factories.
>
> What a difference I see to-day !

The "difference" is due to the fact that Britain is free and educated. There is no such "difference" in India because India is in bondage and kept uneducated.

"And for a while longer the irrigation works need the presence of some British engineers." 297. Why ? Because Indians in sufficient numbers have not been given sufficient facilities to become quite competent engineers ? So long as India is not free, there can always be shown a dearth of experts in any technical branch of public service. Mysore has shown what Indian engineers can do.

"With Burma gone, she (India) will have lost the greater part of her mineral wealth, and will be poor indeed." 295. Where are the authoritative statistics to show that Burma has more mineral resources than the whole of India ? By the by, is it because Burma is rich in minerals that Britishers want to separate it from India and keep it as their own exclusive happy hunting-ground ?

Of the Simon Report, it is said that "in the light of firsthand knowledge, it was seen for what it was, a remarkably thorough and sympathetic piece of political writing !" 294. "Seen" by whom ? Not certainly by any toad under the harrow.

Mr. Thompson is not lacking in a sense of humour, and not entirely lacking in a sense of justice. But both seem to have deserted him when he indited the following passage astoundingly absurd in parts :

"I fear most of all the stiffening of my own people, fear lest they should stand on dignity and

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on abstract and absolute right—that they should *demand some sign of humiliation for the provocation of the last ten years of folly.* Here is the true resemblance with the days of Lexington and Boston, when the Government, *justly incensed*, could think only of the tea flung into the harbour, and lost sight of the deeper and wider causes of quarrel. There was a chance of peace, ten years ago, if the British had understood what was in Indian hearts, when their leaders insisted that England must make 'atonement.' It was a gesture expressing in the most unequivocal terms repudiation of the Punjab high-handedness that was demanded. This came from official England; but from un-official, but powerful, private quarters, the House of Lords, and the British community in India, came exoneration of General Dyer and a gift of £ 26,000 to him. To-day it is in British hearts that there is resentment for what seems almost unexampled childishness and injustice, and the wanton waste of a whole decade. The last two years, especially, seen one long provocation, the more vexing in that it has been accompanied by a refusal to face the real problems which India has within herself. I am certain that, just as there came no 'atonement' from England ten years ago, there is going to come no 'atonement' from political India now." 288-9. (Italics mine. R. C.)

So the people of India must make "*some sign of humiliation for the provocation of the last ten years of folly,*" namely, the folly of struggling to be free! If this struggle be really childish, and unjust and wasteful, why should that *provoke* the Britisher? Is it a provocation to refuse to live in subjection and to be exploited? What is it that the Indian people must 'atone' for, comparable to the Panjab doings for which Mr. Thompson thinks England should have atoned? We certainly should atone for all our national sins which have brought on us the sufferings and humiliation of age-long subjection. But that is not the atonement Mr. Thompson has in mind.

"The terms under which the Round Table conference is summoned should make it plain, beyond all possibility of misunderstanding, that it is for the people of British India to present an agreed scheme in essentials,....." 288.

How are they to do it, pray? The people of British India were neither asked nor allowed to chose their representatives. The Goverment have chosen all the so-called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference. And among these men are many who have a narrow Communal, non-National, if not anti-National, outlook. Congress, the most representative body in India, and even the other less representative bodies were not asked to choose delegates. The choice was made by officials whose devouring passion cannot be proved by even the most charitably disposed to be that the Indian nominee—invitees at the pseudo-Round Table Conference should present a united front.

"I should like to make it plain that I think the Punjab's administration has been a wonderful achievement." 287. Indeed! What do the Punjabis say?

"Even in British India the rising has not been against misrule, but against impersonal rule, in so far as genuine discontent has been at work." 287. If the Indian people deny it, they do not know their own minds; Mr. Thought-reader Thompson knows!

The author divides Britain's work in India into four stages. "The third, which we see ending," includes an effort "to train Indians to take over their own government." 281. *Credat Judaeus Apella!*

It is alleged by the author that Mahatma Gandhi defended the use of the old-fashioned spinning-wheel on the ground that "the women would have wastes of idle time on their hands, if they used a more effcient model." 278. When and where did the Mahatma put up this defence of the *charka*? I am sure he never did it. A practical contradiction of this allegation is afforded by the offer of a reward of Rs. 100,000 to the inventor of a quite efficient model by the All-India Spinners' Association under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration.

.....to many of us the [British] Empire is a preparation for the peace of all Nations, a commonwealth which will not absorb other peoples but will show the way for all to find the fullest freedom. 277.

A consummation to be devoutly wished for, as the phrase goes. But until the date of that happy result, one must say, *credat Judaeus Apella.* How many more peoples can Britain absorb?

There is no justification for the kind of charge often made, that England 'stole' India, and so on. These ethical considerations apply to events of recent years—to the way we entered Egypt, if you like, or to anything that has happened in Central America. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a different world, and what the British did, and what Indians did, were the normal conduct of the time. 275.

Or, in other words, if thieves and 'large-scale' robbers abound in any age, moralists must not call them names. But assuming that Mr. Thompson is right, why does he indulge in language like the following in the book under notice?

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...we had best say nothing of the East India ...mpany's administration before Warren Hastings ...(1774-85). He effected such improvements as one ...an could, yet 'his most strenuous advocates...are ...ced to acknowledge that the whole system of ...e government over which he presided was ...rrupt and full of abuses.' His successor, Sir ...n Macpherson, for nineteen months carried on ...that the next Governor-General of Bengal, Lord ...rnwallis, 'a man not given to exaggeration,' ...led 'a system of the dirtiest jobbing.' 17

Apart from the misery of the years when the ...itish were ousting the Mohammedan rule and ...inging their own authorized brigands to order, ...engal ... can have few acts of definite oppression ...orth making a song about. 86.

When the author says on page 275 that "To-day, as for many years past, whatever ...e Government has done, whatever the ...dividual official has done, it (*sic*) has been ...used," he utters a falsehood.

...the *ideal* solution, in a world composed of ...archangels would be that Indian pride be con...iated in the gilded and gaudy ways, while ...itish self-respect and technique of duty operated ...supervising drainage, education, agriculture, ...d the belated bringing in of commonsense. 274.

(According to the Simon Report) The "Security ...ervices—the Indian Civil Service and the Indian ...olice—are to continue to be recruited as now, by ...e Secretary of State. The recruitment of the ...rrigation and Forest Services is left an open ...uestion. My own judgment would reserve them ...oth for a few years longer, as essentially 'security ...ervices.'

So drainage, education, agriculture, irriga...ion, care of forests, the work of district ...agistrates and collectors and judges should, ...n Mr. Thompson's opinion, continue to be ...one as now mostly by Britishers, for a few ...how many ?) years longer. Indians are ...y implication considered to have no 'self-...espect' and 'common sense' and no knowledge ...f the 'technique of duty'—whatever that may ...ean. The author prescribes on page 271 ...at "Indian self-respect must be safe-guarded ...etter than it has been, and he has pointed ...ut the way to do it! His suggestion that ...ndian pride be conciliated in the gilded and ...audy ways" is thoroughly in keeping with ...ritish policy and practice in India. Indians ...re only grown-up children and ought to be ...atisfied with baubles. It is not necessary to ...ive them power; for them honours, titles ...nd decorations are enough. As Captain ...age said long ago :

"I would reward good conduct (of natives) with ...onour, but never with power...

"*Nullam imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia ...ubditum.* The goodwill of the natives may be retained without granting them power, the semblance is sufficient."*

Mr. Thompson says, "only two Indians have been made F. R. S." Not two, but four : the late Mr. Ramanujan, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman and Professor Meghnad Saha.

The authors of the supplemen'ary Nehru Report having reproduced passages from Lord Durham's famous report to show that "the internal position in India is not and cannot be worse than it was in Canada when Lord Durham wrote his famous report, or even when responsible government was actually established in Canada," Mr. Thompson dogmatically asserts that "Lord Durham exaggerated." As Mr. Thompson is an authority on all subjects on which he writes, he need not quote any other authority than his own.

I think that, in most cases, when an Indian takes over from a British official, there is a loss of efficiency, and that this represents a real loss to the common man. 260.

This is not true. Let me take the case of the District Officer and the District Superintendent of Police. When the District Officer is an Indian, does the collection of revenue suffer, does the number of crimes increase, does the Indian officer indirectly promote education, sanitation, co-operation, irrigation, agriculture, etc. less than the British officer? No Britisher has ever brought forward any facts and figures to prove the inferiority of the Indian officer in these respects, because he cannot. Again, communal strife is said to be one of the reasons why the 'security services' must be manned principally by Britishers. But what are the facts? Can anybody prove by citing facts and figures that in districts in which the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police are Indians there are more communal dissensions and fights than in districts where these officers are Britishers? Nobody can do so, because the facts are just the opposite. That the Kishoreganj atrocities happened after the transfer of Mr. G. S. Dutt from Mymensingh has a lesson to teach. Who, again, were the District Officer and Superintendent of Police in Dacca during the recent outbreak of lawlessness there? Judged by efficiency in

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832, Vol. V. (Military), pp. 480-83 (Captain P. Page's Memorandum).

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teaching and the doing of original work in different branches of study, Indian professors are not at all inferior to European professors in India. I have no space to speak of other services.

Mr. Thompson is against fixing any definite date for anything to be settled (p. 261). The Greek kalends evidently suit him better.

In his opinion, "the Government is at present far the wiser and braver and honester party to the quarrel." (P. 262). The people of India and large numbers of foreigners think otherwise.

The author thinks from Mr. Gandhi's 'present activities' that he has changed his views on untouchability, or, at any rate, modified their rigour (263). He has done neither. Mr. Thompson thinks there are close on sixty millions of untouchables. But they are really not half as many. According to even the Simon Report, p. 40, part I, chap. 4, they number 43.6 millions. That Report adds :

> We must make it plain that the figures in the above table are estimates and in respect of some provinces, have in any case less significance than in others. So far as Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces are concerned, there is not likely to be much dispute as to which are the "untouchable" castes, and no really material differences exist in the various calculations made. But it is otherwise in the case of Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. *In these three Provinces the connection between theoretical untouchability and practical disability is less close*, and a special investigation might show that the number of those who are denied equal rights in the matter of schools, water and the like is less than the total given for the depressed classes in those areas.
>
> In Assam the figure is largely conjectural..... No wide variation for the estimate given for the Punjab has been put forward, but 'this fact does not necessarily establish the accuracy of the figure.' (Ital. ours)

Mr. Thompson states :

> Government and missionary institutions have done most of what has been done to uplift these classes.....They furnish, next to the communal quarrels, the strongest justification for the continued presence of the British as overlords. 265.

He does not notice the work of Hindu reforming bodies. But that does not matter. Regarding what the Government has done for the depressed classes let me quote what Dr. Ambedkar has said in his presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conferences, recently held at Nagpur. Dr. Ambedkar is not a Non-co-operator. He was in the Bombay Council and was a member of the committee of that Council which co-operated with the Simon Commission. He has been invited by the Government to attend the so-called Round Table Conference as a 'delegate.' The opinion of such a man is as follows :

> Before the British you were in a loathsome condition due to your "untouchability." Has the British Government done anything to remove your "untouchability"? Before the British you could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured you the right to the well? Before the British you could not enter the temple. Can you enter now? Before the British you were denied the entry into the Police force. Does the British Government admit you in the force? Before the British you were not allowed to serve in the military. Is that career now open to you? Gentlemen, to none of these questions you can give an affirmative answer. Those who have held so much power over the country for such a long time must have done some good. But there is certainly no fundamental alteration in your position. So far as you are concerned, the British Government has accepted the arrangements as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Your wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, and I say that the British Government, actuated with the best of motives and principles, will always remain powerless to effect any change so far as your particular grievances are concerned. Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can, and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your own hands. No share of this political power can come to you so long as the British Government remains where it is.

The author considers the existence of the depressed classes "the strongest justification for the continued presence of the British as overlords." The position of the Negroes in America is in some respects worse than that of the depressed classes here. Why is not British overlordship necessary there?

> They (the Muslim deputation) received a sympathetic answer, and in the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) the communal principle appeared. It may be conceded, then, that the Government flung into Modern India the apple of discord, so far as discord has proceeded from politics. But it was done in response to request. 229.

But the deputation itself was "a command performance," according to Maulana Mohamed Ali. And Lord Morley writes in his *Recollections*, addressing Lord Minto: "You started the communal hare." So the truth is that Lord Minto asked the Musalmans to wait upon him in deputation in order to pray for communal representation, and he granted this prayer.

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If England walked out of India, India could not escape that bitterest of wars, a religious war. 240.

But at present and for years past, while England is still all-powerful in India, there is and has been religious war to all intents and purposes. Let Malabar, Sukkur, Jamalpur, Calcutta, Kishoreganj, Dacca, etc., bear witness. The presence of England has not, therefore, prevented religious war. What is the use then of holding out the dread prospect of religious war as a damper upon any desire for the British evacuation of India ?

..the incessant communal strife of India results in the constant use of the military to keep order. Usually the request is for British troops, as neutral. 224.

But Sir Sankaran Nair, Chairman of the Indian Central Committee, Raja Nawab Ali Khan and Sardar Bahadur Shibdev Singh have pointed out in their joint memorandum that in the disturbances which followed the Partition of Bengal in which the Muslims were on the side of the Government and the Hindus in opposition, the troops employed were Gurkhas, who are Hindus, and not the British. In the Punjab riots, too, in 1919 the troops used were Gurkhas. In Malabar, when the Moplah riots took place two years later, the outbreak was finally quelled by Gurkhas and Kachins, who are accustomed to such hilly and forested territory.

More recently, British soldiers were not requisitioned to prevent or put down the outbreak of lawlessness in Dacca and Kishoreganj. The police force ought to suffice everywhere to deal effectively with communal strife.

It is but a few years since the late Lala Lajpat Rai, though a Hindu, toured Sikh villages escorting a lady on horseback, whom he introduced to the Sikhs as their legitimate Queen. 209.

Your authority, Mr. Thompson, for this story, please ?

Amnesty for political prisoners means that the men under trial for the murder of Mr. Saunders are to be freed. 176.

In making this comment the author displays either his ignorance or his dishonesty, as amnesty has been demanded only for such political prisoners as have not been guilty of or been accused of crimes of violence like murder, attempt at murder, etc.

With reference to Mahatma Gandhi's eleven points Mr. Thompson writes :

From this point, I, for one, find it hard to believe that he is what he was, or that he has not allowed circumstances to make him temporarily a sheer politician, and a politician only. Such an offer of peace cannot have been sincere. Nothing of all that he demands is in the Viceroy's power : he is talking as if he thought he were dealing with Akbar or Aurangzebe. 176.

The imputation of insincerity to Mr. Gandhi deserves to be treated with contempt. His eleven points were not new ; they had been previously given to Mr. S. R. Bomanji at his request to be placed before Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as the terms on which Mr. Gandhi would be prepared to recommend the suspension of civil disobedience. The author thinks, *nothing* of all that Mr. Gandhi demands is in the Viceroy's power. But if one Viceroy could double the salt-tax by the method of certification, why could not another abolish it by the same process ? Moreover, Mahatma Gandhi did not demand that the Viceroy should carry out all the eleven reforms by his sole authority ; he wanted his Excellency to "initiate" consideration of them, which could be done in various ways. Mr. Thompson's reference to Akbar or Aurangzebe has elicited the following observations from *The Indian Social Reformer* :

Lord Irwin is for all practical purposes not much less of an autocrat than Akbar or Aurangzebe. He cannot, it is true, order people to be trampled to death by elephants or have them roasted in boiling oil, or walled up alive. But he can by Ordinance deprive the people of any or all their freedom, convert innocent and even meritorious acts into cognizable offences, can stop the course of judicial proceedings at any stage, and can appoint special tribunals to try persons accused of capital charges without the safe-guards provided by the regular judicial procedure. Having regard to the state of world opinion, the Ordinance powers of the Viceroy are no less autocratic than the powers of the Moghul Emperors.

Let it be noted, first, that so far no progress whatever has been made in persuading Moslems to set patriotism before religion :— 163.

Mr. Thompson has great capacity for ignoring facts. In all provinces, numerous Musalmans, including Congress presidents and provincial and district leaders, including Muslim women, have gone to jail for practising *satyagraha*. In the Bombay Presidency the "War Council" at present consists only of Moslems. What happened in Peshawar in recent months was due to the influence of the Congress over the Moslems of the N.-W. F. Province, who are 90 per cent of its population.

The second step in Non-violent Non-co-operation is bound to lead quickly to violence, and cannot be let pass by any Government. It is 'Civil Disobedience', the withholding of all taxes, the ignoring of all orders and regulations. 138

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But neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any other Congress leader has asked that *all* orders and regulations are to be ignored.

The Punjab War effort is an historic event of great importance. We are unusually fortunate in that we possess the Lieutenant-Governor's own account of how an alien Empire managed to persuade such large numbers of Orientals to die for it in the shambles of Flanders and in the horrible Mesopotamian slaughters. Surely it must be the first time in the world's history that so many thousands from a subject race willingly offered themselves in a war vile beyond all precedent, and to support a quarrel which was none of their bringing about and cannot have seemed any of their business. 114.

"Persuade" and "willingly" are the most important words in the above passage. The author himself supplies the contradiction when he writes on pages 118-19: "I suppose no one who was in Mesopotamia has the slightest doubt that a good many of the Indian troops had come there against their wishes, and stayed there sullenly."

.. the latter partition [of Bengal] (which it is not usual to call a partition) followed lines of nationality and language, instead of placing a pair of shears across them. 88.

This is only partially true. The reconstituted Province of Bihar and Orissa includes several Bengali-speaking areas, and includes some Oriya-speaking tracts while excluding others.

In each Province are a few Divisional Commissioners, Civilians who are over groups of other Civilians, the ordinary district officers. 53.

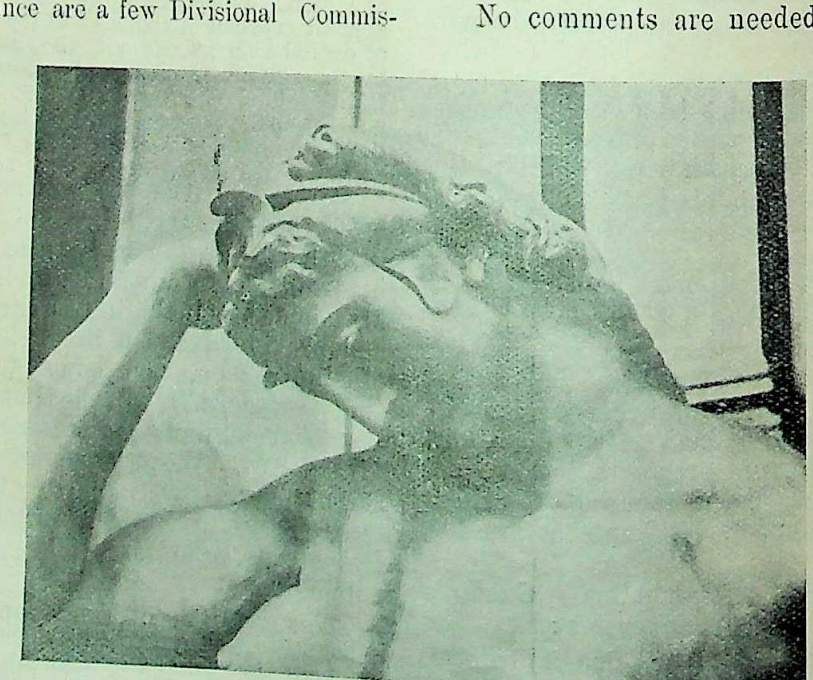
Not in *each* province. Madras has no Divisional Commissioners

Speaking of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the author states on page 50: "These Reforms were hailed by India with delight. To us they seem little enough; and to have been long enough waited for." As the reader may have noticed from some previous extracts, Mr. Thompson is fond of making sweeping statements. Only some Indians, not all, hailed the Reforms of 1909. There were many notable Indians in those days, and some of them are still alive, to whom "They seemed little enough and to have been long enough waited for."

Mr. Thompson favours Dominion Status, but in a Pickwickian, or rather, in a Thompsonian sense. With what limitations he would concede it, the reader can judge from many of the passages extracted from his book in this article. For him the next step in Indian political evolution is not Dominion Status. Says he:

There is 'Dominion Status'—the right way out, but how beset with difficulty! Immediate full Dominion Status would merely make a fool of India, or, rather, put her where she cannot help making a fool of herself (and an extremely unhappy fool). Independent India would be like Independent China, but far more torn and wretched, even more ridiculous a spectacle to the outside world. 40-41.

No comments are needed.



Night—Michelangelo

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Venkatesh B. Ketkar

By JOGES CHANDRA RAY

NEWS reaches me from Bijapur that Mr. Venkatesh Bapu Ketkar, the astronomer of India-wide reputation, expired on the 3rd of August at the age of . I little thought while writing the review of his latest work that he would not live to read it. By his death our country loses a veteran astronomer of ripe experience and unbounded enthusiasm for the cause of almanac reform.

Mr. Ketkar's ancestors lived in Ketaki, a village in the district of Ratnagiri. About 250 years ago they came to Paithan on the Godavari and settled there. Mr. Ketkar's father, Bapu Shastri Ketkar, was a great Sanskrit scholar and astronomer. He was invited to Nargundi in the district of Dharwar by the Raja of that place. Venkatesh was born here in 1854. But he lost his father at the age of sixteen and was confronted with pecuniary difficulties. Somehow he managed to defray his school expenses and passed the Matriculation with distinction winning the Jijeebhoy Prize.

Prosecution of further study was impossible, and young Ketkar had to earn his livelihood as a teacher, I believe, in a Government Training school. While thus employed he had the curiosity to probe into the astronomical books which his father had written. Already the total solar eclipse of 1868 which he observed at Kolhapur had made a deep impression on his mind. He began to study Sanskrit astronomy, but could not follow it intelligently. He therefore turned his attention to European astronomy, and with patience and perseverance gradually made his way into the region of higher mathematics and mastered the details of both Indian and European method of calculation. At the age of thirty he wrote his first book, *Jyotirganitam*, a book of tables for the computation of an almanac. It was published in 1898, and followed in the next two years by *Ketakigrahaganitam* and *Vaijayanti*, the latter also named *Panchanga-ganitam*. He has been the author of nine books covering a period of thirty-two years. Of course it was beyond the means of a poor schoolmaster to undertake publication without liberal support of wealthy noblemen. Many of his books have been long out of print and await the same liberal public spirit. One of his books, *Goladvaya-prasna* (problem of two bodies) has not yet seen the light of day. He retired from Government service in 1911 as First Assistant Deputy



Venkatesh B. Ketkar

Educational Inspector, but as will be seen from above, was busy up to the date of his death in the pursuit of his favourite subject.

Every reformer had his hours of trial, and Mr. Ketkar had his share in full. In one of his letters (dated Poona, 18th Dec., 1924) he wrote to me :

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"In A. D. 1896, I gave a lecture in the Bombay Town Hall on my *Jyotir-ganita*, and concluded by saying that it was the result of my madness, for no sane man could ever have undertaken such a vast and profitless job. Justice M. G. Ranade [?] who presided eulogized me by saying, 'We badly want more mad men like Mr. Ketkar who can change the destinies of the world.' These words touched my heart, and I felt that I had not wasted my energy." But that was thirty-four years ago when Mr. Ketkar was just emerging from the obscurity of an obscure school. Since then the march of the indomitable champion of Chitra has not been unsatisfactory. It takes long time to prepare the soil for new seeds to grow.

Very few of us realize the tremendous influence of our calendars on the mental outlook of the millions of the Hindus, silently but inexorably regulating their social and religious institutions. They furnish the iron chain by which the various units are bound together and preserve the traditions of ancient culture which nothing else could do. But none have so far bestowed any thought on the diversity of chronology which has divided provinces into linguistic and sectarian areas, and compelled them to use the Christian calendar for dating their correspondence and documents. Nor are the calendars simple. Daily life demands a simplified calendar of months whose length is fixed and the week-day on the first of each remains the same so that one would not require to consult an almanac for date of any day of the year. The leap year of 366 days which comes on every fourth year stands in the way of a simplified calendar. But rules may be framed for avoiding the difficulty. I do not believe in the fetish of scientific accuracy in the affairs of life, because it is impracticable and because it diverts our attention from more important duties. Let astronomers go on calculating to the thousandth of a second of time where necessary, but let us ordinary people be satisfied with what is practicable. So I think when Svaraj comes, one of the duties of the legislature will be to standardize the Indian calendar for all parts of the country, as the British Government has done for measures of space and mass. In this connection I may refer to the movement of the International Fixed Calendar League, U. S .A., for remedying the defect of the Christian calendar. We know, it consists of twelve months of unequal length fixed arbitrarily which are not exact multiples of the week, except the month, February in common years. It proposes twelve months of 28 days each and a thirteenth month of 29 days to be named 'sol' and inserted between the third and the fifth month of the present calendar. The League enumerates seventeen advantages which will follow from the proposed reform. One of them is that the day of the week would always indicate the monthly date. The remaining sixteen benefits relate more or less to business life and earnings. But our months, whether lunar or solar, are not unscientific, and we are not yet prepared to reduce human life into clocks. I wonder how the civilized people will occupy themselves when all "waste" of time will be eliminated and "efficiency" of man as a machine raised hundred per cent. We cannot accept their calendar which will have no meaning to us. At the same time we must not overlook the advantages of one civil calendar for the whole of India which will necessarily be solar with the lengths of months fixed. Mr. Ketkar was best qualified to show the way. It will be difficult to find another man who has studied the calendars of the different provinces as well as he did. His right place would have been at the head of the Department of Indian Almanac.

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New Tariff Trends in Great Britain

Propaganda of the Press Peers

By WILFRED WELLOCK, M. P.

THE political life of this country is undergoing a profound change, much more profound, indeed, than is apparent on the surface. The problem of unemployment, which has assumed world proportions, and on a large scale, is playing havoc with established economic theories and political policies, and producing a disposition to consider theories and policies which previously have been anathema. At the present time political conflict and controversy are raging round the question of tariffs. Even the Liberal Party, which has always stood for unadulterated Free Trade, is now prepared to prohibit what is called 'dumped goods," by which is meant subsidized exports sold at less than the cost of production. At the Liberal Summer School, just held, a prominent Liberal, Mr. E. D. Simon, M. P., has suggested that it might be well worth while to consider a 10 per cent duty on imported goods for revenue purposes, with rebates in certain instances.

As to the Labour Party, it refuses to swear either by tariffs or Free Trade, believing that the root cause of unemployment and poverty is the Capitalist system itself. Thus whilst adhering to the principle of Free Trade, it is prepared to depart from what has hitherto been regarded as strict Free Trade policy, by the setting up of Import Boards, and possibly to the extent of guaranteeing a price to the farmers for such a crop as wheat, say.

But in the ranks of the Tory Party there is at present the utmost confusion. For some years past the policy of that Party, as expressed in its political programme, has been that of Safe-guarding. During its last term of office the Tory Party laid down the conditions under which industries might be "safe-guarded" by means of a tariff. The procedure adopted was, that a Committee it set up was to examine applications from particular industries for a protective tariff. If the Committee were satisfied that a tariff could be given to a particular industry, which would benefit that industry without at the same time injuring any other industry, or materially affecting prices, a tariff might be imposed.

Under this procedure quite a number of industries secured a tariff, either of 25 per cent or 33⅓ per cent. But in no case did one of the major industries secure a tariff. And although quite a number of small industries secured a tariff, taken altogether they cover but a very small proportion of our total industry.

As time went on, however, it was recognized that the advocates of tariffs would not rest satisfied until safe-guarding was applied to the major industries. Moreover, the major industries themselves were beginning to object to the extension of safe-guarding to the smaller industries, whilst they were rigidly ruled out. Thus some of the heads of the big iron and steel industries, in particular, began to assert themselves. The Directors of a big tube combine, for instance, stated definitely that they would not tolerate the extension of safe-guarding to small industries which used iron and steel as their raw material, unless iron and steel also received a protective tariff.

The reason for this was obvious, for in many cases the protected small industries were buying cheap foreign iron and steel. Hence a new situation was created in the Tory Party. At this stage matters were made much worse by the intervention of the farmers, who declared that if the policy of safe-guarding were to be extended to the big industries, which would mean that they, the farmers, would have to pay higher prices for their implements and machinery, they would demand a tariff on imported foodstuffs. That declaration, though not altogether unexpected, come like a bomb into the Tory Party, which had always professed to be the friend of the farmers. The Conservative

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Party, or at any rate the officials, thus became very quiet on the entire question of tariffs. But they were given no peace. A large section of their followers, who avowedly believed in Protection and had never hidden the fact, forced the issue, and thus put the Tory leaders in a very difficult position. For in the Tory Party there are prominent sections, including Churchill, the Cecils, the Derbys, etc., who, despite their yielding on the issue of Safe-guarding, still held strongly to the principle of Free Trade. It is also interesting to recall that when the Safe-guarding procedure was adopted by the Tory Party, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, as Prime Minister, definitely stated that the intention was to safe-guard industries for a period of five years only, saying that an industry which could not pull itself together so as to meet its competitors in other lands, in the space of five years, was not worth safe-guarding.

The position above described was reached in the closing period of the late Government's term of office. But at the time of the general election, in spite of the determined efforts of the full-blooded protectionists, there was no alteration in the official policy of the Party. Mr. Baldwin refused to budge from the tried policy of safe-guarding. Furthermore, his speeches did not give any indication of enthusiasm for the application of safe-guarding to the big industries, and he persistently declared that the Conservative Party was not in favour of a general policy of Protection.

Since the advent of the second Labour Government, the position has entirely changed. Officially the Tory Party still stands for a policy of Safe-guarding, but certain modifications are brought in, which may in fact legitimately be construed as giving a quite new significance to that policy.

These modifications are due to the introduction of what now goes by the name of Empire Free Trade. And here there creeps into British politics one of the most interesting and in many ways humorous episodes known to modern politics. The source of this episode is that well-known personality, Lord Beaverbrook, who, however, has to some extent been assisted by that equally aggressive press peer, Lord Rothermere.

At first the aim of these press peers appeared to be the formation of a new political party, *viz.*, The United Empire Party. The aim of the new Party was to reconstruct the economic life of this country on the basis of Empire Free Trade. That policy involves a system of tariffs which, if adopted, would completely revolutionize the trading and commercial relations of this country with the rest of the world. Indeed it is utterly impossible to conceive the repercussions which might take place as the result of the adoption of a tariff policy along the lines suggested by the self-appointed leaders of the United Empire Party. For it must not be forgotten that this country at the present time enjoys "most favoured nation treatment" with over forty countries. Then, of course, there was the danger of Lord Beaverbrook's policy giving rise to new blocks of antagonistic Powers, and new alliances which might prove disastrous to the peace of the world, and destroy some of the hopes for world peace and world economic co-operation which are at last increasingly asserting themselves.

But the tragedy of the new campaign—and no thoughtful person can deny that it is a tragedy—is that it has not been at all thought out, there having been not the slightest attempt to work out in scientific fashion the policy that was being so loudly preached. Never in the history of this country have so many newspapers combined to advocate a policy on such flimsy argument and such superficial facts as in this case, and in opposition to all the established political parties, including that to which those papers nominally belong. Great head-lines and heavily typed two-column articles, supported by heated leaders, have from day to day informed and amazed the world of the number of British citizens who have rallied to the banner of the new Evangel. Yet not a single soul could explain the new gospel. Even now, after many months of propaganda, I doubt if there is a single person who can say what "Empire Free Trade" really is, and what its advocacy involves. The only thing that seems certain at the moment is that the success of the new Party will deprive the Tory Party of the leadership of Mr. Baldwin, for Mr. Baldwin has declared over and over again in the most emphatic language, that he will never be a party to a policy of full-blooded Protection, involving, as he contends the Beaverbrook policy does involve, heavy duties on imported foreign food.

It is interesting to observe the stages

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through which this Don Quixote, Lord Beaverbrook, has carried the new Party he has brought into being. Lord Beaverbrook is a very powerful and most interesting personality, and there is no denying that he is intensely earnest. He possesses abounding energy, and can talk and write *ad infinitum*. He welcomes opposition, but wears it all down in steam-roller fashion. His powerful press gives him a weapon which no opponent other than a press peer could possibly wield. When he first came out and demanded the formation of a new Party—the United Empire Party—his slogan was Empire Free Trade, with a general tariff on imports from foreign countries. It was obvious that such sweeping generalizations would not be able to withstand the criticism that was bound to be levelled against them. Canada, Australia and South Africa, at once rose up in arms. Under no circumstances were they going to allow their industries to be destroyed by the free importation of British manufactured goods. These declarations brought the first modification of the new policy. Empire Free Trade could not be adopted in its entirety, but that was no reason why it should not be applied partially. Then Baldwin laughed. He turned on Beaverbrook in speech after speech, and told the press peer that the Dominions had thrown him overboard and that his policy was wholly impracticable. Lord Beaverbrook was at great pains to explain to the Dominions that he had not the slightest intention to hamper the development of their industries, and contended that despite this reservation there was an ample field in which they might carry out a reciprocal policy to their mutual advantage. In this limited area a sort of Empire Free Trade might be established.

Thus despite this important capitulation, Lord Beaverbrook held tenaciously to his caption —Empire Free Trade. As a Press magnate he knew the value of a good slogan, and in a private meeting where this subject was being discussed I heard him say that he held on to this phrase because it was "an exceedingly good one."

Despite the revolt of the Dominions, Lord Beaverbrook still held the view that a more complete exploitation of Empire markets was sufficient to guarantee the industrial development of Great Britain. But he knew that the one condition of any successful bargaining towards this end was the taxation by Britain of imported foreign food. In other words, he believes that by offering an open door to the food producers within the Empire, buttressed by a tariff on imported foodstuffs from foreign countries, the condition is fulfilled for securing sufficient markets for our manufactured goods to provide a solution to our unemployment problem.

But Baldwin and the officials of the Tory Party refused to budge. They remembered all too vividly the two occasions since the war in which the Tory Party had fought a General Election on a full-blooded Protectionist policy. They were not prepared for another defeat on that issue. Then came the fateful decision: Lord Beaverbrook came right out and, supported by his boasted army of supporters, threatened to fight the official Tory Party at the next General Election and at every intervening by-election. In the meantime, the Tory party was being faced with defections all over the country. The leaders were at their wit's end. Special Party Meetings and Conferences were called. But peace was impossible. Eventually, a hurried meeting between Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Baldwin took place, when the latter promised that at the next election the Tory Party would declare itself in favour of referring the issue of a tariff on foodstuffs from foreign countries to a referendum. Lord Beaverbrook was appeased. He regarded the decision as a triumph for his propaganda and his cause, and he called off the attack. A discussion arose in his newspapers as to what should be done with the money which had been collected to secure the success of the new Party at the polls.

But the newly established peace was not to abide. It very soon leaked out that Baldwin had no intention of advocating a tariff on imported foreign foodstuffs, despite the fact that he was willing to put that issue to a referendum. Lord Beaverbrook was furious. What is the use of a referendum, he declared, if the Prime Minister who proposes it refuses to support such referendum? Certainly the position was absurd. And so the fight was resumed. Further by-elections took place, such as that in north Norfolk, in which Lord Beaverbrook, in spite of all protests, put up a candidate.

About this time Mr. Neville Chamberlain was made Chairman of the Tory Party. But as the battle between Lord Beaverbrook and the Tory Party continued as hotly as

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ever, it is generally accepted that the referendum issue is dead.

An interesting and significant incident occurred in the House of Commons just before the close of the recent Session. The Tory Party put down a Vote of Censure against the Government, the chief item in which complained that the Government had not given consideration to the question of taxing foreign food. The Motion was a tribute to Lord Beaverbrook's influence, although he himself was not deceived by it. The interesting fact was that in moving the Motion Mr. Baldwin left the question of the taxation of imported foreign food absolutely alone. When he sat down the House was breathless and amazed. In spite of the bluff and pretence of that Vote of Censure, the policy of the Tory Party remained unchanged: they still refused to support the taxation of food.

That is how matters stand at the moment. The war inside the Tory Party still rages, but in the country all is quiet. Conservative M. P.'s and candidates are as silent as the grave. They are afraid to make speeches as no one can say what a week or a month may bring forth.

As for the Labour Government, it is of course opposed to any system of tariffs. But it favours the control of imports. It thus favours the adoption of Import Boards and the bulk purchase of foodstuffs by a statutory body. This policy it proposes to discuss at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

September 16, 1930.

Creative Nationalism in Turkey

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

A Decade of Progress Under a Dictatorship

IT is now a little over a decade since the Turkish National pact was signed by the Nationalist deputies of the old Ottoman parliament in Constantinople. The pact was a demand for independence on the part of the beaten and largely disarmed Turks. The last of the articles of the pact declared that Turkey, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of controlling her national destiny, economic development and the administration of the country on modern lines. With such ends in view the Nationalists opposed all restrictions which seemed inimical to their national aspirations It was the signature of this historic document which set loose the Turkish revolution. At the stern command of Mustapha Kemal old Turkey began to tread a new path. And the "unchanging East" under the sway of nationalism and in obedience to iron-willed dictatorship, has produced the swiftest and most sensational succession of changes which any nation has ever wrought within the ridiculously short period of a decade of its national life.

Young Turkey Wipes out Islamic Traditions

The fall of the Ottoman dynasty was only a detail, although that dynasty was the oldest in Europe. Attainment of territorial independence has proved to be no more than its preliminary task. Its more striking and abiding interest lies in its domestic rather than in its foreign affairs. It is here that we notice what, from the Islamic point of view, can only be described as the treason of Turkey. For centuries the Sultan of Turkey, wielding the Sword of the Prophet, had been the Caliph of Islam. Whatever might be the reverses of fortune elsewhere, he remained inviolate as an institution, not so much a suzerain as a state of mind. Suddenly he was got rid of and the State was secularized. More than that Mustapha Kemal, instead of

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becoming the Sultan himself, heaped contumely on Islamic tradition. He threw the Koran aside and disestablished all forms of religion. The new Turkey under Kemal, realizing that religious magic is nothing but trickery, took the lead among progressive countries by putting a wholesale ban on fortune-telling, sorcerers' cures and dervishes. Religious courts have been abolished and with them the entire body of the *Shariat* law which had been developed but never codified through centuries of varied interpretations of the Koran. In their place, civil, criminal and commercial codes of the West have been introduced, making polygamy illegal and marriage and divorce civil. Muezzins in derby hats cry the call to prayer, and women, casting aside their veils, vote in all municipal elections. Turkey, shedding its medieval forms of theocratic government, has hastily adopted modern forms of Western secular government. Arabic script and lunar calendars now mark the scene of Turkish revolution.

Americanization of Turkish Mentality

Side by side with social and political reform, the New Turkey is seeking to bring about an industrial revolution. In this she is being influenced greatly by Americanism. Within the decade there has been a noticeable rise in her economic consciousness. The Nationalist party is paying special attention now to commercial matters and to the tapping of Turkey's natural resources. The Government has been busy during the last few years working out new projects to aid national industries. A rice specialist has been engaged to advice Turkish planters as to how to improve their rice cultivation and double their grain crops. Similarly an Italian expert is to be provided to help olive growers in bettering their crop. Other important projects are also on hand for the exploitation of the nation's mineral wealth. The Kemalist Government is out to Americanize Turkish mentality. It has, for example, issued an order forbidding Anatolian farmers to plough behind the slow oxen and water buffalo. The order demands that where tractors are unavailable, horses must replace the old slow pullers so that the peasant mentality may be jogged from its somnolence into "American activity." In 1928 President Mustapha Kemal built on his model farm of 10,000 acres the first irrigation system in the country with mechanical power. A motion picture of this model farm is shown in different sections of the country in order to make the people see what can be done to improve their land.

The Turkish Government is very appreciative of American agricultural and industrial methods and therefore encourages the importation of American machinery. Tractors, harvesters, ploughs, harrows, disks and other agricultural implements are imported in large quantities from the United States, and experimental demonstrations are held for the benefit of the Turkish peasants and to encourage them to use such machinery in the cultivation of their own farms. Motor transportation and motor-driven construction to ls are coming to be the accepted thing in Turkey today. In order to make the Turks "motor-minded", the Turkish Government has leased a big strip of land at Tophane for twenty-five years to Ford Company and an excellent modern assembling plant has already been erected there. Hitherto the Ford Motor Company conducted its business in the Near and Middle East from Alexandria, but the whole staff, along with the factory fittings, has now been transferred to Turkey. Constantinople is an ideal geographical centre from which to distribute automobiles, and no less than twenty countries are being served now by this new plant. A Ford school has also been started for the training of lower and higher grade motor mechanics. At the plant all phases of body work, nickelling, upholstering, enamelling, moulding and a thousand and one other things connected with the assembling of automobiles are carried out there. In connection with this policy of economic and national development, the Turkish Government concluded also a contract recently with the Morane-Saulinier Aeroplane Company in France for twenty-five military planes and also another order for thirty commercial and training planes is now pending with a French company.

Improvement of Transportation Facilities

The scheme of internal development has been engaging a considerable attention of the Turkish Government during the last few years. It is now realized that better transportation means better facilities for moving crops and goods. More crops mean more commerce and greater prosperity. In order

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to meet the growing need for transportation facilities, the Turkish Government recently appropriated about Rs. 360,000,000 to be spent in the next twelve years in the construction of railroads, the building of harbours and the carrying out of important irrigation projects. The plan includes a network of transportation lines all over the Asiatic peninsula. Railroad construction in Turkey is extremely difficult because of the wildness of the country, the presence of vast deserts and great mountain ranges. Besides, the country is also cut up by rivers which necessitate the construction of many expensive bridges. The task of putting through this important scheme has been entrusted to Swedish and German engineers. In the last two years 490 miles of railroads have been opened up, and in the next five years it is expected that something like 1,400 miles of railway will be opened up. The railroad which will connect the capital, Angora, with the rich coal mines along the Black Sea coast, will not be open for traffic for about three years. Turkey hopes that the Angora-Sivas railroad will be ready by the end of this year. A year later she expects to connect West Anatolia with both the Mediterranean and the Black Sea with Sivas as a centre. In Ereli are some of the world's richest coal mines which have been only partly utilized because of the lack of transportation facilities. Before the elapse of many more years, Turkey hopes to have a large enough network of railroads to meet the country's commercial needs.

"Buy at Home" Campaign

With a desire to improve Turkey's economic condition, the "buy at home" campaign was set afoot. Turkey was well known for its beautiful fabrics but in competition with the cheap machine-made goods of the West, the Turkish industries began to decline. Kemal Pasha is now trying to revive the indigenous industries. Last year the Premier violently attacked the increasing tendency to use imported silks and perfumes by the women of Turkey. "We will consent no longer," he declared "to having our daughters perfumed with expensive extracts and dressed in foreign silks. We want them, at the urging of their mothers who with their heads ornamented with the flowers of Anatolia, transported munitions in our time of need, to consecrate themselves to the pursuit of a vigorous physique. We want them clad in the silks of the country, exhaling the perfume of the flowers of our mountains, reflecting the spirit of economy and sobriety." Another movement known as "Turkey for Turks" seeks through legislation to keep out foreigners from holding posts of responsibility and to make those who are already holding such posts to relinquish them. Posts carrying fat salaries are always sought for by foreigners and the new movement is directed against making Turkey "provide careers" for foreigners while the highly qualified sons of the soil face unemployment. This is a lesson that many of the countries of the East can well learn from Turkey.

In order to give protection to home industries, Turkey has been busy working out a new tariff scheme. With the help of such protection, Turkey is trying to encourage the creation of new manufactures and also to stimulate those already in existence. The new tariff is also calculated to bring in as much revenue as possible and to reduce the already unfavourable trade balance. The law represents a decided step toward the utilization of the country's natural resources. In ancient times Turkey was famed for its textiles, faiences, metal works and other products of Turkish craftsmanship. With the advance of commercialism, imported goods have crept in bringing loss to Turkish craftsmen. For the first time in about half a century, Turkey by the new tariff law, is to have complete freedom in customs matters; and now "finis" is finally written to the history of the foreign "capitulations."

National Unification Objective of Education

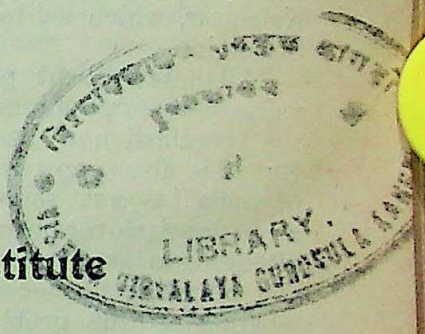
Side by side with all these reforms, Turkey is trying hard to unify its population through its schools. China has instituted what is called the most extensive popular education programme ever undertaken suddenly by any country, but it does not include that sudden change which carries consternation to a large population, change of alphabet. Turkey, under Kemal, is putting over a new system of letters, altering the script in which its literature is written, and even the tenets of the Koran. To make the new alphabet popular, Turkey uses the radio;

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about 12,000 teachers are also kept busy in the education of the people in the new alphabet. President Kemal Pasha also keeps himself busy during his leisure periods, giving personal lessons. Government employees and newspapers have been asked under penalty to abandon the use of Arabic letters. This change in alphabet was introduced since Arabic was found unsuited to meet the needs of expression in modern civilization. The literature that is now being transcribed into Western characters is to be chiefly Western works on art and science ; Orientalism is being abandoned altogether. Thus the "unchanging East" is shocking the progressive West by the rapid introduction of many radical changes into its national and social life, in the teeth of all opposition from the less progressive and more orthodox section of the population.

Ten years ago when Turkey came under the Nationalist Government, it looked as though Mustapha Kemal would also share the humiliating fate of the Sultan of five hundred years ago. The West looked upon the whole situation with a good deal of suspicion and thought that the Turkish rule, in spite of the few progressive Nationalists, would be a return to the Dark Ages since the Turk was "done" and "incapable of handling the problems of our time." But a decade has fast rolled by and the young Republic has surprised the Western world. In fact, Turkey has made such great progress under Kemal's dictatorship that it may be said without any exaggeration that there is no precedent anywhere in history for so overwhelming a revolution. No previous case exists in which a country has outlawed its own laws and enacted an entire body of foreign law. No nation has ever been conscripted and sent to school to learn a new alphabet. It is as if the new State wished wholly to forget its past. No doubt the reforms and revisions have come from above. Even so, they show the sincerity of the national leaders and their earnest attempt to overcome the force of age-old and unprogressive traditions and customs. The progress that Turkey has made within the absurdly short space of a decade is indeed without parallel in history.



The Central Medical Research Institute

(*Specially Written for the Modern Review*)

ON July 21, 1930, the Government of India called a conference of officials and non-officials at Simla under the Presidency of Sir Frank Noyce, Education Secretary, for deciding on the location of the Central Medical Research Institute (henceforth to be called C. M. R. I.) The Conference was called in persuance of the resolution of Mr. Jayakar in the Assembly on February 8, which reads as follows :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council (a) to appoint a committee with a non-official majority and an adequate representation of the independent medical profession to inquire into and report on the following points, and (b) to hold over the proposed transfer of the Medical Research Institute, Kasauli, to the Sandbagh building at Dehra Dun till this Committee's Report is considered by the Assembly :

(1) The most suitable university centre for the establishment of the Central Medical Research Institute ;

(2) The constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association ; and

(3) Recruitment for the Medical Research Department."

Before giving an account of the proceedings of this conference, it will not be out of place to give a short history of the scheme. India, being a tropical country, suffers from a variety of diseases like Cholera, Plague, Malaria, Kala-azar, Small-pox, etc., which are more or less unknown in the European countries. The result is a general low vitality, and occasional outbreak of pestilences which claim an enormous number of victims (for example, the outbreak of bubonic plague at Bombay and Calcutta in 1896-98, outbreak of

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the influenza epidemic over the whole country in 1918). All these outbreaks have found the Government as well as the public quite unprepared, and it was felt that the forces of modern science have not been utilized as efficiently for combating these diseases as could be desired. From time to time, the Government has shown commendable zeal in founding research institutes for the investigations of special diseases, *e. g.*, the Haffkine Institute for Plague research in Bombay, the Central Research Institute at Kasauli (chiefly devoted to anti-rabic treatment), the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, etc. Sometimes enthusiastic workers have imposed upon themselves the task of investigating causes of particular diseases, and finding remedies thereto, *e. g.*, Sir Ronald Ross's researches, which proved that the germs of malaria are carried by mosquitoes, Sir Leonard Roger's investigations on Cholera treatment which led to the improved form of the Saline treatment; and Dr. Upendra Nath Brahmachari's researches on the treatment for that terrible scourge of humanity, *viz.* Kala-azar, which led to the discovery of Urea Stibamine.

All these brilliant pieces of work show the value of research on modern scientific lines for the eradication of diseases afflicting mankind. But it is also apparent that the Government of India has not shown as much keenness as national Governments in free countries in attending to the problems of such general welfare, and no effort was ever made for a systematic tackling of the problem. The Government seem to have been roused to a sense of their obligations in 1920 when they invited the late Professor G Starling, the eminent Physiologist of London, to prepare for them a scheme for a Central Medical Research Institute, where research work would be carried on on an intensive scale on all diseases affecting the population of India. On the 23rd of September 1922, the Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution approving the proposal to establish a C. M. R. I. But neither were the recommendations of Professor Starling published, nor was any effect given to the scheme till 1927, the apparent excuse being financial stringency. In 1927, the Government of India appointed a committee to advise on the organization of medical research in India. This Committee (henceforward to be known as the Fletcher Committee from its President, Sir W. Fletcher, Secretary to the Medical Research Council of Great Britain) submitted a report which, instead of being published immediately for eliciting public opinion, *was marked confidential for some mysterious reason*, a fact which created a great deal of misgivings in the minds of the non-I. M. S medical profession all over India, as well as on the general public. The main recommendations were, however, published, and efforts were made to give effect to some of them without taking the public into confidence. The main recommendations were :

(1) That the Central M.R.I. should be located at Dehra Dun which was recommended on account of its salubrious climate and proximity to the Government of India ;

(2) Out of 30 higher research posts, 18 should be reserved for members of the I.M.S. and even for the remaining twelve, the I.M.S. people would be considered eligible.

Immediately on the publication of these terms, vigorous protests were made by the Indian Medical Association, the Bombay Medical Union, and other medical Associations all over the country. The All-India Medical Conference which met at Lahore in December, 1929 also recorded its vigorous protest against the scheme.

The criticisms were mainly directed, first against the choice of Dehra Dun, as it was felt that a University centre, which is also a large centre of population, was the best possible choice for the location of such an institute, and secondly, against the reservation of seats for members of the I.M.S. In the second Inter-University Conference which was held last year at Delhi, the question of location was carefully considered, and it was unanimously resolved to request the Government to consider the advisability of having it located at a University centre where *ample clinical facilities would be available*, and *where co-ordinated work with investigators in other branches of science would be possible*.

In response to public sentiment, Mr. Jayakar moved the resolution, already mentioned, in the Assembly, in which he pleaded that the recommendations of the Fletcher Committee should be discussed by a Committee consisting of, besides official members, representatives of Universities having medical faculties, an eminent non-medical scientist, and two members of the Assembly. The Conference consisted of the following members :

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CHAIRMAN :

Sir Frank Noyce, KT., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands.

MEMBERS :

1. The Hon'ble Major-General J. W. D. Megaw, I.M.S., Director-General of I.M.S.
2. Major-General J. D. Graham, I.M.S., Public Health Commissioner, Government of India.
3. Lt. Col. S. R. Christophers, F.R.S., I.M.S. Director of the Kasauli Institute.
4. Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed, PH.D., D. SC., } Legislative
5. Lt. Col. H. A. J. Gidney, I.M.S. (retd.) } Assembly.
6. Dr. T. K. Menon, M.B., M.R.C.S. (Madras) }
7. Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, M.D. (Lond.) (Bombay) }
8. Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Calcutta) } University Repre-
9. Dr. B. N. Vyas, M.B., Rai Bahadur (Lucknow) } sentatives.
10. Dr. Capt. B. P. Mukerjee, F.R.C.S. (Patna) }
11. Dr. K. A. Rahman, M.B. (Panjab) }
12. Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., F.A.S.B., F. Inst. P. Non-Medical Scientist.
13. Dr. K. S. Ray, M.B., CH. B., Secretary, All-India Medical Association.
14. A. B. Reid, Esqr., I.C.S., Dy. Secretary, Department of Education, Government of India.
15. Sir A. Rouse, KT., C.I.E., Chief Engineer, Government of India.

THE DEHRA DUN SCHEME

Four schemes were placed before the conference—Dehra Dun schemes A and B, Kasauli scheme, Calcutta scheme.

In the proposals which were submitted to the Standing Finance Committee in August, 1928, regarding the establishment of the C. M. R. I., it was stated that the building at Chandbagh, with certain alterations and additions, would suffice for the accommodation of the main branches of the proposed institute. It was stated that these changes would not cost more than six lakhs of rupees. In the revised estimates submitted to the conference, the cost had leaped up to twenty lakhs, of which not less than eight lakhs were earmarked for the construction of residential buildings for the members of the department. There is not much difference except in details between schemes A, and B, or between the Dehra Dun or the Kasauli schemes. In the Calcutta scheme about eight lakhs are reserved for land acquisition, otherwise the estimates for the laboratory are very much the same for all the schemes.* What we wish to point out is *the extreme unreliability of all estimates for Government managed structural plans.* The estimates of cost of the Dehra Dun scheme suddenly leapt from rupees six lakhs to rupees twenty lakhs in course of a year (and in the opinion of many members the sums set apart for laboratory purpose are quite insufficient), and it can be safely said that but for the unanimous opposition of the medical profession, the Universities, and the Assembly, the establishment of the C. M. R. I. at Chandbagh would have been a *fait accompli on insufficiently worked out estimates*, and that "eternal beast of burden," the hapless taxpayer of India, would have been yoked to a scheme similar to the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation scheme or the capital manufacturing scheme at Delhi.

Evidently the official representatives realized the weakness of their position with respect to the Dehra Dun scheme, and after a show of argument, they threw Dehra Dun overboard, and concentrated their attention on an alternative scheme for the conversion of the existing research Institute at Kasauli to the proposed C.M.R.I., with the omission of certain important sections.

KASAULI

But the conference was not impressed by the arguments in favour of Kasauli. The same objections, (scientific and educational which are set forth in more detail against Dehra Dun) holds against Kasauli as well. Moreover, the selection of Kasauli would have been entirely against the recommendations of the Fletcher Committee which had definitely ruled out this place for such a purpose, and the exclusion of the Nutrition section from the C.M.R.I. as foreshadowed in the Kasauli scheme would have offended against the spirit of the Committee's report, which *insisted on the need of having all the sections at one centre for facilitating co-ordinated research.* It was felt by the popular representative that the official plea for Kasauli, which was condemned by both the Fletcher Committee

* According to one of the delegates, the Government can make a saving of this amount, if they make over the historic Hastings House for this purpose. This is situated in the healthy outskirts of the city and occupies an area of seventeen acres.

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as well as by Professor Starling, was based on the following motives : (1) The Dehra Dun plan being doomed, they want to see the whole question of establishing the C. M. R. I. shelved or postponed indefinitely ; the best way to get this done would be the gradual expansion of Kasauli, which would then be used as an argument against the starting of the C.M.R.I.

All the representatives of Universities (with the solitary exception of Colonel Rahman who, though he represented the University of the Panjab, is really an official, being Offg. Director of Public Health), and Professor Meghnad Saha, F. R. S., the eminent non-medical scientist whom the Government had invited to the Conference, put up a strong fight against the location of the proposed institute at Dehra Dun or at Kasauli.

Ultimately it was resolved by a large majority, the Government representatives not voting, to recommend the establishment of the proposed Institute at a suitable University centre. Colonel Gidney remained neutral, though in his speeches, he showed a preference for Calcutta, Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed was the only solitary member in favour of Dehra Dun, Colonel Rahman voting in favour of Kasauli. No particular University centre was recommended, as it was thought advisable to wait for further information regarding the different University centres. But the conference was unanimous that the C. M. R. I. should be started as soon as the financial conditions permit.

Arguments for and against Dehra Dun

The scientific and educational arguments for and against Dehra Dun may now be set forth. The Fletcher Committee recommended that the C. M. R. I. should be organized in the following sections. Some comment (our own) is added to explain to the public the scope and aims of each section.

Section 1. Epidemiology and Statistics.

This section will devote itself to the continuous study in modern medical statistical work and epidemiology. The activities must be central.

Section 2. Bacteriology and Immunology.

This section will deal with bacteriological study of diseases like Cholera, Plague, Typhoid, Kala-azar, and some sections will be devoted to problems of immunity from diseases. The science of immunology is probably now entering on a new career on account of Dr. D'Herelle's discovery of bacteriophages. A certain amount of work on this line is being done at Kasauli. The subject of preparation and standardization of vaccines and sera should also form an important part of the work of this section.

Section 3. Biochemistry and Pharmacology.

This section will devote itself to the study of old drugs and discovery of new drugs. This requires a combination of chemistry and medicine. The importance of such work can be easily guessed from the great blessings which the following discoveries have conferred on mankind : Ehrlich's discovery of Salvarsan (specific against syphilis), Brahmachari's discovery of Urea Stibamine (specific against Kala-azar) and Banting's discovery of Insulin (specific against Diabetes). The subject of standardization of pharmaceutical preparations with an ultimate view to the compilation of an Indian Pharmacopoeia ought to come under the purview of this section. India's resources in raw products for indigenous medicines are enormous and she should formulate her own standards comparable to such standards in Europe and America. Foreign drugs of inferior standards should not be allowed to be dumped into the defenceless Indian market.

Sec. 4.

This section will deal with Medical Entomology, Protozoology, Helminthology.

Generally speaking, this section will deal with the study of insects and other carriers of diseases, mosquitoes, rats, sandfly, tsetse-fly, etc. A knowledge of the rôle played by the mosquito in transmitting malaria which we owe to Sir Ronald Ross and Senator Grassi has enabled the American Government to tackle the malaria problem in the Panama zone and render possible one of the greatest engineering feats in the world, *viz.*, the opening of the Panama canal. The importance of these studies is therefore self-evident.

Sec. 5. The Malarial Survey of India.

This is more or less field work, dealing with the survey of physiographical and climatic conditions which are responsible for the prevalence of malaria and suggesting means to combat them.

Sec. 6. Clinical Research.

Sec. 7. Nutrition, or Investigation of the nourishing value of food-stuffs.

Clinical Research, or research conducted with patients in hospitals can only be carried out in large centres of population like Calcutta or Bombay, where there are large hospitals and abundant supply of patients.

The recent works on the various kinds of vitamines illustrate the need of dietetic researches.

From the above imperfect sketch of the Fletcher Committee scheme, the reader will have some idea of the work to be carried on in the proposed C.M.R.I. ; the scheme is admirable, and, if properly worked out, is expected to confer great blessings on the people of India.

Let us now therefore turn to a critical examination of the recommendations made by the Fletcher Committee to put this scheme into effect.

The Fletcher Committee recommends Dehra Dun on two main grounds : (1) It is near the summer and the winter quarters of the Government of India; (2) on account

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of the superiority of its climate over that of cities in the plains. But a perusal of their arguments shows that their preference for Dehra Dun was but half-hearted and were based on certain matters which have not come to the surface. In one place, they say:

"We may readily admit that an institute mainly devoted to investigations immediately serviceable to physicians and sanitarians could have abundant material to work on if it were located in a large city or seaport."

There is another argument on which the late Professor G. Starling greatly insisted but which has been only half-heartedly referred to by the Fletcher Committee :

"There is, lastly, a general rule on which Prof. Starling laid great stress, namely, that the Institute should, if possible, be situated where *frequent intellectual intercourse between workers of different sciences provides a stimulus which keeps the brain active and maintains the restless spirit of enquiry at a high level.*"

It may be readily seen that Dehra Dun has none of these qualifications. It can never be a large centre of population and no hospital, however big, can attract a large number of patients. If anybody has illusions on this point, the recent closing of the X-ray Institute at Dehra Dun by orders of the Government of India should dispel it. This institute was lavishly fitted and was meant to administer to the needs of the whole of India. But as very few patients would go there, it had to be closed down permanently.

It may be said that the C. M. R. I., being devoted to research work, would not require a large hospital. But in medical research, progress in investigations depends largely upon the study and observation of the effect of the treatment on a large number of patients. To take one example, a German professor, Prof. Dr. Hahn prepared a serum for cholera in Berlin. But as he could get no cholera patients in Berlin he could try it only on cats and dogs in which cholera was produced by artificial means. Not being satisfied with these experiments, he had to send the serum to Dr. A. C. Ukil, of the National Medical Institute, Calcutta, to try its effect on human beings because a large number of cholera patients is always available at Calcutta.

The Fletcher Committee was perfectly well aware of this fact, as the first quotation shows. But they wanted to get rid of the difficulty by inventing some very specious arguments, *i. e.*, by dividing medical research into two classes: (i) clinical research, (ii) basic research. They have admitted that though clinical research can be better carried out at a large city or seaport town, "basic research can best be done in a climate favourable to the energy and mental acquity of the workers, and moreover, in climate where delicate technical processes and procedures in the laboratory as well as animal experiments are not interfered with by extreme heat."

We shall deal with the claims of basic research presently, but what about clinical research ? The Fletcher Committee seems to be content to sacrifice it altogether. This is what they :

"Though no claim is made that facilities for clinical research approach at all those in the large cities they are not absent. At Dehra Dun there is a new hospital of 100 beds under consideration which could be enlarged if required."

The Government of India may construct a hospital accommodating 1000 beds, but what about patients ? Will they come and fill up these beds ? After the tragic closing of the X-ray Institute it is idle to pretend that patients would be attracted in large numbers to Dehra Dun.

Now regarding the claims of basic research. In one place, the Fletcher Committee says :

In the first place, researches in the medical field must never be limited, if new progress is to be made, only to the applied sciences of preventive and curative medicine. For no sound system of medical research can be established unless living organic connection is set up and maintained between applied work on the one hand, and work not of obvious and immediate utilitarian character on the other."

The Committee's convictions are clearly set forth in these words. They recognize in unmistakable terms, as Prof. Starling did with greater force that intellectual contact with great workers in physics, different branches of chemistry, biology including zoology is a great factor in stimulating that side of medical research which they call basic. This should be clear to everybody. If one wants to prepare a drug for, say, Kala-azar, dysentery, leprosy or small-pox on modern lines, he must look for guidance from a chemist in the chemical part of the work, to a bacteriologist in the bacteriological part of the work. Ehrlich's Salvarson, Brahmachari's Urea Stibamine, Chopra's investigations into pharmaceutical chemistry and a test for Kala-azar are

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triumphs of combination of chemistry and bacteriology. A medical researcher cut off from contact with an atmosphere of chemical and biological research, as would clearly happen to a worker at Dehra Dun, could never accomplish these results. Similar remarks will hold good about the advantages which a medical researcher will obtain from contact with first class workers in physics and branches of biology, *viz.*, physiology and zoology.

Professor Saha gave an illustration from personal experience of a medico-chemical research of great humanitarian value carried out in the humid atmosphere of Calcutta.

"I had the pleasure of listening to a lecture by my friend Colonel Christophers at Allahabad during the Science Congress of 1930, in which he described Dr. Brahmachari's drug as wonderful, because it has killed Kala-azar to the extent of 99 per cent. I have known Dr. Brahmachari since I was a student and he used to come so many times to the laboratory of the Presidency College, where I had been working. He had been trying different chemical preparations of antimony. I remember how many times he used to come to the colloid chemistry or the organic chemistry department, to Dr. N. R. Dhar and other workers, to get some idea of the best method of preparation of this drug. He had worked day and night in the atmosphere of Calcutta and carried out not less than 500 or 600 experiments and as a result he has got this wonderful drug."

But the Fletcher Committee having caught a fancy to Dehra Dun would not easily give up their ground. They want us to believe and persuade themselves to believe that Dehra Dun is as good a centre of intellectual activity as Calcutta or Bombay. Neither the Railway Institute, or the projected Royal Indian Military College, the Survey of India or the Forest Department on which they wax eloquent are likely to contain great chemists, physicists or biologists; nor will these places be ever the breeding ground of such men.

Lastly the claims of basic research has been wholly given away by such a competent authority as Colonel Acton of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta who thinks that there can be no basic research apart from clinical research. Says Colonel Acton:

"At present in medicine there are many *catch-words* that are used by its votaries which are really without very much meaning. *One of these is basic research*; as far as I can make out from the ideas I have obtained from its exponents, it consists in conducting investigations for years and years outside the realities of life, in the hope that one day something brilliant will culminate as the result of such researches. These findings will in turn be utilized for public utility by somebody who is in touch with life and its needs. Various examples are quoted, *i. e.*, the researches of Bordet on complement deviation and its application by Wassermann as a test for Syphilis; the other is the researches of Pasteur on the growth of organisms in sterile media, attenuation of viruses, the dextro and laevo-rotary power that certain substances possess when a beam of polarized light was passed through them. Now I contend that all these investigations were very much in touch with the realities of life. I am quite aware that *basic research should come first*, whenever possible; thus it is important to know the different species of mosquitoes, their several genera and their different habits, etc. *The real necessity to investigate them arose when Manson discovered the transmission of the Filaria bancrofti and its relation to the Culex fatigans* and still later by *Ross's discovery* of the malaria cycle in the Anopheles. Again the necessity for the knowledge of the classification of sandflies did not originate solely in the desire to know all about these insects, but from the urge that came from the field of clinical research, that these flies had some relationship to the transmission of sandfly fever, Baghdad sore and now Ka'a-azar. Clinical research has always given the stimulus to basic research in medicine, except in a few isolated instances. A complete description of the Culicoides may be very interesting to those entomologists who are dealing with this branch and may be of ultimate importance in veterinary, agricultural and medical science. Our object as medical men is to find out the causation, perfect methods for the diagnosis and cure of those diseases that decimate the population of the vast Empire. These results will be achieved by working in backwaters, where one cannot gauge the wants of the country, the habits of the people, the climate and conditions under which they live from season to season. Under these conditions one sees diseases that are of no vital importance to India elevated to one of major importance. In Calcutta the success of our researches has been due to the unstinted loyalty of the staff, who have worked during the epidemic season, because they fully realize that this is the time of the year most favourable for research, as the chances of infection were at their highest. One may be able to learn all about epidemic dropsy from the literature but one could never appreciate the importance of sudden storms and floods in the production of the disease unless one lived in the district year after year. In India the number of workers is so small, and financial conditions so stringent, and there are many urgent calls for necessitous research. Basic research can only be indulged in when necessity calls for its aid. There are a number of researches I could name which could be basic in character, giving us fundamental knowledge in physiology, pharmacology, systematic zoology, etc., but can we afford them in our present state of need? Many of these branches of science have more able investigators in Europe than we can afford and we can get our knowledge from their researches. In tropical medicine we have still an unexplored field where we want active and competent investigators to deal with our vital problems of disease."

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Regarding the climatic advantages on which the Fletcher Committee as well as the Government of India seemed to be so much insistent not much need be said. The argument is firstly the same which official apologists put forward in justification of the costly hill exodus. The conference had the advantage on this point of the opinion of one of the leading scientists of India, Prof. Sir C. V. Raman which was obtained through the enterprise of one of the delegates Captain P. B. Mukherjee of Patna. It may be mentioned that Sir C. V. Raman was invited to attend the conference, but he could not accept the invitation owing to other engagements. Says Sir C. V. Raman :

"Dear Mr. Mukherji,

Referring to your letter of the 12th July, I write to say that the Government of India nominated me as a non-official non-medical member of the conference to be held at Simla. Owing to other engagements, however, I was unable to accept the invitation.

I have been a researcher myself for 25 years and my aggregate stay at places in India which may be described as having "cool, temperate and equable" climates throughout this period does not exceed two months. I assume that the climate of Calcutta in which I have for the most part worked is not of that description. Nevertheless, neither myself nor my numerous co-workers find any difficulty in working 10 or 12 hours a day at Calcutta even during the summer months. Sir Leonard Rogers, Col. Knowles, Acton and other European medical men have found it possible to carry on research at Calcutta. To make the choice of a location for a central research institute depend upon its possessing a cool, temperate and equable climate is, in my opinion, most unwise and unjustified. There can be no greater mistake than to spend public money in establishing scientific institutes in isolated places, on the ground of fancied climatic advantages. The failure of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore and of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun,..."

A perusal of the reports both of Professor Starling and of the Fletcher Committee gives one the impression that if they were left to themselves, they would have recommended a University town with a large centre of population and containing a large number of persons eminent in cognate sciences of Physics, Chemistry and Biology as the site for the location of the C.M.R.I., but they allowed their better judgment to be overruled by some other considerations (which has not come out on the surface) put before them by the agents of the Government of India. What these considerations may be, will probably become apparent when we come to the criticisms of the next item, *viz.*, the method of recruitment.

There is a saying that an Englishman east of the Suez canal is different from his own self west of it. This mental transformation seems to have occurred to Sir Walter Fletcher and his colleagues while preparing the report. As Dr. Jivraj Mehta pointed out, no one in England was more eloquent about the co-operation between universities and research workers in Government service than Sir Walter Fletcher himself. In the Annual Report (1928-29) of the Medical Research Department and Council of Great Britain, of which Sir W. Fletcher is Secretary, the following passage occurs :

"It has always appeared to the committee that *it would be disastrous to the general intellectual interests of the country and no less damaging to the progress of research itself if the main body of research workers were maintained in an isolated service detached from and apart from the general system of scientific and medical education.* The importance of linking medical research work with University teaching is so universally admitted as to need no discussion here."

It was not a transient fit of sentiment on the part the Committee. The same sentiment were expressed in 1923-24 :

"The Council believe that while this intimate *nexus between their work and that of the Universities is an essential condition* for the right use of their own resources, it is also recognized and welcomed by the Universities themselves. They were gratified to have the independent testimony of the President of the Royal Society, Sir Charles Sherrington, Waynflete Professor in the University of Oxford, who in his Anniversary Address to the Society in 1921 expressed the following opinion of this policy pursued by the Medical Research Council ; One of the strengths of this organization that has arisen is, in my view, that *it inter-locks with the educational system of the country.* It is an organization which proceeds on the wise premiss that, in the case of science, the best way to get the fruit is to cultivate the tree. It is an organization which is proving successful and economical. Its output has proved a more than liberal return on the funds at its disposal."

Mode of Recruitment

The method proposed for recruitment to the medical research department was by far the most important part of the business, because the success of the scheme depends more upon men than upon buildings or even upon location. But the conference was not even allowed to discuss this important item. Dr. Jivraj Mehta had given a previous notice that the whole question of recruitment should be discussed by the conference, and several members pointed out that it was before the conference as

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stated in clause 3 of Mr. Jayakar's resolution. What they objected to was the reservation of 18 higher posts out of 30 for the members of Indian Medical Service. But the President, Sir Frank Noyce, ruled Dr. Mehta's motion as far as it related to the reservation of posts for members of the I. M. S. out of order on the plea that when he accepted Mr. Jayakar's motion, he had no idea to bring this item before the conference. His attention was drawn to the following remarks in his speech in the Assembly on Saturday, the 8th Feb., 1930 :

"To that conference, the Government is also willing to refer for considerat on the two other questions which have been raised in the resolution, *viz.*, the constitution of the Governing Body of the Research Fund Association (3) the question of recruitment to the medical Research Department."

But Sir. F. Noyce maintained that as the reservation of posts was already sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, he had in mind, when he accepted Mr. Jayakar's motion, only the constitution of the Recruitment Board. To this, one of the delegates retorted that it was not possible to divine what a speaker may have in his mind unless it was given expression to. But the President still stuck to his ruling. Against this decision, most of the University delegates, including Professor Saha, requested their emphatic protest to be recorded. We hope that the members would not allow this point to go unchallanged, when the question next comes before the Assembly.

The public should, therefore, be acquainted fully with the mode of recruitment proposed by the Fletcher Committee.

Each section is to have a director, one or more assistant directors who will be specialists, a number of assistants and research workers, besides the Director-in-Chief, the Assistant Director for administration, and the Assistant Director for publication. The Director-in-Chief is to get Rs. 3000 per month, the Directors Rs. 2500, and Assistant Directors Rs 1500. The latter are average figures. There will be altogether 30 higher posts of which 23, according to Government of India resolution of 1928, will be reserved for the members of the I. M. S. But the I. M. S. men are eligible for the remaining posts as well. They recommend the same scale of pay for I. M. S. as well as non-I. M. S. men.

In giving their blessing to the Government resolution the Fletcher Committee says :

"There are many advantages in recruiting from the Indian Medical Service. The men in the Service, before being employed in a laboratory, have passed some years in military employ in different parts of the country. They have had experience of discipline and if they have aptitude for research, they have usually had abundant leisure and opportunity to practise it."

All this is special pleading for the I. M. S. people, and is mere hypocrisy. First, the present method of recruitment to I. M. S. can be regarded only as an insult to Indian Universities and Indian intellect. The competitive examination in England has been abolished and recruitment is made by nomination. Nobody can be persuaded to believe that a class of men recruited under such conditions can claim any superiority over the general level of Indian medical graduates. Probably this vicious system would continue as long as the present system of Government continues (may these days be numbered !). Secondly, even supposing that the competitive examination, irrespective of nationality, be substituted, it is difficult to believe that an I. M. S. man will be better fitted for conducting research work than these men, say university professors, who have spent their lives in research work.

On the other hand, the presumption is that the I. M. S. man, being out of touch with scientific atmospheres, will forget all his science, and will have to learn everything from his subordinates before he is competent to undertake research work. This was practically admitted by General Graham, the Public Health Commissioner, who in answer to a query from Dr J. Mehta, admitted that at present a large proportion of I. M. S. men, who are appointed as directors or assistant directors of the existing Government Institutes (say the Haffkine Institute, Bombay), have to revert to their service because they are not found competent, or show no aptitude for research work after four or five years of trial period allowed to them. Dr. Mehta at once pointed out that this was a very costly experiment carried out at the expense of the public exchequer because about a lakh of rupees is wasted (in salary, etc. for probationary period of five years) merely to find out, whether a particular I. M. S. man is fit for research work or not. General Graham apparently

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did not realize that in making a statement, which was intended to be defensive of the Government practice, he fell into the trap laid for him by the wily representative from Bombay and practically gave away the Government case. Dr. Mehta pointed out that very often these I. M. S. men have to learn everything *de novo* from their subordinate staff about the working of the research department which they are appointed to conduct.

The standpoint taken by the representatives of the Indian Universities, including the non-medical scientists, was that they had no prejudice against I.M.S. men, but they wanted them to compete in the open market with the other medical men for these research posts. There should be no reservation of posts for any class of people. They pointed out that the Fletcher Committee has been very inconsistent in their recommendation because at one place they remarked :

"It should be definitely laid down and agreed to by all the members of the department that the department is one from which the rule *'Seniority by date of entry' is specifically excluded.*"

This clearly implies that in their better moments the Fletcher Committee wanted, as is the practice and tradition in all self-governing countries, that the promotion should be mainly by merit. If they wanted to be consistent they ought to have recommended that recruitment should also be by merit and all other extraneous and altruistic considerations should be rigidly excluded if the scheme is meant to be a success.

Indian Universities Ignored

From the above criticism of the Government scheme it will be observed that the whole object was to create, at the cost of Indian taxpayer, a number of costly posts which will mostly be reserved for European members of the I.M.S. They will be provided with sumptuous palaces in the salubrious climate of Dehra Dun or Kasauli and from these heights they will survey the dying and afflicted millions of India, and devise means for their salvation. Occasionally one or two prize-posts will be found for well-behaved Indian medical men in this I.M.S. paradise.

We have set forth the complete reasoning of the non-official members in not being able to agree to the Government scheme. But there is a further point which has not been so far stressed. In England, Germany and other advanced countries the scientific services of the Government are very closely connected with universities and other teaching institutions. Very often the director or officers of a scientific service are also recognized as Professors in the universities. The object is two-fold : first, the university students and teachers should get the benefit of the experiences of workers in the scientific services, secondly that the workers in scientific services should not get out of touch with the progress of science made in the universities. The liaison is worked out as far as the condition of work in two lines would permit. Thus in Germany, assistants or research students in the universities who have shown special aptitude for some line of research are taken as workers in various research institutes (Reichsanstalts, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, etc.) and there, if they do good work, may rise to be sectional directors. But very often they revert back to universities as assistant university professors or full professors. Some times the sectional directors are also glad to go back to the universities as professors, or university professors return to the research institutes as directors or director-in-chief.

The advantages of this method are quite apparent and this has secured to Germany a marvellously efficient educational system, and research work is carried on not only in the institutes but also in all university centres.

Why not adopt such a system for the proposed C. M. R I. ? Such an institute, wherever it is located, should be an All-India organization, and equal facilities should be given to deserving graduates of all universities to work there. The C. M. R. I. should thus be a good recruiting ground for officers of the C. M. R. I. and other provincial institutes. The closer connection between the universities and research institutes will further greatly facilitate the diffusion of new schemes.

On the other hand, as we have set forth in detail, the Government scheme would create a deep gulf between workers in the research institutes and professors in the universities. The research institutes would be simply the dumping ground of British universities medical graduates—Indians would be taken merely in subordinate positions as assistants, and research students and, as

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already observed, occasionally a few prize-boys may be found amongst them to fill up a few higher posts. The Indian members of the conference had no prejudice against graduates of British universities but they felt that they ought to come by the front door of open competition and not be thrust on an unwilling public by the back door of nomination.

The Indian Research Fund Association

This Association was founded in 1911 with Government financial support, in the hope that contributions would come to it from private sources. It receives from the Government Rs. 500,000 which with interest on invested capital and provision for salaries of certain officers (thus members of the bacteriological department whose salary was formerly met from the Director-General's budget) provides a total gross annual income for fluid expenditure upon research of approximately rupees nine lakhs.

Disbursement of Funds

The Association, besides financing investigations conducted by men in its direct employment, gives grants-in-aid to outside institutions or workers. It supports the Malaria organization, partially maintains the Kala-azar commission, and finances the Nutrition research laboratory at Coonoor in South India It publishes the Indian Journal of Medical Research and a series of memoirs. It has its own library and stores. Its object is to encourage medical research in all possible ways, official and non-official. It was managed by an entirely official committee consisting of the Member for Health in Viceroy's Council as Chairman, and the Public Health Commissioner of the Government of India as Secretary. The other members were D. G., I. M. S., Director, Kasauli Institute, Director, Central Malarial Bureau, and the Secretary to the Department of Health. The Fletcher Committee thought that the Governing Body of this Association was too much officialized, but the recommendations for non-officializing the body was very *original*. They recommended that the Association should be the chief source of recruitment for the non-I. M. S. men of the Government permanent Medical Research Department which includes the C. M. R. I. as well as certain other provincial institutes which number about 20 in the higher grades, and the best way to secure this end was to add to the Governing Body

A representative of the India Office.
A representative of the Ministry of Health of England.
A representative of the Medical Research Council of Great Britain.
A representative of the Royal Society.

The object in making this recommendation is stated in very unsophisticated terms. It will secure to India a stream of well-qualified graduates from British universities to solve her disease problems. In other words, the Fletcher Committee, after having been satisfied that the interests of the I. M. S. were safeguarded by the Secretary of State, did not want to see that the subordinate Government of India should jeopardize the interests of other British medical men who are not fortunate to be called to the I. M. S. by making concessions to Indian sentiments. This decision was taken in persuance of a resolution of the Research Sub-committee of the Imperial Conference of October 1926, presided over by the Earl of Balfour, in which the interests of Indian research was represented by the Maharajah of Burdwan!

Throughout the 69 pages of the Report of the Fletcher Committee, the Indian universities very seldom occur. Probably the Committee thought that they were Pariah institutions, unworthy of furnishing workers to the Brahmanic hierarchy of the medical research department.

In the Conference, the Government of India, however, showed a more reasonable attitude.

They had represented to the Secretary of State that they could not accept the Fletcher Committee's recommendation that the four British members should be allowed to sit in the Governing Council in executive capacity, but that they were willing to see a consultative Board created in England. This Board has been appointed with an extra representative *of Scottish interests*, but has not yet began to function.

In the proposal which the Government of India submitted before the Conference, they were willing to expand the existing Governing Body to one of 10 members, consisting of, besides the official members above-mentioned, two representatives of Indian universities, one eminent non-medical scientist, one European non-I. M. S., and one Indian non-I. M. S. member. But the Conference adopted the

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following composition proposed by Dr. K. S. Ray :

OFFICIALS :

1. The Hon'ble the Member-in-charge of Health.
2. The Secretary to the Department of Health.
3. Director-General, I. M. S.
4. The Public Health Commissioner, Government of India.
5. The Director of Public Health Institute, Calcutta.
6. The Director-in-Chief of the C. M. R. I.

NON-OFFICIALS :

7 to 13. One representative of the Medical Faculty of each University.

14. One eminent non-medical scientist to be nominated by the Indian Chemical Society.

15. One eminent non-medical non-chemist scientist to be nominated by the Indian Science Congress.

16 to 18. Three representatives of the Assembly.

19. One representative of the Council of State,

20 to 22. Three representatives to be elected by the Executive Council of the Indian Medical Association.

23. Any donor of upwards of one lakh of rupees.

The resolution was passed by a majority of 7 to 3.

To this proposal, the official members raised the objection that the body was becoming too unwieldy. They pointed out that the Medical Research Council of Great Britain consisted only of eleven members.

It turned out, on scrutiny, that of these eleven members only two were officials, and the rest were chosen on exactly the same principles on which Dr. K. S. Ray's proposal was based, namely—representative of legislature, private medical profession, non-medical cognate sciences, and universities. One word should be said about university representation. In Great Britain, research work is mainly carried on in universities, and research workers, even when on Government pay, are associated closely with universities. There is, therefore, no need of specifying university representation. But in India, as long as the practice of safe-guarding the I. M. S. dominance in all Government appointments be continued, university representation must be secured, otherwise the Research Institutes would remain closed to graduates of Indian universities.

THE RECRUITMENT BOARD

This will deal with the recruitment of officers for the Medical Research Department for both I. M. S. (provided the reservation continues) as well as non-I. M. S. men. The Government proposed the following board :

1. Director-General, I. M. S.
2. The Public Health Commissioner.
3. Director-in-Chief, C. M. R. I.
4. Director, Public Health Institute.
5. Director, Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.
6. One eminent non-medical scientist to be nominated by the Viceroy.

7 & 8. Two representatives of Medical Faculties.

9 & 10. One European, one Indian non-I. M. S. man.

The Conference accepted the following composition of the Recruitment Board :

1. Public Health Commissioner, Government of India.
2. Director-in-Chief, C.M.R.I,
3. Director-in-Chief, Public Health Institute, Calcutta.
4. One eminent non-medical scientist.

5,6,7. Three other members to be elected by the Governing Body from University representatives and independent medical profession.

The Selection Board may co-opt an eminent scientist who has specialized in the subject in which the appointment is to be made.

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED UNANIMOUSLY :

1. That twenty Research scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem be instituted to be awarded by the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association to the various medical institutions which are prepared to train young medical graduates with aptitude for research.

2. That this Conference recommends that pending the creation of the Central Medical Research Institute, the Government of India should institute scholarships tenable in foreign countries to be given to deserving graduates of Indian universities for proceeding abroad to get training in special subjects.

3. That this Conference recommends that the amount of Rs. 73,000 which Government was to contribute under the scheme for the establishment of a Public Health Institute at Calcutta and for a Medical Research Institute at Dehra Dun as submitted to the Standing Finance Committee in August, 1928, be given as an extra grant to the Research Fund Association.

4. That the Central Medical Research Institute, when completed, shall have the following sections :

1. Malarial Survey.
2. Medical Biology.
3. Nutrition.
4. Bacteriology (including manufacture of sera and vaccines).
5. Bio-chemistry.
6. Applied Physiology.
7. Clinical Research.

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SUMMARY

From the above short account of the proceedings of the Conference, and the history of the scheme, we can summarize the following main conclusions :

1. That the popular representatives are very keen to see the Central Medical Research Institute with the branches mentioned above established at as early a date as possible.

Financial stringency should not be allowed to interfere with the early execution of the scheme.

2. That the Institute should be located in a University town where large facilities are available for clinical research, and for intellectual contact with workers in other sciences, *viz.*, different branches of Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, Botany and Zoology.

3. Recruitment should be entirely by merit and on a professional basis. No post should be reserved for members of the I. M. S. or of any other service. There should be intimate nexus between the work of the Research Institute and of the Indian Universities. No preference should be given to the University of the town in which the Institute is located.

The non-official members of the Institute have done their duty and it now remains for members of the Legislature to see that their recommendations are accepted.

The House of Mystery

BY SANTA DEVI

HARIHAR had just graduated from the Medical College. He rented two rooms in one of the suburbs of Calcutta and fixed a shining door-plate with his name and degree clearly inscribed on it. The sitting room boasted of chairs, tables and a materia medica. There were, besides, rows of empty and full phials and awe-inspiring surgical instruments. But patients failed to come. So Harihar became more fond of the veranda than of the sitting-room. He put a deck-chair there and would recline in it, gazing at his empty sitting-room. But this diversion was not much to his liking. So most of his time he would spend bending over the railings and looking down at the road beneath or at the neighbouring houses, whose mystery he would try to unravel with curious eyes.

On one side of his house was a plot of waste land. A ruined mosque stood in the middle of it. Chains of wild flowers decked its walls perennially and shoots of banyan and *aswattha* would spring out through every nook and crevice. Every evening, rows of earthen lamps decorated its steps, making the dark gaping wounds in its body all the darker. But Harihar found no mystery in it. He could conceive of no romance, dwelling inside its ruined grandeur.

On the other side, lived the large family of Joykrishna Babu, a dealer in boxes and trunks. He had married twice and was the happy father of eight ebony-complexioned daughters and five sons. He had scores of grand-children, and daughters and sons-in-law besides. All these filled every nook and corner of the small two-storied house so completely, that there was hardly room for a needle in addition. From the earliest break of dawn, a never-ceasing clamour would go on. Some of the inmates drew water, some washed dishes, some lighted fires. Then the gentlemen had their breakfast, prior to departing for their various offices. Even when evening merged into night, the clamour would scarcely cease. Some of the womenfolk dressed their hair, washed themselves, beat the children, and rubbed the tired feet of the men-folk with mustard oil. There was no person or place in the whole house, who or which could be endowed with a halo of mystery, by the greatest of imaginative efforts. Everything they did was so plain and simple! You cannot have mystery, unless you have obscurity.

The house which stood facing Harihar's house on the other side of the lane was a veritable fountain of mystery to him. He could give

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the reins to his imagination over it to his heart's content. Day after day, he felt the beat of its life, but he knew none of the inmates, what they did or who they were. He built innumberable castles in the air concerning them one after another. What he erected today, to-morrow he would demolish, and the mystery grew deeper and deeper.

It was a huge house of red brick, with a paved courtyard in the middle. Rows of shutters adorned one of its sides, looking like closed eyelids of a blind man. Nobody knew when they had been last opened admitting God's air and light inside, to visit the ladies residing there. Years had gone by probably. The sun rose everyday, bringing with it offerings of golden light. But no fair one ever opened the closed shutters and accepted the gift.

Harihar was an early riser. It was a habit of his student days, when he had to read hard for examinations. He would lie on the bed, patiently endeavouring to recapture his lost sleep. But he failed everyday, and as the sun flashed on his bed, he would jump up at once. From the house next door would come the familiar sounds of everyday, of running water, of the washing of dishes, the voice of women and children. The whole family was awake and alert. Rows of wet clothes hung from the verandas, blew hither and thither, and seemed to endow the old barelooking house with pulsating life.

Harihar would yawn once or twice, then get up and come out on the veranda. The old red house stood still and desolate, as it always did. He did not know who the lonely hermit was that dwelt there. Harihar's servants would come with his tea. He would sit down on his canvas deck-chair and enjoy it slowly. A servant would approach the red house with the day's marketing and knock at the front door. It would open, admit him and close the next instant. Beggars would cry at the door, "Glory to the queen mother, give the poor beggar something." The door would open noiselessly again. A maid-servant with veiled face would appear, pour some alms into the beggar's bowl, and vanish behind the closed door once more. In the intense heat of summer, when the crow would sit on the railings of the terrace, tired and thirsty, the same maid-servant would stretch out her hand from behind the shutter, and pour some water into the tin, hanging there for relieving the thirst of these birds. She would not forget even the hungry dog, sitting by the side of the door, lolling out its tongue. Thus the day would pass on. The shutters of the red house would remain closed, thus shutting itself in from the toils and turmoils of the outside world. The constant flow and pulsation of life round it affected it not. In the other houses the doors opened and shut unceasingly and resoundingly. The gentlemen went to their offices, or returned for their lunch, the boys went to school, the girls returned from the free morning school, and went about, some filling pitchers at the public water tap, some buying spices at the shop, and some, the very little ones, running from one house to another playing with dolls. So the doors opened and shut, keeping touch with the outer world. Even in the darkness of night, there were knocks, and the opening and bolting of doors. Some of the gentlemen would return very late at night, after playing cards or enjoying the theatre. Their knockings would rouse the sleeping inmates of the house, as well as their neighbours. But the red house remained silent and apart, taking no part in anything. Harihar never saw any visitors coming, or heard any sound of laughter or crying there. No children's feet ever danced on its hard breast. But it could hardly be said that the inmate was an ascetic.

The few occasions, on which the veiled woman opened the door, afforded Harihar an opportunity of looking into the interior of the house. He saw a large room paved with marble. A huge bedstead of ebony, on which was spread a snow-white bed, a large mirror, and beautiful-coloured *saris*, adorning the clothes-stand; all these he saw at one glimpse. But further his eyes could not see. He could only take in with his breath the odour of countless faded flowers, which the opening of the door had released in the air. He could not understand this perfume. Did it come from some beautiful fair body imprisoned there? Had some one carried off a celestial nymph and kept her in seclusion in this silent mansion? Did the fragrance come from her hair, or from her drapery? His heart ached to catch a sight of that beautiful sad face, if only for one moment. He wanted like the knights-errant of medieval times to rush to her rescue and earn

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deathless ame and love at the same time.

In the hot, sultry afternoon, when the roads were nearly empty and when even the neighbouring houses seemed silent for a while, Harihar would try to have a short nap, spreading a mat on the floor. But the imprisoned life within the red house took advantage of this momentary silence and seemed to try to tell him something. It banished sleep from his eyes. Someone seemed to be moving about inside the dark, closed room, somebody seemed to be tugging at the closed doors and windows. Was the fair prisoner trying to escape? Was she dying of suffocation in her imprisonment? He would lay his ear on the floor of his room, and seem to hear the smothered weeping of some heart in anguish. He would rush out, only to find cobwebs and layers of dust, lying thick on the doors and windows. They seemed to be enjoying an eternal sleep; no sign of awakening could be felt there.

On full-moon nights, Harihar would lie on the open terrace of his house and gaze at the moonlight falling in showers over the cocoanut grove. It seemed to him, some voice, deep and mysterious like this light, was resounding through that silent red mansion. Who was that ardent lover, who had come in quest of his beloved, inside that dark corner? The outer world, full of light, had no attraction for him. He seemed to feel a wave of joy, surging through that darkness. It seemed a greater thing than even that wonderful moonlight. The night wind became heavy with fragrance, and the darkness seemed to pulsate with life. Perhaps this was the trysting-place of some secret love, which was shy of human ken.

Thus days passed and seasons came and went. But no attempts were made to rescue the imprisoned damsel, or to fathom the mysteries of her heart. Gradually even his thoughts began to change. He no longer felt the same interest. But suddenly, on one moonlight night, the front door of the red mansion opened, and the veiled form of the maid-servant came out. She came and stood at Harihar's gate. "Come with me, doctor," was all that she said.

Harihar got up asking no questions. He got down the stairs and approached the front door of the red house. He had never seen any outsider crossing its threshold and felt rather diffident. But the maid-servant said, "Please come in."

Harihar entered. Even the veranda was paved with marble slabs which shone in the light. Rows of flower-pots were arranged on both sides. He looked through the open door of a room, it was meant to be a bathroom. A huge bathing tub of china stood there, full of water. On a small wooden table were arranged toilet requisites of silver. Everything shone brightly. A staircase led to the first floor. On the landing stood a large mirror, in a frame of ebony. A chandelier of silver hung overhead, but there were no candles in it.

Harihar came in front of a room on the first floor. A red curtain covered the door. The maid-servant held it up, asking Harihar to enter. Harihar recognized the room at once. He had often caught glimpses of it, through half-open doors and past wind-blown curtains. The same bedstead of ebony, the same snow-white bedding and pillows, the same mirror, with silver candle-stands on both sides. A small teapoy, with heaps of flowers on it, stood by the bed. Beautiful clothing, embroidered in gold and silver, was heaped on the cloth-horse. The room was a medley of colours. A pair of red slippers, another of gold-embroidered velvet could be seen. A small table in the corner stood full of toilet articles of gold and silver, oils, perfumes and pastes of every description.

What a strange sickroom! Harihar felt extremely awkward. He must have entered the bedroom of some fair damsel by mistake. But there did not seem to be anybody in it. He would have liked to escape before being detected by the angry eyes of the residing beauty. He could not see her, but he felt her presence in every nook and corner of the room. Has some magic rendered her invisible? The maid-servant passed across the room and held up another curtain, disclosing a smaller apartment. It looked bare and empty. Only a small bed stood in the corner. The room was dark and Harihar could not see properly, but someone seemed to be lying on it. The maid-servant lighted a lamp. Harihar could see the patient now, skeleton-like frame, lying on the bed. He looked up, frightened at the strange glare of light and asked, "Why such light?" His face became pale as death in alarm. The maid-servant pointed to the doctor. The patient turned to him and asked

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"Can you tell me, doctor, what has happened to me?"

Harihar said: "I have come for that purpose."

"Then please, be quick about it," said the patient. "It's nearly time for her coming."

"Whose coming?" asked the doctor in surprise.

The patient beckoned to him with his hand, on which knotted veins stood out like cords. "Jaminee is coming, Jaminee," he whispered in Harihar's ear.

Harihar's old curiosity re-awakened.

"Who is Jaminee?" he asked eagerly.

The patient frowned deeply. "Who is Jaminee?" he said "Why, she is all. Can't you see? Does it not seem like her room? Is this the work of a single day? For years I have gathered all these, piece-meal. I have spent my heart's blood on it, that is why it looks so beautiful today. Tell me doctor, is it not beautiful enough to suit her?"

Harihar understood nothing. Still he said, "Yes, it is." A sad smile appeared on the patient's face. "Then why this delay?" he asked "These tricks are unsuitable now. I made a mistake first, still she should not make me suffer for ever, playing hide and seek like this. I don't know what pleasure women derive from it. I could not bind her to me in any way. She was the daughter of a king and I, a poor beggar. Lest she might suffer in poverty, I did not want to bring her to my home. It takes time to build a residence fit for a princess. But it hurt her pride, I suppose. My untiring zeal and effort are of no value to her. My words failed to keep her. So I thought, I would keep her a prisoner in this cage of gold. I had the house surrounded by a high wall. Even bandits could not scale this wall, but she got through it, I know not how. Then I had all the doors and windows nailed up. Just as you see, only one door is left open, for communication with the outer world. But she was like a flash of lightning; doors and windows could not check her. I roam through the house all day to see if there is any opening left, if the bolts and bars have failed in their duty. But I understand nothing."

"If she has escaped already," said Hari har "then why do you take further trouble?"

The patient laughed. "You don't know her," he said, "she is an enchantress and visits me every night to keep my agony fresh. She comes in the dark and talks to me from a distance. As soon as it is light, she vanishes into the air. I don't see her with my eyes. I search for her everywhere, every nook and corner of this building, but I fail to find her. I don't know through which door she comes and goes. I leave open the garden door for her after the dark, but after she has come in I have found the door locked from inside on many occasions."

"Why don't you light a lamp and see?" asked Harihar.

"I did so twice," said the patient, "but she escaped, like a gust of stormy wind, and we could find her no more, though I and the maid-servant looked everywhere. For two nights, I lost the pleasure of feeling her presence even. She said if ever I tried this trick again, I would see her dead or she would disappear, never to come again. So, I never tried again in fear. She is the goddess of fortune of this house. In order to propitiate her, I never turn away a a beggar, or even a hungry dog from my door. Still I cannot keep her with me.

The patient had talked too much, and began to gasp. The doctor in Harihar awakened and he began his duty. He put the patient to sleep after a good deal of difficulty, and came out. He found the maid-servant waiting by the door. "What's the matter with him?" he asked her. "Does he suffer from insomnia much?"

"I have never seen him sleeping," she answered. "All night, he talks, laughs and weeps. Jaminee is with him."

"Where is Jaminee?" asked the doctor.

"She is here," answered the woman.

Harihar was surprised. "Then why cannot anyone see her?" he asked.

"She could be seen easily, but the mad man does not recognize her," the maid-servant replied.

"How strange!" said the doctor. "He seems so deeply in love with her, still he cannot recognize her?"

The woman smiled sadly. "Why strange, sir?" she asked. "It would have been strange, if he had recognized her. It is past forty years since he saw her last."

Harihar's surprise increased. "What do you mean?" he asked.

"When Abhilas wanted to marry a daughter of the zemindars of Ramnagar,

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she was fifteen and he was twenty. He was a dependant of the great zamindars, and had not a pice to call his own. The big folk laughed inordinately at this beggar's presumption. "His ambition is high enough," they said, "but does his manliness stop with the expression of a high desire?" Abhilas felt deeply hurt. "All right," he said. "The day, I am fit to ask for her, I shall return. Nobody would dare to turn me away then." So he went away, in search of money. The zemindar began to negotiate for his daughter's marriage in suitable houses. But the girl refused. She would not marry. Abhilas returned after four years. He had secured a post, carrying a pay of eighty rupees a month. The girl was still unmarried. But the aristocrats would not unbend. "He had got enough to pay for her betel and spices. But what about food and clothing?" they asked in jest.

Abhilas wanted to see Jaminee once, but he was turned off with rough words. He went away again. This time, nobody knew whither he went. The girl's age increased everyday, but nobody could persuade her to marry. At last she became quite a woman. Her relatives felt too humiliated to show their face in public. They sent emissaries in search of Abhilas. They would gladly accept him as a son-in-law now.

But this time, it was he who refused. His house was not ready, he said. Another messenger went, after a time. The jewels were not ready, Abhilas told him. A third man also was turned back with the message that suitable furniture had not been made. At last everyone understood that the fellow had gone mad. Time went on. At last, the unthinkable happened. All the male members of the house of Ramnagar died, leaving an unmarried woman in the house. She inherited everything.

Suddenly, one day it was bruited that Abhilas had come back to marry her. Jaminee wept tears of agony, when she heard it. Then she got up, and drawing a veil over her gray hair went to meet him.

But she had forgotten many things—her white hair, her falling teeth, the scars time had left on her beauteous face, and the stiffening and bending of her once fairylike form. As she stood before Abhilas, with a smile on her face, he burst out angrily. "Have not you had enough yet? Still messengers? What do you want, you ugly old hag? Go and send Jaminee to me."

Jaminee's world seemed to turn a somersault before her eyes. She staggered away somehow. She wept for a day, then wrote a letter to him.

"I shall send my maid-servant to your house," she wrote. "Then I shall go at my leisure and arrange about everything. There is no one living who can give me away at the wedding. I shall have to arrange about that, too. I called you again and again, still you did not come. How can you think that I shall respond to your first call? Let the maid-servant go and prepare everything for my coming."

So Abhilas had to remain content with that. Next day, Jaminee stole out of her own house and entered Abhilas's house. She disguised herself as a maid-servant and began to work for Abhilas. She took great care of him, and put the house in apple-pie order, still the mad man did not recognize her. At last, one night she dressed herself in silk and jewels and went to tell him. Abhilas started as soon as he heard her voice. Jaminee understood. Only her voice was unchanged. Tears again started to her eyes. She decided not to disclose her identity. Thus days are passing, she comes every night in the dark and talks to him. The mad man does not understand that the woman he wants is dead. Nothing can bring her back to him. He sings the praises of her fairylike beauty every night. Any hope Jaminee ever harboured of making herself known dies afresh every night at this. They talk and talk, but never see each other. In the darkness, they get back to those long past days of romance. But in the light of day, there is no comfort anywhere for Jaminee. She smothers her wails of grief somehow, lest Abhilas might recognize her voice."

"Where is Jaminee?" asked Haribar. "Let me see her once, please." With a wan smile the maid-servant drew up the veil from her face, on which were painted the ravages of years. "I am Jaminee," she said.

It was dawn when Haribar returned to his house, after trying hard to calm his dying patient. He sprawled on his canvas deck-chair and wondered whether he had had a tragic romantic dream.

Translated by Seeta Devi

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Irritability of Plants

L. NARAYANA RAO, M. SC.,

THE discoveries made at the Bose Research Institute have opened out new fields of exploration of the mechanism which underlies plant and animal life. The success of these discoveries has been due to the invention of various automatic recorders of extraordinarily great sensitiveness. For the successful employment of those new devices it is necessary not only to understand the technique of the new methods but also to acquire, under special training, a considerable amount of practice in the use of the instruments. The facility of working at the Bose Institute has, on special occasions, been accorded to advanced investigators accredited by some of the leading universities of the West. One of the most distinguished plant physiologists of Europe has thus been able to repeat, with invariable success, a considerable number of Bose's most important experiments (see *Nature*, Aug. 4, 1928, and April 13, 1929).

It is obviously the duty of our workers to pursue the lines of biological research initiated in one of the important scientific centres of India. As a result of special representation made by the Mysore University, Sir J. C. Bose generously gave me every opportunity to become acquainted at first hand with the new methods of investigation. It has thus been possible for me to repeat without a single failure some of the crucial experiments upon which the discoveries made at the Institute are based. Limitation of space allows description of only a few of the crucial experiments which open out a new and wider outlook in investigations on the life processes in the plant, leading to the discovery of essential similarity of physiological mechanisms in plants and animals.

Form and Function of the Organ

Investigators are liable to fall into error by concentrating their attentiou on the form rather than on the function of the organ. It is to be borne in mind in this connection that on account of similarity of function, plants are acknowledged to have digestive organs (*e. g.*, Drosera, Dionaea, Nepenthes) though there is great difference in the form of these organs in the plant and in the animal. The plant-world affords a unique opportunity for studying the stages by which a simple and primitive organ becomes gradually developed into one of greater complexity. In sensitive plants like *Mimosa pudica*, stimulus applied on the petiole is conducted as an invisible impulse to the distant motile organ, the pulvinus causing a sudden fall of the leaf. The idea that the impulse in the plant is analogous to the nervous impulse in the animal, seems to appear strange to certain investigators, who regard the conducting tissue which transmits excitation to a distance as necessarily a peculiar fibrous structure leading to a highly specialized nerve-centre. But in regard to nervous function, it is to be remembered, that the conducting tissue of the animal kingdom itself exhibits wide variation from simple type in *Medusae* to the more complex in the higher animals. The conducting tissue of the plant would naturally be expected to be much simpler in structure. The question to be decided is whether or not the process of conduction of excitation is similar in the two cases.

Conduction of Excitation in Plants Analogous to the Propagation of Nervous Impulse in Animals

Attempts have been made to explain the transmission of the impulse in plants by the Transpiration-current theory based on the supposition that a hypothetical stimulant excreted as a result of irritation of the wood by wound, is transmitted by the transpiration-current and conveyed to the leaf, which it stimulates to movement. The following experiments, which I was able to repeat with invariable success, are strongly against the theory of transpiration-current. The results were obtained not merely with *Mimosa*

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pudica, but also with other sensitive plants and their different organs.

Excitation of Plant by the Polar action of an Electric Current

Bose discovered that as in the animal nerve, so also in the conducting tissue of the plant an excitatory impulse is initiated at the kathode (and conducted to a distance) by the make of a feeble current. With a moderately strong current excitation is produced not only at the kathode by the make, but also at the anode by the break of the current. I found the simplest and most convincing way of demonstration is to take a potted *Mimosa pudica* and make suitable electrical connections with two petioles, one to the right and the other to the left. When the point at the right petiole was made the kathode an excitatory impulse was invariably generated which travelling to the pulvinus caused excitatory fall of the leaf, the left leaf remaining unexcited. When the electrical current was reversed in direction, the left leaf underwent a fall, the right leaf showing no sign of excitation. On increasing the strength of the current excitatory impulse was initiated not only at the kathode-make but also at the anode-break. In the experiments just described there was no hydro-mechanical disturbance nor was there any wound to induce the secretion of any hypothetical stimulant. Nevertheless an impulse was invariably generated which travelled with a definite velocity and caused the fall of the leaf. *The discriminative excitatory transmission in plants on kathode-make and on anode-break affords conclusive proof that it is due neither to hyromechanical disturbance nor to the transpiration-current, but is a propagation of protoplasmic excitation as in the conducting nerve of the animal.*

Arrest of the Impulse by Physiological blocks

Various physiological blocks are known to arrest the nervous impulse in the conducting tissue of the animals. No difficulty was experienced in arresting the impulse in plants by the interposition of these blocks in the path of the conduction. Thus the excitatory impulse was found to be completely blocked in the region which had been paralyzed by the action of excessive cold. Poisonous solutions caused a permanent abolition of the power of conduction. Further the nervous impulse in the animal becomes arrested by the electrotonic block, the most important characteristic of which is that it persists only during the passage of the blocking current. In carrying out parallel experiments with plants with electrotonic current "on" and "off" the transmitted excitation was alternately arrested and allowed to proceed without hindrance.

I found that most of the experiments described above can easily be repeated with *Mimosa pudica* which can be grown in the open or in green-houses in all parts of the world. The instrumental appliances in most cases are very simple, consisting of a battery of dry cells and a reversing key. No difficulty was experienced in repeating the experiments which, by their direct evidence, put an end to the various wrong speculations hitherto held in regard to the nature of the transmitted impulse in plants. The experiments described have raised the inquiry from the sphere of speculation to that of well-authenticated facts. Limitation of space prevents description of other experiments which I have been able to repeat regarding the characteristics of rhythmic activity in plants, which are affected by external changes in a manner very similar to those of rhythmic activity in animal tissues. These and other facts lend the strongest support to the doctrine of unity of physiological mechanism in plants and animals, which undoubtedly opens out a vast field of experimental exploration in the phenomenon of life.

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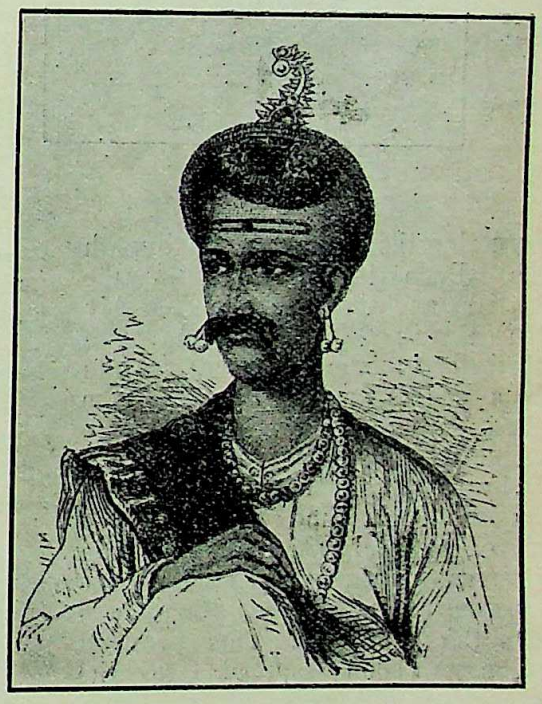
A Life-sketch of Nana Fadnis

By G. S. SARDESAI, B. A.

VARIOUS estimates have been published about the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis; but few know any of the striking details of his personal life, which, as in the case of all great figures in history, are ever full of interest. It is the object of this paper to give a short account of Nana's private life and family.

Nana Fadnis, the great Maratha politician, who, along with Mahadji Sindhia, was practically responsible for the post-Panipat period of Maratha history, belonged to a Konknastha Brahman family, surnamed Bhanu, residing at Velas, a small village on the west coast, north of Ratnagiri. The Peshwas, too, were a Brahman family from Konkan, but bearing the surname of Bhat. Balaji Mahadev, the grand-father of Nana, shared the fortunes of the first Peshwa and accompanied him in the capacity of Fadnis or accountant in his expedition to Delhi for assisting the Saiyad Brothers in 1719, but was unfortunately killed in a casual affray, that took place outside the imperial palace between the Maratha troops and those of the Vazir Amin Khan. Upon the return of the Peshwa to Satara in the autumn of that year, King Shahu rewarded the deceased's son Janardan Baba by conferring upon him his father's office and a village in perpetual *inam*. This Janardan Baba, the father of Nana, was married to Rakhmabai, sister of Balwant Rao Mehendale, a famous general of the Peshwas, later killed at Panipat, and was brought up in the vigorous atmosphere created by the exploits of the famous Peshwa Baji Rao I. Janardan Baba served the third Peshwa Balaji Rao faithfully for sixteen years, but not being of a robust constitution, clever and trusted though he was, suffered from a chronic internal complaint and being unable to stand the necessary privations of an arduous camp life, died suddenly in November 1756 just after crossing the Nerbudda in the Maratha expedition led by Raghunath Rao against Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Nana, the only offspring of Janardan and Rakhmabai, was born at Poona on February 12, 1742, only nine months before the birth of Vishvas Rao (another victim at Panipat) the eldest son of the Peshwa, so that the two boys, along with the Peshwa's second son Madhav Rao, were brought up together in the palace at Poona under the fostering care of Sadashiv Rao Bhau, whose stern discipline and methodical business habits were so fully imbibed by the young Nana. The personal touches contained in that small but illuminating document which is known as Nana's autobiography* amply prove Nana's



Nana Fadnis

obligations to Bhau. In this connection it should be remembered that the Bhats and the Bhanus lived and worked as members of one joint family for more than three generations, so that when Peshwa Narayan Rao was murdered, Nana Fadnis felt it his duty not only to avenge the murder but to take upon himself the charge of the administration. Another point to be borne in mind in

* English translation printed by Rawlinson in his *Last Battle of Panipat*, pp. 56-60.

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analysing the state affairs of the Marathas is that at the death of Shahu, Peshwa Balaji Rao divided his activity into two distinct spheres, the Northern and the Southern,



Raghoba

entrusting the former to Raghunath Rao Dada (the Ragoba of the English) and the latter to Sadashiv Rao Bhau: Sakharam Bapu was attached to the former, while Nana Fadnis was attached to the latter. Thus a kind of subtle jealousy began to grow in the Peshwa's family between the two cousins Bhau and Dada, which proved so fatal at Panipat. Dada was as unacquainted with the Southern situation as Bhau was with the Northern. This personal jealousy soon spread to the respective followers of the two, establishing two hostile camps during the regime of Peshwa Madhav Rao. Malhar Rao Holkar, Sakharam Bapu, Gangoba Tatya, Chinto Vithal, Sakharam Hari and several other high officers were the declared followers of Raghoba; while Mahadji Sindhia, Nana Fadnis, Trimbak Rao Pethe, and the Patwardhans were his open opponents and sided with young Madhoo Rao. This bifurcation of interests led eventually to a civil war. Hence this personal antagonism in the Pestwa's family supplies the key to the problem why certain affairs developed in the way they did, why, for instance, Sakharam Bapu and Nana Fadnis very often held contrary views on points of policy, thereby creating irreconcilable factions in the same state.

Upon his father's death, Nana received the robes of his office on 29th Nov., 1756 at the age of fourteen and at once accompanied Bhau into the Carnatic and worked under him throughout the next campaigns of Sindkhed, Udgir, and Panipat. It appears that when Bhau undertook the command of the Panipat expedition, he asked for the services of Sakharam Bapu, as an experienced diplomat well-versed in the affairs of the North, but Raghoba would not spare him; and this gave the chance of his life to Nana, and obtained for him unique opportunities for acquiring strict training, first under Bhau and after him with the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao, a training which supplied Nana with many valuable essentials of future greatness, *viz.*, capacity for incessant labour, regularity and dispatch, attention to details,



Malhar Rao Holkar

rigid and restrained manners, and above all an unremitting care of the purse. But for this

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notable exception of generalship, Nana's preparation was complete for enabling him to undertake the full responsibilities of the Maratha State, when circumstances called him to shoulder them after the Peshwa Narayan Rao was murdered.

Possessing a weak and delicate constitution, Nana was not fitted by nature for the rough and tumble of camp life. He was tall and thin, not very fair in complexion, remarkably grave in countenance, and unusually reserved in manners. It is said he was hardly ever seen to laugh or joke. In the dispatch of business he trusted more to his pen than to his tongue. He was always sparing in promises, but once he committed himself to any particular course of action, even his opponents were sure that he would stick to his word at all risks. His younger cousin Moroba Fadnis was of a totally different nature and so jealous from the beginning of Nana's rise that he intrigued against him in season and out of season and had on that account to waste his precious life in a long imprisonment of a quarter of a century from which he was released by Baji Rao II only after the death of Nana.

Nana Fadnis and Mahadji Sindhia were contemporaries and more or less jointly responsible for the whole course of Maratha affairs of the post-Panipat period, in which it is well to remember that whenever the two heartily collaborated, the Maratha State received immense strength, but their frequent disagreement equally weakened Maratha influence on all sides. Their signal service consists in their victory over the British power, who, taking advantage of the murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao, sheltered the rebel Raghoba and launched on a wanton war against the Maratha nation. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in estimating the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis, there cannot be a doubt that the last stage of his active career, namely, the five years after the unfortunate death of the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao II, was a series of blunders, a rapid downhill slide, which nearly wrecked all the good work that he had done previously. His resignation and complete retirement from politics would have been better not only for his own interests but also for those of the state. Like many other notable personages in history, Nana committed the mistake of considering himself indispensable and paid the penalty for his vacillation by undergoing confinement and indignities at the hands of his unscrupulous master Baji Rao II and the inexperienced youth Daulat Rao Sindhia. The huge fortune that Nana had long toiled to amass, only served to excite the cupidity of all who possessed the strength to snatch it away and it eventually vanished away so quickly that, at his death, the Arab mercenaries whom he had employed to guard his person, clamoured for the long arrears of their pay and refused to permit his body to be removed for cremation, until their claims were satisfied.



Narayan Rao Peshwa

Nana Fadnis' domestic life was far from happy. He had married as many as nine wives, all probably in succession, some certainly with a view to leaving his progeny behind him, an object he was not destined to attain; for although he had three children in all, two daughters and one son,—they all died young, thus compelling him to adopt heirs to perpetuate his name. Had any of his daughters grown up, he had a mind to make the young Peshwa his son-in-law. His eighth wife survived him only for two weeks. His last wife however had a sad and romantic fate, and figures prominently in the

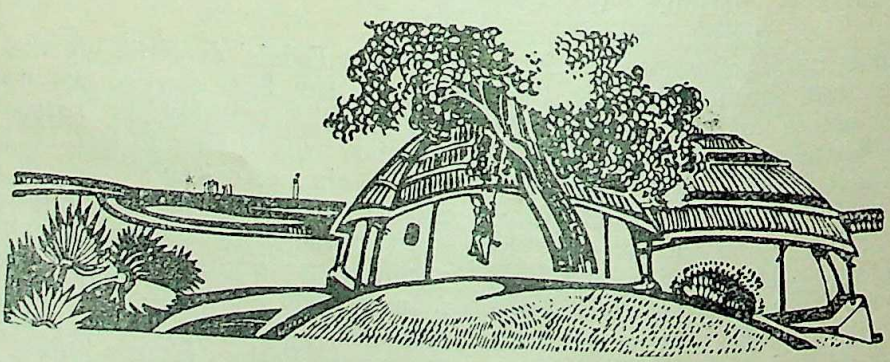
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dispatches of the two Wellesleys, Close, Elphinstone, and others. This lady, Jinbai, a child of nine years at the time of her husband's death in 1800, became nominally the sole heir of his property and fortune and suffered heavily at the hands of the unscrupulous Baji Rao, who left no stone unturned to secure her person and possessions. But young though she was, circumstances nerved her to face the situation boldly and in the end she proved more than a match for her persecutor. Baji Rao paid off the Arab mercenaries, had Nana's deadbody properly cremated, confiscated all his property and lands, and confined Jinbai in his own palace. When about eighteen months later, Yashvant Rao Holkar captured Poona and Baji Rao ran for protection to the British, Jinbai with the help of her brother escaped to Lohgad, a fort in which much of Nana's property was stored. From this secure position she started negotiations with General Wellesley, Colonel Close and Mr. Elphinstone, when they came to restore Baji Rao to his *masnad*. These British statesmen took pity on the young widow, extended British protection to her and compelled Baji Rao to pay her an annuity of Rs. 12,000 at Panwell, where she had elected to stay. The English correspondence on this subject is interesting reading. Baji Rao tried his utmost to induce General Wellesley to bring the lady to Poona and hand her over to him. But the British officials saw through the game and declined the proposal point-blank. Not until the vile Peshwa had lost his kingdom and left Poona for good in 1818, did Jinbai revisit her own house at Poona; but she ever after spent her days at her husband's village Menavli near Wai, which still continues in the hands of her heirs. Nana's mansion at Poona is occupied by the New English School at present.

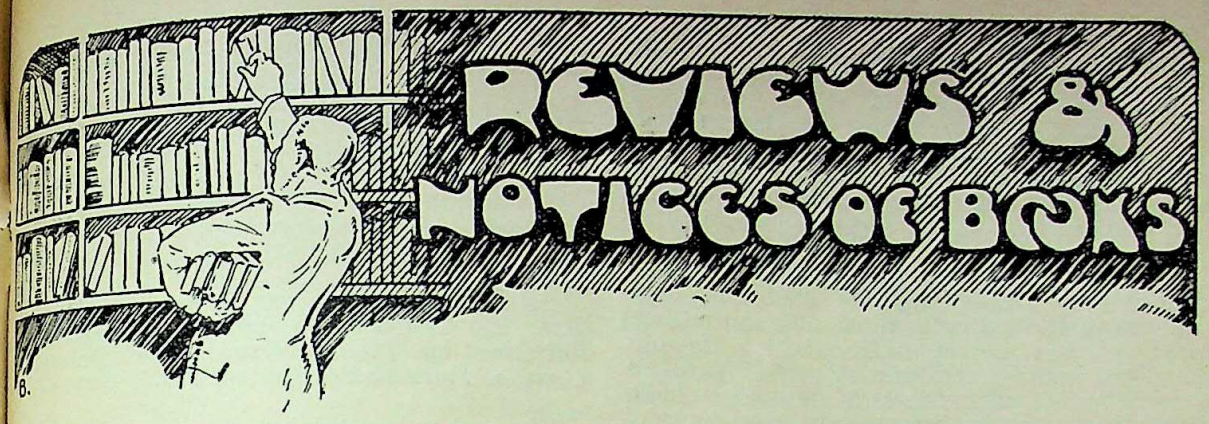
In 1835 Jinbai adopted a son from a collateral family, named Mahadaji Pant, and having brought him up carefully, she passed away quietly in 1854, leaving behind her an unsoiled name and a reputation for piety and devotion, so becoming in the case of Hindu widows of high families. Jinbai experienced such vicissitudes of fortune as have earned for her a cherished place in the memory of the Maharashtra people. Her adopted son died in 1877, leaving again a widow behind, who in her turn adopted Balaji *alias* Nana Saheb who still survives as the solitary representative of a name that once was a terror to all the potentates of India. It was from this last survivor that Parasnis obtained the huge and well-arranged records which now form the main contents of the Satara museum and part of which has already been printed by him.

Historians may assess the worth of Nana in whatever way they choose, but there is no denying the fact that two obscure Brahmin families from the west coast, the Bhats and the Bhanus, leaving their home in search of fortune and working in mutual co-operation, succeeded for nearly a century, though after strenuous efforts in fulfilling Shivaji's great ambition, *i.e.* to capture and wield an almost imperial sceptre over India, the only instance of a successful Hindu Swaraj after the hallowed suzerainty of the ancient Guptas.



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ENGLISH

KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA. *By N. Venkata Ramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., Madras Christian College. Printed at the Christian Literature Society's Press, Madras. 1929, pp. 38.*

This booklet contains two papers contributed to the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, but here slightly changed. In the first he traces the history of the so long overlooked kingdom of Kampila and its wars against the Delhi Mussulmans. How far these wars were connected with the origin of Vijayanagara it is difficult to say. However one suspects that our author, as well as Dr. H. Rama Sharma (in his articles published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* and in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*) are too sanguine in accepting the statements of many Telugu and Kanarese poems, which, according to Dr. Venkata Ramanayya himself, "contain much legendary and romantic material" (p. 4).

The second paper deals with the origin of Vijayanagara and consequently of the Sangama dynasty. Its purpose is to prove that the Sangama family was of Telugu extraction; but since this cannot be proved by historical arguments, the author devotes all his critical acumen to enfeebling the arguments in favour of its Kanarese origin. His attempt, however, convinces the impartial reader that the arguments in favour of a Kanarese origin are too strong to be weakened by suppositions and explanations that will not stand the slightest criticism.

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya commenced his study in order to maintain the Telugu origin of the Sangama dynasty, not to find the historical truth after the study of the contemporary documents. This is the main defect of his monograph. Other defects are frequent inaccuracies in the names of authors (Eliot for Elliot, Brigg for Briggs, Satyanadhan for Satyanatha, S. K. Iyengar for S. K. Aiyangar, etc.); lack of uniformity in references to books (Sewell: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 298; Sturrock *South Canara Manuel* (*sic*), p. 55; Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, pp. 418-419; Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 11, etc.), and incomplete references (Arch. Survey Ref. (*sic*) 1907-8; Mackenzie MSS.) These defects of method, small as they are, spoil a scholarly work, as this purports to be. The work, however, shows that its author is a very capable and erudite student of history, from whom we may expect many more and much better productions in future.

H. HERAS, S. J.

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INDIAN ISLAM: *By Dr. M. T. Titus, Religious Quest of India Series. Pp. xviii+290. (Oxford University Press.) 12-6 net.*

The sub-title explains the scope of this work, as "a religious history of Islam in India," or in the words of the author in his preface, "I have confined myself to a discussion of how Islam in India spread, how it divided and sub-divided, how it has been affected by its environment, and how it has reacted to modern conditions. The manners and customs, as well as the main theological outlines of Islam, have been excluded."

Macaulay illustrates the complete interchange of policy that took place between the great English parties in the reign of George I., by means of an apt image: "Dante tells us that he saw, in Malebolge, a strange encounter between a human form and a serpent. The enemies, after cruel wounds inflicted, stood for a time glaring on each other. A great cloud surrounded them, and then a wonderful metamorphosis began. Each creature was transformed into the likeness of its antagonist. The serpent's tail divided itself into two legs; the man's legs intertwined themselves into a tail. The body of the serpent put forth arms; the arms of the man shrank into his body." A silent transformation, equally remarkable, though not so

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complete as described in the 25th canto of the *Inferno*, resulted from the action and reaction between Islam and Hinduism during the seven centuries of their juxtaposition on the Indian soil. That fact has profoundly changed the literature, language, customs and dress, beliefs and rites, social organization and manners of both the sects. Such a vast subject, to be adequately treated in all its aspects, requires the encyclopaedic knowledge and synthetizing power of a Gibbon. Dr. Titus has done wisely in restricting his study to only the changes in Islamic faith, ritual and superstition produced by the Indian environment. He has consulted the best possible sources, namely Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* and that little known priceless treasure-house of information Rose's *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F. Province* (all unsold copies of which have been recently cleared out as "remainders" by the High Commissioner for India in London !). The book is excellently written and printed and is packed full of information of great value tersely and lucidly presented. It is admittedly a compilation and does not claim to be an original work, but none the less deserving a place in every library. It is weak on the side of history. On p. 92, the Shah Alam in question was the first of that name and reigned 1707--1712 (see Irvine's *Later Mughals*.) Is the *Raja* of Mahmudabad called *Maharaja* (pp. 88, 93) ?

ARABIC LITERATURE : AN INTRODUCTION : *By H. A. R. Gibb. (Oxford University Press, 1926.) "The World's Manuals" series. Pp. 128. Price 2-6 net.*

This excellent short history of Arabic literature is another illustration of the truth that the best little treatise on a large subject can be written only by a master of it and not by a hack compiler. Prof. Gibb is a masterly guide through this vast but to us little known "realm of gold," and his survey of Arabic literature is as interesting as it is accurate, scholarly and critical. He does not confine himself to the Prophet's peninsula, but deals (briefly) with the literature produced in this language in all other Islamic countries as well. Arabic as a living tongue is treated in its modern productions in the highly informing Epilogue pp. (117-119) We cannot conceive of a more helpful *vade mecum* than this.

Source-Book of Maratha History, Vol. I. To the Death of Shivaji. *Ed. by R. P. Patwardhan. Pp. 243+xiv, with the Manucci portrait and one map. (Bombay Government Press) Rs. 5.*

This volume gives translated extracts from the Sanskrit, Marathi and Persian sources, as well as some passages from the English Factory Records, and Dr. S. Sen's translation of the abbe Carre's biography. The other English and Dutch factory records have been omitted as they would be included in a separate volume by Dr. Balkrishna.

This book will be useful to advanced students to some extent, but it falls a good deal short of the best treatment possible of the existing material. It suffers also from having missed Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's critical and amplified 3rd edition of his *Shivaji and His Times*. If a seond edition of this source-book is called for we trust that the book would be overhauled completely and at sufficient leisure, so as to give that finality of shape and discriminating selectiveness which it at present lacks. But even as it is, it supplies a long-felt need.

S.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA. *By Prakash Chandra Nyabagis, B. A. Published by P. C. Sinha at the Sinha Press, Comilla. Price Re 1 only, pp. 124.*

The author is a thinker of rare clarity and puts down his ideas in a wonderfully logical and interesting manner. The book is undoubtedly one of the best introductions to the study of the Bhagavad Gita. Many different philosophical problems, such as the relation between the individual soul and the universal soul, the theories of dynamical and teleological evolution, etc., have been discussed in a way easily understandable by the reader of average intelligence. The author has not failed to realize the elements of mysticism in the Gita and the knotty question of inter-relationship of knowledge, action and devotion has been very clearly described. The special significance of Karma-Yoga as preached in the Gita has been fully considered. The author has kept himself free from bias. His extensive knowledge of the different philosophical and religious systems has been of great help to him in elucidating his points. There are many printing mistakes which should be corrected in the next edition. The subject-matter of the book should be divided into chapters so as to make it less tiring to the general reader.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GITA. *By S. Bhavanamurthi, B. A., B. L. Printed at the Sri Vyasa Press, Tirupati, 1930. Price -2- annas, pp. 23.*

The author of this pamphlet is a devout believer in Sri Krishna. He quotes from different Shastras to show the importance of the teachings of the Gita in the attainment of salvation. The printing leaves much to be desired.

YOGA-MIMANSA :—*Edited by Srimat Kuvalayananda (J. G. Gune) Vol II, Nos. 3-4. Kaivalyadhama, Bombay, pp. 161-322.*

The journal is a production of the Madhavadasa Academy of Spiritual Culture. It seeks to describe Yogic practices in terms of modern physiology. The journal is divided into scientific, semi-scientific, popular and miscellaneous sections. In the scientific section which is illustrated by radiograph is discussed the movement of the diaphragm and the ribs during respiration. The research has been undertaken to refute some of the ideas of Mr. Muller. The semi-scientific section also discusses the mechanism of respiration. The popular section describes some of the special poses of the Yogi and gives an account of Pranyama. This journal will be of interest to students of Yoga-philosophy although it must be admitted that the scientific researches published in this volume are not of a very high order.

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LECTURE NOTES : *By C. Jinarajadasa. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1930, pp. 108.*

Mr. Jinarajadasa is a well-known lecturer on theosophical topics. He has published his lecture notes in this volume. In the introduction interesting details of the technique of the lectures of Dr. Annie Besant and of Bishop C. W. Leadbeater have been given. The author has also described his own method. The book is meant as a guide for would-be lecturers in Theosophy and gives synopses of lectures on a variety of subjects. The book is of doubtful utility as no lecturer worth his salt would care to repeat his master's voice.

G. BOSE

—

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE, VOL. V, 1776-80 (*Government of India, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta*). *Price Rs. 21-2.*

The Record Department of the Government of India has afforded great help to students of 18th century Indian history by its publication of the Calendars of the Persian Correspondence of the East India Company, of which five volumes have been issued, covering the years 1759-1780. The nature and range of these documents will become clear from the following description :

"The Company's political and diplomatic transactions with Indian Powers, landowners and other notables were conducted in Persian···These take a definite shape after the victory of the English over Siraj-ud-daula at Plassey in 1756, that event at once giving them a political status in the country. The part of the secretariat where this class of work used to be done was known as the Persian Department." (*Handbook to the Records of the Govt. of India*). The correspondence contained in these Calendars of Persian Correspondence refers mainly to the Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables, and include many news-letters from its agents and friends.

Vol. V, which is the one last published, embraces the years 1776-80. During these extremely eventful years of Warren Hastings's administration, the English were faced with the First Maratha War, Nizam Ali's confederacy of Indian princes against the English, and the fierce onslaught of Haidar Ali on the Karnatic. The blunders of the Council of Bombay and the failure of the imbecile and corrupt Government of Madras greatly added to Hastings's difficulties, but his firmness and genius enabled him in the end to survive these crises.

The volume is also remarkable for the inclusion of several documents which throw a flood of light on the last days of Mir Qasim, the ex-Nawab of Bengal, and Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang III, the ex-wazir of the Emperor Ahmad Shah,—two prominent figures in Indian politics of the 18th century.

The importance of these Calendars of Persian correspondence cannot be gainsaid, and we sincerely hope that this useful work will be continued in future.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

—

EVOLUTION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOMBAY : *By R. P. Masani. Oxford University Press.*

The story of evolution of Local Self-Government in the island of Bombay from the days of Charles II (1661) to the present times of democratic municipal government has been told in this interesting volume of some 425 pages by Mr. Masani. Many a book has been written on the Bombay municipal government by eminent writers like Mr. Michael and Sir Dinshah Watcha, but their story terminated with the municipal reforms of 1887. Nearly half a century has since elapsed during which the forms of central, provincial and local government have been considerably changed, and it is now high time to re-examine the modern form of municipal government in the city with a view to ascertaining whether further evolution on democratic lines to suit local conditions is desirable or whether the present enactment, the City of Bombay Municipal Act 1888, is to live out its life for a century in its present form of co-ordinate jurisdiction of three municipal Authorities, of the Corporation, Standing Committee and Municipal Commissioner.

The author, Mr. Masani, has a facile pen, and his wide and deep experience of the municipal government of the City of Bombay both as Municipal Secretary, and Deputy Municipal Commissioner, has given him a special advantage of being both a true historian and sympathetic critic.

The story is told in 34 chapters, the first three of which describe the historic background of local government in India in general based on the researches of Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*. We gather from these chapters that in ancient and mediaeval India, local government was carried on by Samitis (Committees), Sanghas (Councils), Sabhas (Assemblies), Ganas (Guilds), Janapadas (Rural Boards) and Paura (Urban Boards). But these institutions were defunct and long forgotten when Baber defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi on the battlefield of Panipat. A few village Panchayats lingered on in the country, but they dealt with caste questions only, and had had no civic jurisdiction. When Gerald Aungier, "the Chivalric and intrepid man" became the Governor of Bombay he perceived at a glance the worth of Bombay as "a precious stone set in the silver sea." He made use of the ancient Panchayat system, and resuscitated the system of headmen or elders called Matharees, *i.e.*, Mhataras. His notable work was his thoughtful lay out of the town of Bombay. He proposed the appointment of "Consuls" or caste headmen as arbitrators on the analogy of the Mhataras, who performed similar offices in respect of land tenure and assessment.

The growing town of Bombay was then put under the charter issued to the East India Company by James II in 1687. The Court established in 1726 consisted of a mayor and nine aldermen, seven of whom were required to be British subjects (chapter VI).

Then the city government was conducted by the officers of the East India Company under the direct orders of the Governor or President and five senior members of the Council who were Justices of the Peace under the Charter of 1726. The City suffered heavily on account of defective system of sewerage, and in 1757 the office of the Scavenger was reinstated. The reader will be surprised to learn that this office of the scavenger was one of

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the most important civic offices, and Mr. Masani in his pithy and humorous style states that "the apostolic heir and successor to the office of the Scavenger is the Executive Health Officer. It may be hoped that the sins of the previous generations in underrating the importance and worth of his office have been wholly expiated by the calm resignation and deference with which the citizens of Bombay have for the last sixty years allowed the Health Officer to lead them from the cradle to the grave." During this long period the police and municipal functions were combined and up to 1907 the cost of police administration fell on the municipal fund.

The city government was then transferred to the Justices. Mr. Masani in chapter VIII gives a succint account of the institution of Justice and Sheriff, an exotic grown on Indian soil which has flourished. The provincial government was then conducted under Regulations from 1812 to 1833, and the civic affairs were managed under various fiscal, police and conservancy regulations (chapters IX-XII).

There was considerable friction between the courts of ju tices and the local government. The municipal government was put by Act XI of 1845 under a Board of Conservancy composed of seven members, the magistrate of police being Chairman, and the Collector being an ex-officio member. Two Europeans and three resident Justices elected by the Bench of Justices formed the remaining constituents of the said Board. This civic heptarchy was replaced by a triumvirate of municipal satraps called Municipal Commissioners with an annual salary of Rs. 10,000 each by Act XXV of 1858 (chapter XIII-XV).

The real *Magna Charta* of municipal government was secured by the Municipal Act, 1865, whereby Justices were created body corporate with powers to impose rates and taxes and with sole and undivided control of the municipal fund. This was the first Local Government Act, but it was not a piece of local *self*-government based on popular representation. Mr. Masani says that "the Justices of the day were, no doubt, the most enlightened citizens of Bombay and they represented the wants and wishes of the people. A popular electorate could not have returned better representatives to the civic chamber. Nevertheless they were the nominees of Government on the Corporation, not the chosen accredited representatives of the people" (chapter XVI).

A briliant period of civic activities followed. The city was turned into a terminus of the two railway administrations of G. I P. & B. B. & C. I. and a net work of communications (*e. g.* Cruickshank Road, Esplanade, Nawroji Hill Road, Clare Road, Falkland Road, Kamatipura Road and Foras Roads and the Karnac, Masjid and Elphinstone over-bridges) was established during this period. The city was studded with magificent buildings, *e. g.*, university library building, Rajabai Tower, Victoria Albert Museum, Cawasji Jehangirji Opthalmic Hospital. It also passed through phenomenal greatness on account of the cotton speculation due to the American War (1861-65). The inevitable clash ultimately came, and the tragedy of the South Sea Bubble was repeated in the Bombay Presidency (chapter XVII).

The legacy of poverty handicapped the Municipal Corporation whose first Commissioner under the new constitution was Mr. Arthur Crawford. His regime was great so far as executive work was concerned, but he was handicapped by financial crisis. At the end of the struggle for reform Mr. Crawford was withdrawn from his office by Government. This tragic termination of a brilliant career was, according to the author's opinion, due not so much to his extravagance as to his arrogance, not so much to his defiance of constitutional limitations as to his instinctive abhorrence of compromise and conciliatory methods of administration (chapter XVIII-XX).

The first instalment of self-government was secured by Act III of 1872, and the crusade against corn and cotton duties was fought with vigour. There is an appreciative remark of Mr. Masani which is worth noting in these days when any good work done by a Britisher is depreciated. In those days, the battles of the Indians were gallantly fought by Europeans, official as well as non-official. The Advocate-General was the strongest opponent of the principle of the Bill whereby with the minimum of popular representation Government tried to secure the maximum control. The cotton duty proposed and accepted by the Bombay Legislative Council was negatived by the Government of India, and articles of daily consumption were taxed. The ideal of "free breakfast table" was not realized. The exemption of cotton from Town Duty continued up to 1920, when the taxing clause was hurriedly passed, and "the Delhi Oracles were dumb" on that occasion. (chapters XXI-XXII).

During the decade that followed the Act of 1872, the defects of hurried legislation were brought to the forefront, a validating Act (II of 1877) was passed to legalize the proceedings of the body which was legally non-existent; and considerable changes were made in the fabric of the principal Act by the Act of 1878 relating to the provisions about taxation. (chapters XXIII-XIV).

The consolidating Act of 1872-1878 was again in the melting pot on account of the fresh impetus given to local self-government by Lord Ripon's policy resolution of 1882. The Bombay Corporation came under the magic influence of Sir Phirozshah Mehta who fought for the supremacy of the Corporation in the matter of finance and general control over the working of the Town Council turned into Standing Committee, and also for the vesting of all executive authority in the Municipal Commissioner to be appointed by Government. The new Trinty Constitution with well-defined spheres of each authority embodied in the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, has stood the test of experience for over forty years. Not only Sir Phirozshah, the father of the new baby, was enamoured of its beauty, but even Lord Reay, the President of the Council, was so pleased with the measure that he decided to send it to Professor Gneist, the greatest living authority of the day on local government legislature. Although many changes in the Act of 1888 have since been made, the main fabric as regards the municipal constitution has remained unchanged, and the Act has been held out as a model of enactment for local self-government both by the Decentralization Commission and by the Government of India in their Policy Resolutions of 1915 and 1918. The detailed survey of the provisions of the Act (chapters XXVI-XXIX

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need not detain us. Suffice it to say that in 1907 the Police Charges Act was passed whereby the Corporation was relieved of the cost of police administration, and was saddled with full responsibility of primary education and medical relief and that in 1922 the Corporation was materially democratized by the widening of franchise. (Chapters XXX-XXXII).

The democratized Corporation tried to secure the power of appointing their Municipal Commissioner but failed. During the regime of the presidentship of Mr. Patel the constitutional reform was the subject matter of investigation by Sir. M. Visvesvaraya He advocated the policy of Executive Committees Government and the ultimate transformation of the Municipal Commissioner into a Town Clerk as in London. Mr. Masani's advice as to the working of Executive Committees in England was duly considered. In the meanwhile the formation of Special Committees with definite spheres of business was put into effect by the Amending Act I of 1925. These Committees are Administrative Advisory Committees whose advice is the basis of discussion before the Corporation. The Municipal Commissioner is the guiding spirit, but the preliminary examination of the case by members of the Special Committees lends support to the executive in the Corporation and uninformed criticism is avoided as far as possible. This new machinery was invented as a transition stage to full Executive Committee Government.

It may be noted that the story of projected reforms (chapter XXXIII) has been brought up to 1925, the year in which the volume must have gone to the press. Since then the constitutional reforms advocated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya were pushed forward by his successor, but the liberal party of the Corporation was diffident about the efficient working of Committees, and did not wish to disturb the executive administration of the Municipal Commissioner. Even the mild measure of taking the power of appointing the Municipal Commissioner by the Corporation was shelved, and the main question of constitutional reforms has been referred to a Committee—a convenient dilatory procedure adopted by the Corporation when no action is to be taken.

In the concluding chapter Mr. Masani advocates the expansion of the sphere of influence of the Bombay Corporation. Apart from libraries and museums, a local authority should undertake unemployment insurance schemes and management of local utilities.

The City of Bombay, however, is passing under severe industrial depression. It has to undertake the heavy financial responsibility of the City Improvement Trust which has lived its normal life of utility. New sources of revenue will have to be found before undertaking fresh commitments. But Mr. Masani's book will furnish an inspiring milestone to a higher goal of civic activities and for some years to come will be a monumental work of a good administrator and high thinker in the sphere of local self-government.

N. D. MEHTA

SCIENTIFIC RELIGION, VOL. I—*By G. N. Gokhale. Karachi, The Educational Publishing Co.*

It is very difficult to make a fair estimate of a book of this nature from Vol. I alone. The author has tried to find a theistic basis of the universe and rightly thinks that without this solid foundation "we shall be building on sand" in any scheme of Indian salvation. And the salvation of man lies in his attaining to his full stature. For that purpose perfect liberty of conscience is necessary. "We find," says the author, "this liberty of conscience a very notable feature of the society of the days when India was at the height of her civilization." But India fell from this height, because "just as the skin of a tortoise hardens into a shell as it gets older, Hinduism also grew into a shell in time."

The author has discussed all the important religions of the world only in the popular way and tried to give a fair account of each of them. But the diversity of their aims and ideals has perhaps cast a gloom over his mental horizon. But he has consoled himself by thinking that "Diversity is the essence of creation and it is no use quarrelling with it" (p. 144). True, but if you cannot show the unifying principle underlying the diversity there is no way out of its eternal dispute. The author, in the case of the creation, has found this unifying principle in "a beneficent cosmic power which governs the whole universe." However, he has discovered a very easy solution of the matter. Why, "we can perform our Sandhya Vandan according to the Vedic rites, and then pray in the Mosque according to the Quran, and thence proceed to the Holy Mass in the Christian Church and so on" (p. 146.) I have heard that Ram Krishna Paramahansa practised all religions one by one, but our author will have the Hindu, the Mahomdan, the Christian "and so on" rolled into one. And this is his solution for all the woes India is suffering from. Because in his opinion "it is futile to try to build a Glorious India without such a solid foundation." But I cannot recommend this prescription to my countrymen. I suppose this is his Scientific Religion.

CELESTIAL CORRESPONDENCE. *Vol. II. By Bharati Bhushan Prof. Prakasa Rao. Published by Tata Indian Science Institute, Vizianagram City. Price Rs. 2, foreign 5 shillings, postage extra.*

This should be called a catalogue instead of a book, because in several pages some space has been reserved for the advertisement of other publications. Because our author is the author of such books as "Astrological Courses," "Peeps into the Future," "the Heavens Unveiled," "Golden Key to your Fortune and Future," "Miracles of Healing and Magic cures." "Wonderful Book of Talismans, Amulets, Charms and Mystic chantings," etc., And in the contents of this book I find such precious subjects as "Mantra sastra and its mysterions power," "The Mantric cures," Fasting and its Mysterious Powers and Effects." "The first message from the spirit of Swami Vivekananda and Secrets and Wonders of the other World," "The Secrets of Mesmerism," "Selection of Right Times to commence or undertake any work or worldly affairs" so on and so forth.

I am afraid the reader has no more appetite to swallow any the least morsel from the body of

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the book which is overstuffed with the recommendations of other publications. The reader, I apprehend, is already surfeited.

Dhirendranath Vedantavagis

—

AIDS TO TROPICAL DISEASES. *By C. Ramachandran, L. M. P., L. C. P. S., L. T. M. Published by B. G. Paul and Co., Madras, 109 pages. Price Rupee One only.*

This small book, written mainly for medical students and young practitioners, has served a very useful purpose and contains a lot of information bearing upon the diagnosis and treatment of some of the important tropical diseases. We regret, however, to note that the book seems to have been hastily compiled—apart from typographical errors, the names of some of the well-known drugs and diseases have been mis-spelt, sometimes in a very misleading way. Books meant for students going up for their examinations, should be as accurate as possible, and a very careful compilation is desired. A thoroughly revised edition would prove useful to the students and practitioners alike.

A. K. MUKHERJI

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HINDI

HINDI-BHASHA AUR SAHITYA. *By Professor Syam Sundar Das, B. A. Published by the Indian Press, Ld., Allahabad. S. 1987. Pp. 516 (text) octavo, with 44 plates and maps. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a history of Hindi language and Hindi literature and fine arts of the period and the area of Hindi literature by an author who initiated scientific writing in Hindi and who has had the good fortune of seeing his schemes executed and making the literature of his mother-tongue richer than what he inherited. Rai Syam Sundar Das is the founder and builder of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares, the Sabha's fine home, the *Nagari Pracharini Patrika* devoted to literature and historical research, the editions of the accurate text of Tulsi Das' Ramayana, Kabir Das' Vanis, Chand's Epic and other early authors, the scientific dictionaries in Hindi, the search for Hindi manuscripts, etc. His latest work, the literary history under review, is another contribution on which he can look back with pride and satisfaction. With Syam Sundar Das the Benares school of Hindi style—the puritan style which brings Hindi in line with literary Bengali, Gujrati and Marathi, has become an established fact, as with Maithili Sarana Gupta that current style has become the language of Hindi poetry.

When such a savant and a creative personality after 30 years of devoted and intimate study writes a history of literature (the latter portion of which is his own contemporary), the work is bound to be an unqualified success. The history of Hindi language, pp. 1 to 164, is masterly; it is worthy of notice and translation in sister Gaudian languages with which Hindi is closely connected on its frontiers.

A pleasing feature of the work is the collection of most authentic portraits of the leading authors—*e. g.* Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Sundar Das, Tulsi Das, Sur Das, Hita Harivamsa, Kesava Das, Bihari Lal, etc.

The art section has a rapid review of architecture, painting, music, and sculpture. Necessarily it, being a secondary topic, is inadequate in treatment, but the unity of arts with literature is rightly recognized in a literary history. The selection of illustrations here, again, is happy. The Datia palace which seems to be the most beautiful residential building in the whole of India, has been rightly placed by the side of the Tower of Victory of Chitor. These two edifices are the leading pieces in secular architecture of the country. I may remind here the Hindi publishers that they are far behind the age in their picture reproductions.

For the next edition I suggest that samples of the work of the authors should be given, to bring the book in line with literary history in other countries.

I respectfully offer my congratulations to the veteran on the production.

K. P. JAYASWAL

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MARATHI

AITIHASIC PATREN YADI WAGAIRE: LEKH 2ND. ed. *by G. S Sardesai, Y. M. Kale, and V. S. Wakaskar (Puna Chitrasala Press), Pp. xliv+537. Rs. 3.*

Serious students of Maratha history owe a deep debt of gratitude to the three learned scholars who have put their heads together and brought out the second edition of this unobtainably scarce volume of historical documents, in a form and with notes which double its value to those consulting it. The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane had published 501 and 246 old historical letters &c. in two monthly journals defunct long ago, but without any arrangement, just as they came into his hands.

In the present edition these have been rearranged chronologically, dates have been corrected and, where wanting, supplied in the light of the advance in Maratha historical knowledge achieved during the last 30 years, and explanatory notes added. The dated and descriptive list of the letters, covering 23 pages, will be of inestimable value to students. No library dealing with Indian history can afford to be without this book.

On page 3 there is a misprint which, however, will mislead none:

Jaistha Badya 13 of the 1st Rajyavisekh era is 21-6-1674 and not 1673. The *Kaifiyat Shahaji Maharaj Bhosle Yanchi* (pp. 8-28) is mostly a compilation from *Basatin-i-salatin* and other Persian sources, and cannot strictly be called pre-Shivaji.

SHINDE SHAHI ITIHASACHIN SADHANEN, VOL. I. KOTA GULGULE DAFTAR, ed. *by Anand Rao Bhao Phalke. Pp. 258+30+24. (Gwalior Alijah Darbar Press).*

This sumptuously printed and illustrated volume of historical letters referring to Mahadji Sindhia and his predecessors (296 letters in Vol. I) is a

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monument of the enlightened liberality of Sardar Anand Rao Phalke of Gwalior. These constitute the first portion of the records in the possession of the Gulgule family of Saraswat Brahmans, now well-reputed Sardars of the Kota State in Rajputana, but formerly agents to Sindhia in Northern India. The enterprise and correspondence of Lalaji of this family (late 18th century) extended even to Calcutta. No complete history of Mahadji Sindhia—and indeed of North Indian affairs during the dissolution of the Mughal empire,—can be written without consulting the Gulgule records, of which the valuable portion may be roughly enumerated as 3,000 letters. We wish that Sardar Phalke would complete the excellent and patriotic work he has undertaken by printing the remaining volumes without delay.

J. SARKAR

—

TAMIL

INILAI: *By V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. Koilpatty, Tinnevelly Dt. Pages x+112, Second Edition, Price Re 1.*

The author has, since his days of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, Tuticorin, been doing much for Tamil literature. He has translated into Tamil many of the works of James Allen and edited several standard works on the Tamil language and literature. He has to be congratulated also for his lucid commentary upon this pre-Sangam work and copious citation of parallel passages in his notes.

TIT FOR TAT AND OTHER ESSAYS: *By R. Krishnamurty Kalki, (Vasan Book Depot, Madras, Pages 8+280.) Price Re 1-4-0*

Very humorous, interesting and instructive. No library of Tamil Nadu that has not got a copy of this useful work, can justly boast of a good selection of works.

R. G. N. PILLAI

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GUJRATI

VIR SHAHU. *By Ambelal Naranji Joshi, B. A. Published by J. A. Mehta, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp. 16+40. Price Annas six only. (1930).*

A play in three Acts: based on Miss Robinson's "Order Sentence." It is an attempt to present an episode in Aurangzeb's life. The life of Shahu (called Vir Shahu) the grandson of Shivaji, whom the Mogul Emperor had kept as a prisoner in his harlar and who was still a child then, was spared at the request of Princess Zinat-un-nisa. He was saved from conversion to Islam also. He gives a straight talk to the Emperor and tells him how he has wasted his time and why he finds himself isolated and lonely in the evening of his life, and all this pleases him and he spares him. There is a short review of the "State" of Gujarati literature given as an introduction to the book, which is well worth reading for its comprehensive survey. The language is simple and as a first attempt of the writer, the work is a promising one.

HINDUSTAN NA VEPAR UDYAG NO NASH: *By G. J. Patel, of the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, published by S. J. Shah, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover: pp. 164. Price Annas Eight (1930).*

Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired) has written "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries," a storehouse of information as to how the trade of India came to be ruined step by step. The book under notice is a translation of that work, and Major Basu, had he been living, must have felt very gratified to see that the work he liked best was translated into the vernacular of a province where he served years ago and for which he still has a warm corner in his heart. The publication comes at a very opportune time as the past history of the ruin of India's trade and its knowledge is an important element in the campaign of boycott of British goods which is growing strong every day. The translation is very well done, and is sure to be appreciated by readers and workers who do not know English.

K. M. J.

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BENGALI-HINDI-URDU-ENGLISH

SARDA'S CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT: *English Text with Bengali Hindi and Urdu Transtations. Edited by Aswini K. Ghose, M.A.,B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Law Publishers, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Price 8 annas.*

This book contains the Child Marriage Restraint Act as amended up to date with the above translations. The introduction in Bengali contains (i) the history of the enactment, (2) its statement of objects and reasons, (3) the draft bill introduced by Mr. Harbilas Sarda, (4) the report of the first Select Committee, (5) the draft Bill as amended by the first Select Committee, (6) the report of the Second Select Committee, (7) the draft bill as finally settled by the second Select Committee, (8) the opinion of the Joshi Committee, (9) the principal subjects of inquiry by the Joshi Committee, (10) analysis of the evidence before the Joshi Committee, (11) objections to child marriage restraint law, (12) refutation of these objections by the Joshi Committee, (13) the provisions of Islamic law, (14) the origin of the system of child marriage and the reasons for its spread,—the nature of Hindu marriage, the beginnings of early marriage, the Vedic age, the age of the Smritis and the subsequent age—the Bengal witnesses and their evidence—evidence from the point of view of Hindu religion—the evidence of the Brahmin Sabha—oral evidence of its representative—the evidence of the Bengal Social Reform League—Shastric texts cited by the President of the League. The important sections of the Act have been annotated in Bengali from the legal point of view by the editor.

The book is fit for the use of lawyers, social reform workers, teachers of primary and secondary schools. All libraries and Union Board offices shou'd contain a copy of the book for the propagation of accurate knowledge of the new law

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Rabindranath Tagore in Russia

[The following correct and authorized versions of his speech and interview have been received from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore,—Editor, *The Modern Review.*]

I

Speech Delivered By Rabindranath Tagore at the Dom Soyuzoff, Moscow, September 24, 1930.

"I am highly honoured at the invitation to appear in this hall, and I am grateful to Dr. Petrov for the kind words he has said about me. I am thankful to the people for giving me the opportunity of knowing this country and experiencing the great work which the people are doing in this land. My mission in life is education. I believe that all human problems find their fundamental solution in education. And outside of my own vocation as a poet, I have accepted this responsibility to educate my people as much as it lies in my individual power to do. I know that all the evils, almost without exception, from which my land suffers are solely owing to the utter lack of education of the people.

"Poverty, pestilence, and communal fights and industrial backwardness, which make our path of life too narrow and perilous, are simply owing to the meagreness of education. And this is the reason why in spite of my advanced age and my weak health I gladly accepted the invitation offered to me to see how you are working out the most important problem of education in this country. And I have seen. I have admired, and I have envied you in all the great opportunities which you have in this country. You all know that our condition in India is very similar to yours. She has an agricultural population which is in need of all the help and encouragement that you have accorded to this country. You know how precarious is the living which exclusively depends upon agriculture, and so how utterly necessary it is for the cultivators to have the education, the up-to-date method of producing crops, in order to meet the increasing demands of life and of expensive government.

"Our people are living on the verge of perpetual famine, and do not know how to help this because they have lost their faith and confidence in their own humanity. This is the greatest misfortune of that people, over three hundred millions of men and women burdened with profound ignorance, a closed prospect, and incompetence.

"So I came to this land to see how you deal with this problem, you who have struggled against the incubus of ignorance, superstition, and apathy, which were once prevalent in this oppressed land among the working men and peasantry. The little that I have seen has convinced me of the marvellous progress that has been made, the miracle that has been achieved. How the mental attitude of the people has been changed in such a short time, it is difficult for us to realize, we who live in the darkest shadow of ignorance and futility. It gladdens my heart to know that the people, the real people who maintain the life of society, bear the burden of civilization, are not deprived of their own rights, and that they enjoy an equal share of all the advantages of a progressive community.

"And I dream of the time when it will be possible for that ancient land of Aryan Civilization to enjoy the great boon of education and equal opportunity for all the people. I am thankful, truly thankful to you all, who have helped me in visualizing in a concrete form the dream which I have been carrying for a long, long time in my mind, the dream of emancipating the peoples' mind which has been shackled for ages. For this I thank you."

II

Interview with the Reporter of the "Izvestia" on September 25, 1930.

On being asked if he would say a few words in regard to his impressions of Moscow, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore replied:

"I wish to let you know how deeply I have been impressed by the amazing intensity of your energy in spreading education among

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the peasant masses, the most intelligent direction you have given to this work, and also the variety of channels that have been opened out to train their minds and senses and limbs. I appreciate it all the more keenly because I belong to that country where millions of my fellow-countrymen are being denied the light that education can bring them. For human beings, all other boons that are external and superficial, that are imposed from outside, are like paints and patches that never represent the bloom of health but only disguise the anæmic skin without enriching the blood. You have recognized the truth that in extirpating, all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education and not through police batons and military browbeating.

"But I find here certain contradictions to the great mission which you have undertaken. Certain attitudes of mind are being cultivated which are contrary to your ideal about the method of radical social improvement. I must ask you, 'Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training, anger, class-hatred and revengefulness against those whom you consider to be your enemies?' True, you have to fight against tremendous obstacles. You have to overcome ignorance and lack of sympathy, and even persistently virulent antagonism. But your mission is not restricted to your own nation or your own party, but it is for the betterment of humanity according to your light. But does not humanity include those who do not agree with your aims? Just as you try to help peasants who have other ideas than yours about religion, economics and social life, not by getting fatally angry with them but by patiently teaching them and showing them where the evil lurks in secret, should you not have the same mission to those other people who have other ideals than your own? These you may consider to be mistaken ideals, but they have an historical origin and have become inevitable through combinations of circumstances. You may consider the men who hold them to be misguided. But it should all the more be your purpose to convert them by pity and love, realizing that they are as much a part of humanity as the peasants whom you serve.

"If you dwell too much upon the evil elements of your opponents, assuming that those are inherent in their human nature meriting eternal damnation, you inspire an attitude of mind which with its content of hatred and animosity may some day react against your own ideal and destroy it. You are working in a great cause. Therefore, you must be great in your mind, great in your mercy, your understanding and your patience. I feel profound admiration for the greatness of the things you are trying to accomplish, and therefore I cannot help expecting for it a motive force of love and an environment of charitable understanding.

There must be disagreement where minds are allowed to be free. It would be not only an uninteresting world but a sterile world of mechanical regularity if all of our opinions were forcibly made alike. If you have a mission which includes all humanity, for the sake of that living humanity you must acknowledge the existence of differences of temperament and of opinion. Opinions are constantly changed and re-changed through the free circulation of intellectual forces and moral persuasion. Violence begets violence and blind stupidity. Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth; terror hopelessly kills it. The Brute cannot subdue the Brute. It is only the Man who can do it. This is being proved everyday in our human history.

"Before leaving your country let me once again assure you that I am struck with admiration for all that you are doing to free those who were in slavery, to raise up those who were lowly and oppressed, and to bring help to those who were utterly helpless, reminding them that the source of their salvation lies in a proper education and their power to combine their human resources.

"For the sake of humanity I hope that you may never create a vicious force of violence, which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty. Already you have inherited much of this legacy from the Tsarist regime. It is the worst legacy you possibly could have. You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of that period. Why not try to destroy this one also? I have learned much from you, how skilfully you evolve usefulness out of the helplessness of the weak and ignorant. Your ideal is great and so I ask you for perfection in serving it and a broad field of freedom for laying its permanent foundation."

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The poet was asked to say in conclusion what institutions in Moscow had impressed him most.

He replied :

"The Orphans at the Home of the Young Pioneers showed such confidence in their ability to realize their ideal for a new world. Their behaviour to me was so natural. Their conduct impressed me deeply. Then at the Peasants' House I met the Peasants. We questioned each other quite frankly. Their problems are so similar to the problems of the peasants in my own country. I was deeply impressed by the attitude of mind of your peasants towards the methods you have evolved for solving these problems.

"Places which I have not been able to visit have been visited by my secretaries. My doctor tells me of the fine work you are doing in sanitation, hygiene, scientific research. You are accomplishing a great deal in those lines, under conditions not nearly as favourable, economically at least, as in other countries. My secretaries tell me of your splendid work in training students of agriculture, in caring for and training the homeless children left by war and famine, and of the outstanding experiment in practical education being carried on by Mr. Shatsky in his colony. Mr. Shatsky did me the honour of coming to visit me. I find that the ideal of his institution I also share. I am certain that your methods of education would be of great benefit in other countries where there is so much in education that is merely academic and abstract. Yours is much more practical, and therefore, truly moral, and it is closer in touch with the varied aspects and purposes of life."

The Truth about Australian Coastal Traffic Legislation

By C. A. BUCH

HIS Excellency the Viceroy in addressing the second annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and referring to the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill, spoke about the Australian enactment on the Dominion merchant shipping, in the following terms : "In the second place it is not infrequently said that there is precedent for this Bill in other parts of the Empire and that Australia in particular has reserved her Coastal Trade in the manner that is now proposed in India. But anyone who has read the relevant sections of the Australian Navigation Act must be aware that they relate only to personnel and that their object is to secure that Australian seamen employed in the coasting trade will receive as good wages as Australian workers employed on shore. So far is it from being true that the Australian Coastal trade is reserved for Australian-owned ships, that the Australian United Steam Navigation Company, which is engaged in the Coasting trade, is actually financed exclusively by British capital and is controlled by a London Board of Directors." This statement, coming as it does from so high a dignitary, is after all an argument put there by the Civilian *Subjantewala* of the Delhi Secretariat, and is only an echo of certain passages found in an anonymous pamphlet widely distributed by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce about that time. The passages there, which apparently form the authority for the Viceregal pronouncement, read as under : "The terms of the Australian Navigation Act indicate, in short, that it must be classified as primarily an advanced form of Labour legislation." Another passage runs : "That external capital is not excluded from engaging in the Australian Coasting trade is evidenced by the participation therein of the Australian United Steam Navgn. Co., Ld., financed exclusively by British capital and controlled by a London Board of Directors."

There is no doubt that these passages represent the voice and the echo! The

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spokesmen of the Government of India have always championed the cause of the non-Indian merchants of India, but such a flagrant plagiarism from anonymous compositions reflects little credit on their ingenuity. Both the parties have misnamed the Commonwealth Navigation Act, 1912-26.

The provisions of this Act, which are relevant to the discussion here, are embodied under Sections 284 to 292. Technically these provisions require that the seamen engaged on coastal traffic ships "shall be paid Australian rates of wages," while those ships which are engaged outside the limits of the coastal lines of shipping, are required to conform to this provision, "while the ship is engaged in coastal trade." It may be said that this is a labour legislation. But in actual practice it serves the same purpose that the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill is intended to serve. The covering Clause 5 of the Constitution provides that the laws of the Commonwealth shall be in force on all British ships, the King's ships of war excepted, whose last port of clearance and whose port of destination are in the Commonwealth. Under Sections 284 to 292 no ship, British or Australian, could carry mails, freight or passengers between any two ports of Australia without paying to the crew the Australian rates of wages. Mr. J. G. Latham, K. C., Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, thus describes the actual effects of this "Labour" legislation : "It is said, quite truly, that this trade is open to all British ships upon the same conditions. The principal condition is that the seamen employed in the ship shall be paid Australian rates of wages while the ship is engaged in the coastal trade. It is not really practicable for ships trading overseas to continue in the overseas trade and to comply with this condition while on the coast of Australia. *There is therefore a practical monopoly of the coasting trade in favour of Australian ships* subject to exemptions in special cases—though Section 736 (of the British Merchants Shipping Act) has been complied with, and *though the object of this Section is to prevent such a monopoly being established against other British ships.*

The measure is certainly not a negligible piece of advanced labour legislation as the interested parties in India would have us believe. It is recognized in Australia as a measure of first-rate national importance. Its avowed object was to build up a national mercantile marine for the Commonwealth, that may supply a second line of defence to the Empire. The measure, in short, bears a close resemblance to Mr. S. N. Haji's Bill for reserving Indian Coastal traffic to Indian vessels. Both measures aim at (a) Building up of a national mercantile marine, (b) Reserving the coastal trade of the country to its own national vessels.

Whereas the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill mentions these aims explicitly, in its preamble and elsewhere, the Commonwealth Navigation Bill enacted a labour legislation that secured to the Commonwealth these very objects. That this was the only *raison d'etre* of the Australian enactment is fully admitted by the Royal Commission which was appointed to go into the real nature and working of the Australian Navigation Act. The report of the Commission contains the following two most important admissions :

"Your Commissioners have studied these reasons, have perused the reports of the Royal Commission, and the Imperial Shipping Conference and read every important speech on the Navigation Bill by Ministers, Members of the House of Representatives, and Senators with the result that your Commissioners find that the main reason which actuated the Parliament in placing the Act upon the Statute Book and which lifted the subject to a plane of great national importance above the ordinary considerations of party politics, *was the desire to build up an Australian Mercantile Marine.*"

"Parliament recognized that, as an island continent, we are largely dependent upon the strength of our merchant shipping for our communications. *The Australian Coastal trade was to be reserved for Australian-owned ships*, which were to be the source of supply of skilled and trained Australian seamen in time of war."

The purpose of the Commonwealth Navigation Act is thus identically the same as that of Mr. Haji's Bill. It is, therefore, incorrect for anyone to say that the Australian Act cannot be precedent for a part of the British Empire legislating in favour of its own national shipping.

A question may, however, be pertinently asked : "Why did not Australia enact a coastal reservation measure straight away ?"

The answer lies in the constitutional position of the colonies with regard to shipping legislation. As India also is subjected to more or less the same restrictions, (rather more than less) a detailed analysis of the position should be necessary. The Indian legislatures are governed, no doubt, by the Government of India Act, 1919, but even this is subject to certain special provisions of the

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Merchant Shipping Act, *viz.*, The British Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 (57 and 58 Vic., c60). The chief aim of the Act is the national identification of shipping as 'British' and the provision of certain uniform legislation for all ships so identified. (Laws of England, Vol. 26, p.11) The last section (Sec. 91) of Part I of this Act says that the provisions of this part "shall apply to the whole of his Majesty's Domini ns and to all p'aces where His Majesty has jurisdiction." This would mean that where there are no express provisions similar in tenor to Section 92 Part I, the Dominions could legislate on their own lines. It has, however, been held that there is a "broad intention" to treat all possessions of the Empire as being without a separate intiger of shipping, all their shipping being regarded component of one Imperial intiger. The whole problem presents certain difficulties and involves Constitutional issues. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Constitution of Australia, Sir Robert Garran, Solicitor-General for the Commonwealth, said :

"The power of the Commonwealth Parliament to legislate on navigation and shipping will be very much restricted if it is readily held that provisions not expressly made applicable to the Dominions are applicable by reason of an intention to deal with the whole of a particular subject, such intention being inferred from the general character of the Act as an Imperial provision for British shipping, and from the desirability of having a single rule on the subject." (Vol. 1 of Evidence, p. 63).

Such an intention however does exist and notable decisions by Australian High Courts have been based on the assumption that the British Merchant Shipping Act is applicable to all parts of the British Empire, and notwithstanding anything written in the Government of India Act, or the Colonial Laws Validity Act, no legislature of the Empire could pass an enactment that may be repugnant to the provisions of the British Shipping Act, except under Sections 735 and 736 of the said Act.

Section 735 of this Act does confer power upon the Dominion legislature to legislate, to repeal, wholly or in part, any of the provisions of the Act (other than those of Part III which relate to emigrant ships) relating to ships registered in that Dominion, but the Legislation cannot take effect until the approval of His Majesty has been proclaimed in the Dominion. Section 736 allows a Dominion to regulate its coasting trade, provided the Act so regulating the trade, contains a suspending clause requiring that the Legislation shall not come into force until His Majesty's pleasure thereon has been publicly signified and the Legislation *must treat all British ships* (including the ships of any other British possession) *in exactly the same manner as ships of the possession making the law.* This will make it clear why the Select Committee that went over the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill inserted a clause after 1 (3) to say that no such date shall be appointed until His Majesty's pleasure on this Act has been publicly signified in British India by notification. The equal treatment required for all British ships is technically assured under the Indian measure which requires that all ships plying on the Indian coast will be 'Indian controlled,' where the term Indian would only mean as defined in Sec. II (2) *et seq.* That a practical monopoly is desired to be secured for Indian ships is as evident as it is in the Australian case. The provisions 735 and 736 described above necessitate the adoption of a circumlocutory and round-about course for achieving such a monopoly. The obvious solution of this problem lies in doing away with these sections altogether. Says Mr. Latham, "the best course would be to repeal Sections 735 and 736 altogether, so that it will be left to the good sense of a Dominion to legislate for ships registered in the Dominion as it thinks proper."

The Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929, support the view of Mr. Latham (Report, Para 92) and adds by para 93 "The new position will be that each Dominion will, amongst its other powers, have full and complete legislative authority over all ships while within its territorial waters or engaged in its coasting trade ; and also over its own registered ships both intra-territorially and extra-territorially. Such extra-territorial legislation will, of course, operate subject to local laws while the ship is within another jurisdiction."

So long however as the Sections 735 and 736 are not repealed, the only course open to the possessions of His Majesty is to circumvent the provisions of these sections and yet secure a monoply for their own ships, if it

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is held in the interests of the possession to have it. That the Commonwealth of Australia wanted such monopoly and has it, is a fact clearly proved on the authorities discussed in the article. India regards this Australian monopoly in the only way it can possibly be regarded, *viz.*, as precedent for her reservation measure. Any attempt to explain it away as a mere labour law shows the fear with which the repetition of Australian conditions in India is regarded by the exploiters of the Empire.*

* Authorities Relied on for this Aritcle :
Australia and the British Commonwealth by J. Latham, K. C., Attorney-General of the Commonwealth.
Report of the Royal Commission on Constitution, Vol I, Evidence.
Report on the Royal Commission on Australian Shipping Act.
Keith's Responsible Government in the Dominions, 2nd edition, Vol. II, p. 755 *et seq.*

The Story of Salt

By J. HALDAR, M.SC.

When Homer canonized salt as "Divine" and Plato described it as "a substance dear to the gods" little did the poet or the philosopher dream that at a later epoch in the history of the world a prophet-politician of an ancient land would choose this very 'divine' weapon for the emancipation of a great and ancient people employing means 'dear to the gods.' Wonderfully varied is the significance attached to this 'universal aliment' as the following chronicle will reveal. But the last chapter had not evidently been written. To the romantic story that has gathered round salt through the ages India has yet to make her unique contribution. Who knows that salt, which has hitherto played so important a rôle in human affairs might not sooner or later mould the destinies of nations ?

Labana and Labanya

Salt has been known to the Indians from time immemorial. *Labana*, its best Sanskrit name, has but few other meanings than salt or saltness, but such as it does possess show the high esteem in which salt was held. Various forms of the word were employed to denote loveliness, beauty, etc. Take for instance the word '*Labanya*', derived from *labana*, which denotes gracefulness. As food becomes unpalatable without salt so the human body, deprived of salt, loses beauty and grace. The physiological connection between salt and grace is thus realized.

Goddess of Salt

In Mexico in the seventh month of their year, which corresponded roughly to June, the Aztecs celebrated a festival in honour of Huixtocihuatl, the Goddess of Salt. She was said to be a sister of the Rain Gods, but having quarrelled with them, she was banished and driven to take up her abode in the salt water. Being of an ingenious turn of mind, she invented the process of extracting salt by means of pans ; hence she was worshipped by all salt-makers as their patron goddess. Her garments were yellow ; on her head she wore a mitre surmounted by bunches of waving green plumes, which shone with greenish iridescent hues in the sun. Her robe and petticoats were embroidered with patterns simulating the waves of the sea. Golden ear-rings in the form of flowers dangled at her ears ; golden bells jingled at her ankles. In one hand she carried a round shield painted with the leaves of a certain plant and adorned with drooping fringes of parrots' feathers ; in the other hand she carried a stout baton ending in a knob and bedecked with paper, artificial flowers and feathers.

Ancient History

Salt must have been quite unattainable to primitive man in many parts of the world.

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Thus the Odyssey speaks of inlanders who do not know the sea and use no salt with their food. In some parts of America, salt was first introduced by Europeans; and there are still parts of Central Africa where the use of it is a luxury confined to the rich.

It is asserted by Ethnologists that the habitual use of salt is intimately connected with the transition from pastoral and nomadic stage to sedentary agricultural life, i.e., with precisely that step in civilization which had most influence on the cults of almost all ancient nations.

Sources of Supply

At a very early stage of progress salt became a necessary of life to most nations, and in many cases they could procure it only from abroad, from the sea-coast, or from salty incrustations on the surface of the soil. Sometimes indeed a kind of salt was obtained from the ashes of saline plants, or by pouring the water of a brackish stream over a fire of (saline) wood and collecting the ashes, as was done in ancient Germany, in Gaul and in Spain. Among inland peoples a salt spring was regarded as a special gift of the gods. Tacitus tells of furious wars between the Germanic tribes for the possession of salt springs near their territories.

The salt mines of Wieliczka (Austria) are the most beautiful as well as the largest on earth. Everything shines and glitters with the purest brilliancy, and occasionally large masses of salt are found which are as transparent and as pure as the finest plate of glass.

Trade Routes

It has been conjectured that some of the oldest trade routes were created for traffic in salt; at any rate salt and incense, the chief economic and religious necessaries of the ancient world, play a great part in all that we know of the ancient highways of commerce. Thus one of the oldest roads in Italy is the *via Salaria*, by which the produce of the salt pans of Ostia was carried up into the Sabine country. Herodotus's account of the caravan route uniting the salt-oases of the Libyan desert makes it plain that this was mainly a salt road, and to the present day the caravan trade of the Sahara is largely a trade in salt. The salt of Palmyra was an important element in the vast trade between the Syrian ports and the Persian Gulf, and long after the glory of the great merchant city was past "the salt of Tadmor" retained its reputation. In like manner the ancient trade between the Aegean and the coasts of Southern Russia was largely dependent on the salt pans at the mouth of the Dnieper and on the salt fish brought from this district. In Phœnician commerce salt and salt fish—the latter a valued delicacy in the ancient world—always formed an important item. The vast salt mines of Northern India were worked before the time of Alexander and must have been the centre of a widespread trade.

Salt as Exchange

Salt is an object of so general consumption, so necessary to man, that it affords an assured medium of exchange.

Mungo Park saw the inhabitants of the coast of Sierra Leone give all that possessed, even their wives and children, to obtain a salt supply.

Cakes of salt have been used as money in more than one part of the world, for example, in Abyssinia and, elsewhere in Africa and Tibet and adjoining parts.

The origin of the word 'salary' is interesting. It literally means 'salt money'. The Romans served out rations of salt and other necessaries to their soldiers and civil servants. The rations altogether were called by the general name of salt and when money was substituted for the rations the stipend went by the same name.

Physiological Necessity

Salt, or, as it is expressed chemically, sodium chloride, is perhaps to man, one of the most valuable products of the mineral kingdom.

It is an absolute necessity for life. A full-grown man of 165 lbs. contains about 1. 1 lbs. of salt, and requires yearly some 15 to 18 lbs. of salt in order to maintain him in health. Deprive him of this salt and he will most assuredly die. We are told that the Chinese and also the people of Holland at one time killed their worst criminals by feeding them on bread deprived of salt. The gastric juice of the human stomach contains about 0·2 per cent of hydrochloric acid—no doubt indirectly

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derived from salt consumed with the food, without which the process of digestion could not continue.

Still, salt is one of the three things which must not be used in excess.

Indeed, where men live mainly on milk and flesh, consuming the latter raw or roasted, so that its salts are not lost, it is not necessary to add sodium chloride, and thus we understand how the Numidian nomads in the time of Sallust and the Bedouins of Hadramut at the present day never eat salt with their food. On the other hand, cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt, and so does boiled meat. The important part played by the mineral in the history of commerce and religion depends on this fact.

Salt for Animals

The need for salt is not confined to man. Many animals seek this substance with avidity. Nothing pleases the appetite of sheep more than salt. Cattle may suffer cruelly from a lack of salt, and that, on the other hand, they thrive when it is added to their ration. Reindeer and red and roe deer love to lick the surface of brackish puddles and saline efflorescences. In all climates and all latitudes, wild ruminants and other hoofed animals resort to salt licks, a circumstance of which hunters take advantage choosing their shooting covers either where salt naturally effloresces or where they themselves have scattered it.

Owing perhaps, to its quasi-medicinal properties as much as to its effect on foodstuffs, salt has attracted an extraordinary amount of superstitious and religious attention.

Salt in Superstition

In certain places in Russia the belief is current among Jews that if salt is thrown in a part of a house where it is not likely to be swept away the inhabitants of that house will become poor. In England and Holland it is commonly believed that the spilling of salt brings ill luck. Salt is particularly considered as a safeguard against the 'evil eye.' This belief is specially current in Russia, where salt is put into children's pockets, and is thrown into the four corners of the room.

Salt In Ritual

This indispensable ingredient of man's food naturally assumed a great importance in the ritual. Just as salt was absolutely necessary at meals, so it was indispensable at the sacrifice, the "food of God." The Law (Jewish) expressly says: "Every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt. Salt was used also in the preparation of the show bread and of incense. Great quantities of salt were, therefore, required in the Temple service of the Jews.

Salt as a universal commodity has been used in all ages and civilizations. In biblical times the Jews offered salt to Jehovah with the first fruits of the harvest and the fruits of the earth.

Both Greeks and Romans mixed salt with their sacrificial cakes; in their lustrations also they made use of salt and water, which gave rise in after times to the superstition of holy water.

Salt was strewed on the steps of the Jewish altar to prevent the priests from slipping.

At the Dedication of a Church

On such occasions blessed water mixed with ashes was used, and salt was added here also. It was supposed to represent divine truth: while the water was a symbol of the people; the ashes of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God. With this mixture the bishop signed the corners of the altar, and sprinkled various parts of the church. What remained was poured out at the foot of the altar.

Covenant of Salt

Owing to the fact that salt is referred to in the Bible as symbolizing the Covenant between God and Israel, its importance is particularly pointed out by the Rabbis. They interpret the words "a Covenant of Salt" as meaning that salt was used by God on the occasion in question to signify that it should never be lacking from sacrifices.

Particularly holy and inviolable obligations were designated as "salt covenants."

It is probable, however, that the preservative qualities of salt were held to make it a peculiarly fitting symbol of an enduring compact, and influenced the choice of their particular element of the covenant meal as that which was regarded as sealing an obligation to fidelity.

Eating One's Salt

Among the ancients, as among Orientals down to the present day, every meal that

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included salt had a certain sacred character and created a bond of piety and guest friendship between the participants. Hence the Arab phrase "there is salt between us" and the modern Persian phrase, '*nimak haram*', untrue to salt, i.e., disloyal or ungrateful, and many others.

How To Eat Salt

According to Jewish custom salt must not be eaten from the thumb, for that causes the loss of children; nor from the little finger, for that causes poverty; nor from the index finger, for that causes murder; but only from the middle finger or the ring finger.

Medical and Curative

The medical properties of salt also seem to have been known to the Israelites at an early date. New-born infants were rubbed with it. At first this may have been done for religious reasons, as a protection against demons.

Salt is mentioned as a remedy for tooth-ache and women were accustomed to hold a grain of salt on the tongue in order to prevent unpleasant odours in the mouth and on this account the Rabbis similarly recommended that salt be eaten at the conclusion of every meal, as it prevents such odours in the day-time and at night is a preventive of angina.

In Protective Magic

Salt has also been widely used in protective and curative magic.

Lao and Siamese women washed themselves daily with salt and water after child-birth, salt being a protection against witch-craft.

In Birth

Shortly after a birth the Malayas administer to the child "the mouth opener" in the following manner. "First, you take a green coconut, split it in halves, put a grain of salt inside one-half of the shell, and give it to the child to drink, counting up to seven, and putting it up to the child's mouth at the word seven."

In Marriage Customs

Salt is used in weddings in many countries such as India, Germany, France, Scotland, Slavonic countries and elsewhere and is in some cases said to serve as a charm against witchcraft, evil spirits, or the evil eye.

In Syria and Palestine the throwing of grain and salt on the people at a wedding is said to be a charm against the evil eye.

In the Great Atlas, the bride beats the bridegroom sometimes with a piece of rock salt, which is much feared by the spirits.

In North Germany bride and bridegroom strew dill and salt into their shoes as a protection against witchcraft.

In Western India the sister of the bridegroom sits near him and waves a cup of salt over his head to keep off the Evil Eye, and when he comes to fetch his bride his mother scatters salt as she walks, in order that any harshness or roughness in the bridegroom's temper may henceforth be dispersed.

In Funeral Rites

At one time it was customary in some parts of Northumberland, to set a pewter plate, containing a little salt, upon the corpse. The Devil abhors salt, which is the emblem of eternity and immortality. It is not liable to putrefaction itself, and it preserves things that are seasoned with it from decay.

It is said that the custom of putting a plate of salt upon corpses is still retained in many parts of England, and particulary in Leicestershire, but it is not done for the reason here given. The pewter plate and salt are laid on the corpse with an intent to hinder air from getting into the bowels and swelling up the belly, so as to occasion either a bursting, or, at least a difficulty in closing the coffin.

Salt as a Charm

In Northern India, people believe that the ghosts are very fond of milk, and careful mothers do not allow their children to leave the house after drinking fresh milk. If she cannot prevent them from going out she puts some ashes or salt in the child's mouth to scare the ghosts.

Bharias in C. P. in order to drive away the Evil Eye, burn a mixture of chillies, salt, and millet, a compound that produces an evil odour. Esthonians cut a cross with a scythe under the door through which the herd is to be driven, and fill the furrows of the cross with salt to prevent certain evil beings from harming the cattle.

Moors carry salt in the dark to keep

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off ghosts and in Teutonic countries it is placed near infants to protect them. In Morocco it is put in the wheat-stack to guard it from *Zunn* and is sprinkled on the hand-mill before grinding the corn. British folk-custom has the charm of carrying salt withershins round a baby before taking it to be baptized.

Divination by Salt

In the Hebrides, a salt cake is eaten at All Hallow Even to induce dreams that will reveal the future. It is baked of common meal with a great deal of salt. After eating it you may not drink water nor utter a word, not even to say your prayers. A salt herring, eaten bones and all in three bites, is equally efficacious, always provided that you drink no water and hold your tongue.

In the Isle of Man also similar forms of divination are practised by some people on Hallowe'en. For example, the housewife fills a thimble with salt for each member of the family and each guest; the contents of the thimbles are emptied out in as many neat little piles on a plate, and left there overnight. Next morning the piles are examined, and if any of them has fallen down, he or she whom it represents will die within the year.

Again if a lady goes out with her mouth full of water and her hands full of salt and listens at a neighbour's door, the first name she hears will be the name of her husband.

Spilling of Salt

The dread of spilling salt is a known superstition among the English and the Germans, being reckoned a presage of some future calamity, and particularly that it foreboded domestic feuds, to avert which it is customary to fling some salt over the shoulder into the fire, in a manner truly classical.

It has been observed by Bailey, on the spilling of salt, that it proceeds from the ancient opinion that salt was incorruptible: it has, therefore, been made the symbol of friendship and if it fell, usually the persons between whom it happened, thought their friendship would not be of long duration.

In certain parts of India if a person spills salt he will have to pick up each grain with his eyelids in hell; hence it must be handled with the greatest care, and as it is unlucky to receive it in the hand it should be taken in a cloth or vessel.

In Leonardo's fresco of the Last Supper, Judas (the betrayer of Jesus) is to be recognized by the salt cellar which he has overturned.

Miscellaneous

Salt is a cure for many sicknesses and procures disenchantment. Like blood and iron it is a favourite medium for the oath; in early Teutonic custom the swearer dipped his finger in salt, and then took the oath.

Salt is used in Oriental alchemy to effect the transmutation of metals and in Musalman magic.

Name of Salt, Taboo

A certain spirit, who used to inhabit a lake in Madagascar, entertained a rooted aversion to salt, so that whenever the thing was carried past the lake in which he resided it had to be called by another name or it would all have been dissolved and lost. The persons whom he inspired had to veil their references to the obnoxious article under the disguise of "sweet peppers."

In a West African story we read of a man who was told that he would die if ever the word for salt was pronounced in his hearing. The fatal word was pronounced, and die he did sure enough, but he soon came to life again with the help of a magical wooden pestle of which he was the lucky possessor.

Salt as Taboo

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of taboo. Certain professions and persons in certain states, are forbidden to use salt, as they are forbidden other critical substances.

Among the Indians of Peru, the parents of twins had to fast for many days after the birth, abstaining from salt and pepper.

Abstinence from salt is sometimes prescribed as in the case of mourners among several Indian races who may not eat salt for five days after a death.

Mourners may eat no salt among Africans, and other peoples also. Priests and medicine men (*e.g.* Egyptians, Central and South Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives. The salt taboo of the Egyptian priesthood is especially emphasized. When travelling the Central African might not use salt. If

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he did, and his wives not behaving well, the salt would act as a "corrosive poison."

During the ceremonies of first fruits among the Yuchi Indians of California continence and abstinence from salt are ordered, as is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Huichol Indians. No salt may be used in cooking the flesh of the beast or any food at the Gilyak Bear Festival. Some Dayaks after taking heads may not eat salt, or touch iron, or have intercourse with women. Baganda fishermen have the same combined taboo. In Indian rituals the young student, after being brought to his teacher, and the newly married pair must abstain from salted food for three days. As with other trades sacredness has attached to salt mining. In Laos, salt miners observe continence and other taboos. In ancient Germany salt working was a sacred business.

By certain tribes of Central Angoniland abstinence from salt is somehow associated with the idea of chastity.

Should a party of villagers have gone to make salt, all sexual intercourse is forbidden among the people of the village, until the people who have gone to make the salt (from grass) return. When they do come back they must make their entry into the village at night, and no one must see them. Then one of the elders of the village sleeps with his wife. She then cooks some relish, into which she puts some of the salt. This relish is handed round to the people who went to make the salt, who rub it on their feet and under their armpits.

Salt And Women

In certain parts of Angoniland, a woman during her monthly sickness must on no account put salt into any food she is cooking, lest she give her husband or children a disease (*tsempo*) but calls a child to put it in, or, pours in the salt by placing it on her knee, because there is no child handy.

In Syria, to this day a woman who has her courses on her may neither salt nor pickle, for the people think that whatever she pickled or salted would not keep.

Salt and Sabbath

Salting food or vegetables is considered one of the principal labours which are forbidden on the Sabbath. To dissolve salt in water is also considered work; consequently one may not prepare a quantity of salt water on the Sabbath. Salt may not be pounded in a mortar on that day; but it may be crushed with the handle of a knife.

In Literature.

Besides the common aliment 'salt' means wit, piquancy, pungency, sarcasm. The term 'salted' is applied to a man in the sense of 'quick-minded.'

The 'salt of money' is charity. 'The salt of youth' is that vigour and strong passion which then predominates. To be worth one's salt—to be worthy of one's hire, or of the lowest possible wages, in a depreciatory sense, as implying that one is not worth his food, but only the salt that he eats with it: generally in the negative form; as, he is not worth his salt.

To sit above (or below) the salt. Formerly the family *saler* (salt cellar) was of massive silver, and placed in the middle of the table. Persons of distinction sat *above* the *saler*—*i. e.*, between it and the head of the table; dependents and inferior guests sat *below*.

True to his salt—Faithful to his employers.

To salt an invoice—is to put the extreme value upon each article, and even something more to give it piquancy and raise its market value.

To lay salt on the tail of—to catch or apprehend. The phrase is based on the direction given to small children to lay salt on a bird's tail if they want to catch it.

To salt a mine—secretly to place minerals in a mine so as to deceive purchasers regarding the minerals naturally in the mine.

To salt away (colloquially)—to save or invest safely, as money.

To take with a grain of salt—to accept or believe with some reserve or allowance.

Salt as Symbol

Salt has been variously used as the symbol of wisdom; of perpetuity and incorruption; of hospitality and of that fidelity which is due from servants, friends, guests and domestics to those that entertain them.

Salt preserves the human body from worms, so the righteous save society from corruption.

Salt is the staff of life, and yet the symbol of sterility!

It remained for Mahatma Gandhi, however, to employ salt as the symbol of *Freedom*.

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Rabindranath Tagore's Paintings

I. Rabindranath Tagore in Paris
By R. M. Milward

A unique exhibition has just been held at the new Galerie Pigalle of the drawings and watercolours of the poet, Tagore. Writer and musician, unsatisfied, he now demands brush and colour to express his thoughts in a new way. Perhaps he feels freer to express more of his inner soul in this medium, for the meaning is hidden from the many, the few only catch their breath and are lifted beyond themselves.

As I looked at these wonderful creations, I recalled vividly another setting under another sun, where I first talked with Tagore on art and was privileged to see some of his work, a privilege granted to few. It was one evening at sunset in the dining-room at Santiniketan, and the light cast a glory over the fine features and snow-white hair of the aged poet. I was thinking much of the bust that I hoped to make; sculpture led us to talk of other arts, and I learnt with amazement that the latest craze of this great genius was to do marvellous and very modern paintings. I expressed my deep interest, and with much diffidence the Poet allowed a large portfolio to be fetched. We spread the contents all over the room. They were large, bold and cubistic in style, for the most part monochrome, but some of the deepest colour obtained with paint or ink mixed to get the richness desired. The surfaces looked like old Persian carpets or Java batiks. Tagore explained to me how they began. He had a habit, he said, of making sketches in all his manuscripts to hide the ugliness of corrections. Or, as he put it, to give the rejected word a decent burial! Then he started to make shapes for themselves, to catch his dreams and put them down.

He was surprised at my eagerness and enthusiasm, and demurred greatly when I said: "You must exhibit these in Paris, there the artists will understand and appreciate them." Today this exhibition is an accomplished fact, and my words have come true. The great artists of Paris begged of Tagore to let them arrange to exhibit his work in the newest and best lighted *salle* possible: they are amazed at his greatness.

How can I describe what I saw? No picture has a name. How can one fix a dream? It is for the onlooker to divine it.

There are cruel black shapes that menace. There are thin angular shapes like spectres. There are beautiful cubist shapes that turn into dancing figures as I look. Perhaps the heads attract me the most, faces of every shape, sometimes only eyes that haunt and follow me out of the dark. Here is a portrait perhaps, very soft and flat in colour, a shape of hair, oval face and smiling mouth. A dream indeed weird and beautiful. One head parchment brown with the drawing in white lines, makes me think of an old Buddhist frescoe on a monastery wall.

Every kind of prehistoric beast confronts me, or are they apocalyptic? Some are purely decorative, others terrifying. A most arresting picture in quite another style is an antelope reaching up to a tree, a pointed shaft of light behind. It contains all the poetry of the animal kingdom. The last picture I see might be an old Japanese print with a little temple and greeny blue distance.

Twice I went back to the exhibition to gaze on these strikingly original pictures, full of poise and balance, and refinement, and of such profound psychology. No collection has ever interested and moved me so deeply.

II. Rabindranath Tagore's Dreams made visible

By Comtesse De Noailles,
French Poetess and Novelist

TEN years ago I had the wonderful privilege of wandering on a summer's evening with Rabindranath Tagore by the banks of the Seine in a garden copied from an Eastern design.

The great height of the Poet draped in flax, his soft footstep on the golden sand, his countenance like a prophet unmovable who accepts and moulds destiny, his peaceful

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hands that seemed to have power to enrich and console mankind, all these seemed to harmonize and explain the Bengal rose-trees, growing superbly on each side of this regal pathway.

How noble and lavish he is, this sage, talking to himself, enigmatic yet limpid as the silver sea.

And now today Tagore offers for our admiration this immense collection of his dreams, of which he has said already in the famous stanzas, "I understand the voice of the stars and the silence of the trees. One day I will meet outside of the body the joy that dwells behind the screen of light." Words of fire that light up the whole future. This man gives himself time to become clearly acquainted with himself. Suddenly he knows, and then again he doubts. This magician who with raised hands and without fear of failure would have tried to calm a tempest, and who affirms to have healed by his own will-power the mortal sting of a scorpion, is timid in front of his own creations, to which each of us can bear witness. Naturally one praises him, but he doubts, hesitates and smiles.

While he composed his books that are mixed up with the invisible stars, the imaginative pictures of the Poet accumulated round him like a dancing multitude, unrecognized by his reason. They came from all parts of the world to attack his serene isle. Socrates taught the famous formula "Know thyself." And certainly, I daughter of Greece, do not deny this august recommendation, which invites intelligence to observe itself, to maintain itself logically, and to dismiss from itself fantastic phantoms. But there is more than one command for the spirit. Tagore has wilfully disregarded this axiom, he is a law unto himself. He has consented to materialize the elements of which his dreams are formed, and a prodigious work, both numerous and varied, is suddenly presented to us. Here are disclosed his intimate inhabitants, his secret visions—a most surprising multitude. Let us praise the inspiration that has brought forth new and unexpected fruit from the ancient deep-rooted tree.

It would be enthralling to know how Tagore, intelligent dreamer, has been led to these striking creations, which charm the eyes, and make one travel in countries where imaginary things are more true than the real. With his beautiful hand, colour of a pale wood-pigeon, he wrote his poems, and in the margin of the manuscript as one suddenly drunken by an ineffable elixir, he is led far from the tight and rigorous labour, and delivered to the indomitable forces of the imagination. He sketched roughly, and then developed and perfected the treasures of the sub-conscious, obedient pupil to a celestial guide. For this reason he who possesses the gift of tears and weeps without knowing the cause of his grief, will feel the mysterious dew form on his face from some unexplained source, a lace seen only by angels.

Tagore's paintings, which at first seem dreamy and vague like the entrance of the spirit into sleep, become clearer through their remarkable execution; and one is stupefied in front of this learned embryogenius which reveals itself by the details as well as by amplitude. The patch of shadow, the snowy white, the reds, greens and violets come out of the limbo and reconstitute a living universe. Tagore, whose charming songs have murmured to us so many subtle affirmations, delivers now to us the mystery of the multitude of man, of abundant hereditary influence, flocking together at the feet of phantoms with the laughs of demons!

We read in William James, "We do not possess the key of our own reservoirs." Certainly this sigh contains more of truth than regret.

Why should Tagore, the great mystic, intoxicated with love, deliver himself suddenly and unknown to himself, to tha which in him mocks, banters and even despises? However it is certain that beauty plays the largest part in the drawings and colourings of the Poet. What noble faces and proud attitudes, the grace of the water world, and that profound blue night where happy lovers of Shakespeare transport us into so solid a paradise that banishes all idea of death. But how not to dread these powerful and sensual profiles like those Cervantes has described? How not to feel uneasy before these Satanic masks, thin red and pale and seen at an angle, sharp as a knife, and seeming to incarnate trickery and treachery? It is charming after these to discover in another picture the cunning balance cleverly obtained of two pigeons. And how fascinating and enthralling in its

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coquettish posture is the antilope that seems suspended in mid air?

I love you and admire you more, Tagore, since you have made me such rich and at times cruel confidences. But shall I ever find again the great naive angel that I thought you, with your silent footsteps on the garden walks, making me believe in my own sins, perhaps imaginary, and in your sublime innocence.

Translation by R. M. Milward

Some Works of the Younger Painters of The Indian School

THE new Indian school of art had its origin in Bengal. It is no longer new, and what is still more encouraging, is it not limited to Bengal or the Bengali group of artists. The school has won recognition from all competent art critics, and young students are gathering round the old masters who wrested at first, from reluctant and unsympathetic critics, their due meed of praise by their own gifts and courage.

It is also a hopeful sign of the movement that these young students are not satisfied with the mere copying of their masters or the repetition of their successes. Inspiration which illuminates the paintings of Srijut Nandalal Bose or Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore could not be owned by every one that sits at their feet. They might have followed the technique and methods of their *gurus* religiously without creating anything worthy.

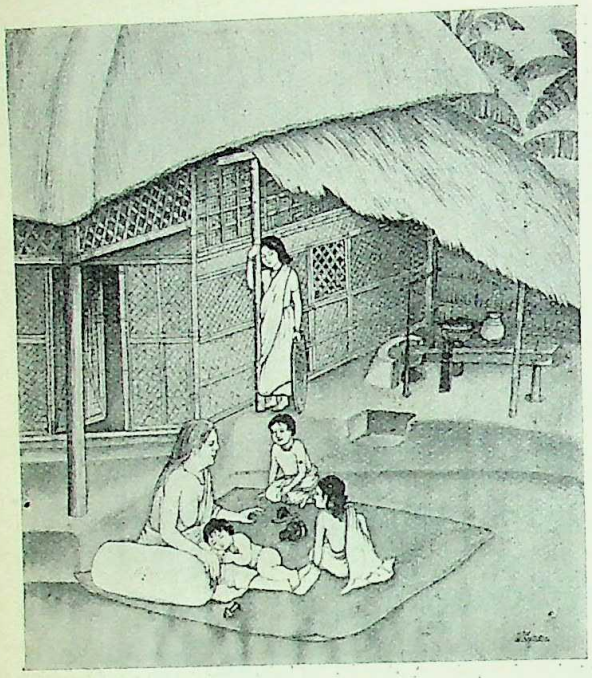
This is in fact the danger before every group of artists and a danger which often proves disastrous. For mere technique and faithful copying cannot make good the want of inspiration. It is, however, gratifying to note that the young students of the Indian School are alive to this danger, and are trying to open into fresh fields and pastures new even though they subscribe to the tenets and the technique of their school and are loyal to it.

Of the three seats, the Government School of Art in Calcutta, the Oriental Society of Art, Calcutta, and Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, the first is reported to be the most dubious supporter. But at the instance of Principal De who had his training both in the East and the West, the pupils of the Government School are proving alert and awake. Innovations and experiments are not avoided but cheerfully undertaken, and Indian method is making headway in the crafts department of the school. Perhaps, this movement to widen the sphere of Indian art began from the Kalabhavan of the Visva-Bharati. The Oriental Society of Art has lately arranged for a series of lectures on the various schools of art, and these will certainly give to the students of the Society proper perspective of their own school. They will be the happier for their knowledge of the method and technique of the other art schools.

Here are published some of the specimens of the work of a younger group of artists in the Indian method. It will be seen that the artists hail from different provinces of India, a proof if proof were needed, that the method is suited to the genius of Indians everywhere, and have nothing of the coterie about it. Most of them are yet students, some have just completed their period of training. It cannot be prophesied whether they will succeed in time in carrying on the high traditions of their masters. But certainly they have promise, and the reproductions published here will give some idea of their abilities.

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Grandmother—Jyotirindra Krishna Ray



Rajputni—Indu Rakshit



isakh"—Nanigopal Das-Gupta



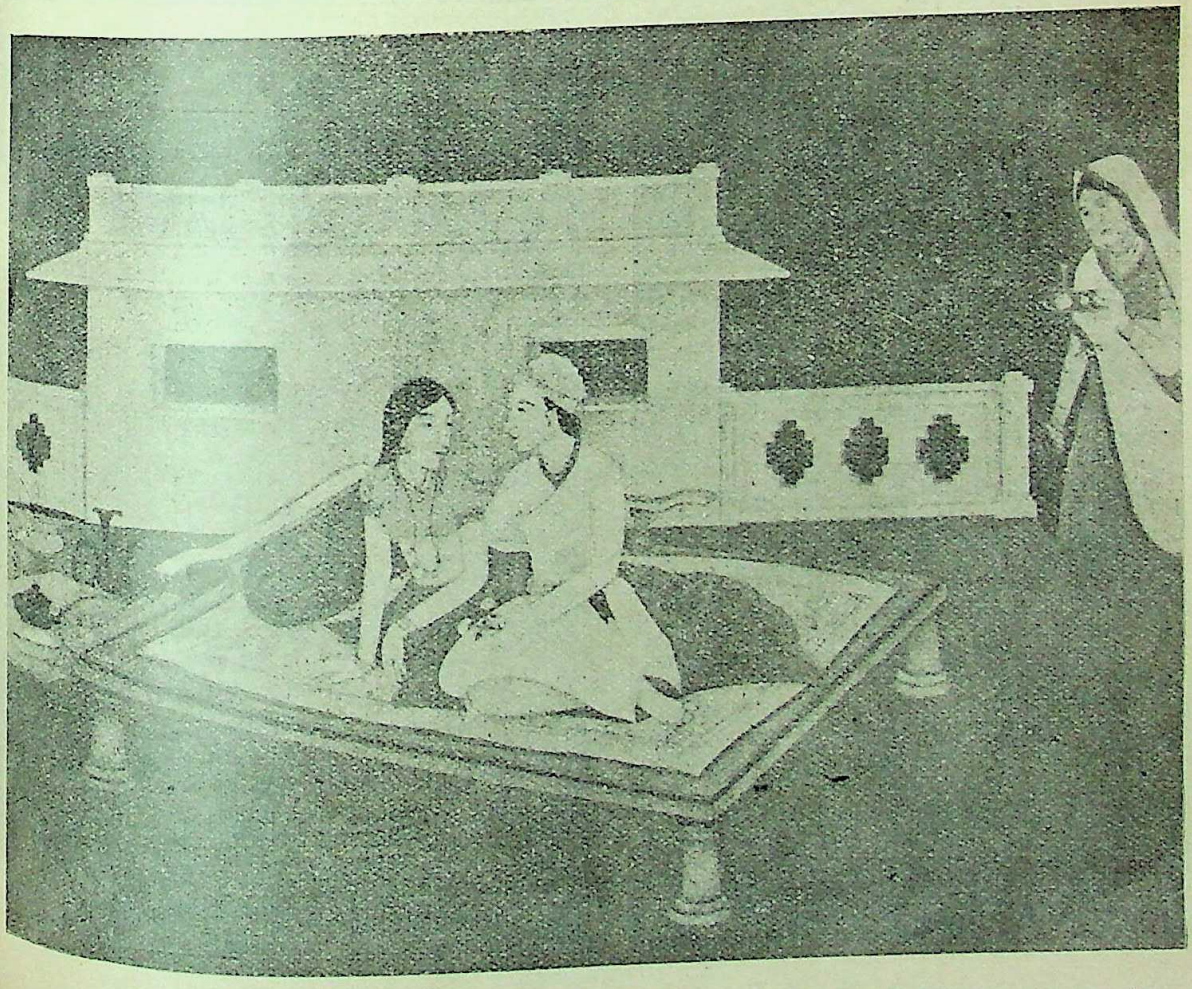
The Lamp—Atmananda Sinha

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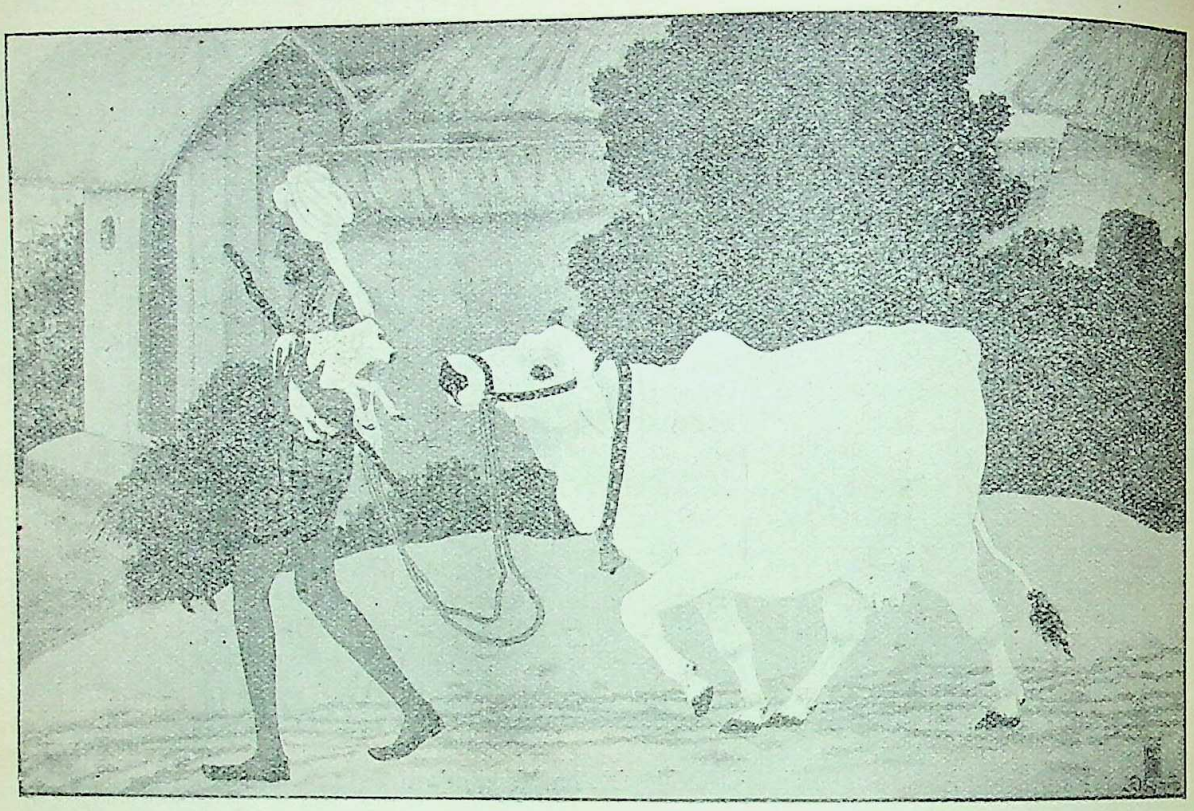
The Moonrise—Mathuradas Gujrati



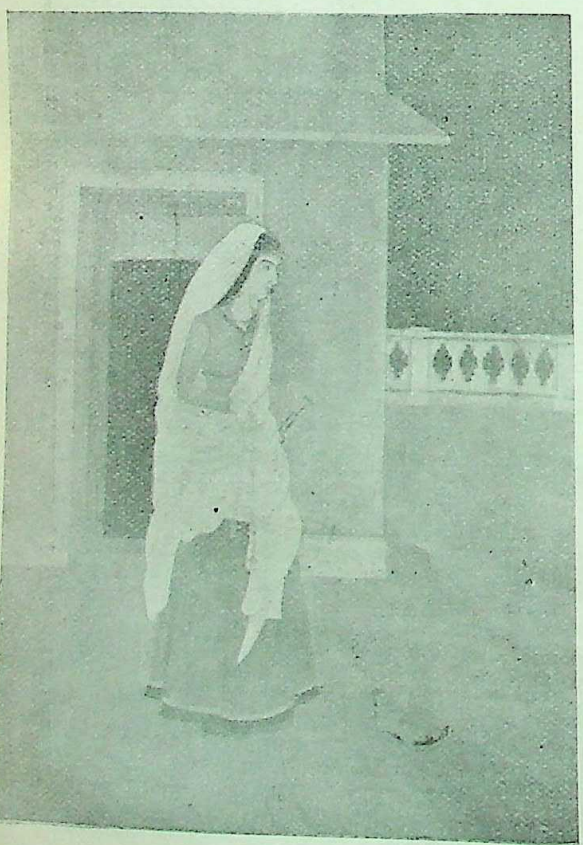
On the Terrace—Birbhadra Rao Chitra

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The Return—Indu Rakshit



Disappointed—Birabhadra Rao Chitre



The Hunter—Chunilal Dewan

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Ayesha and Tilottama—Birabhadra Rao Chitra. This illustrates an incident in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's famous novel "Durgesh-Nandini"



The Boat—Taraknath Bose

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What is Wrong with the Muslims ?

This is the question which Maulvi Abdul Hamid asks, and tries to answer in an article contributed to *The Scholar*. "The growth of democratic institutions in this country," he says "raises the question of the future of the Muslims in India with regard to a voice and a vote in public affairs. Economic and educational devolopment is the only qualification for the exercise of equal rights." He, therefore, proposes a searching enquiry into the structure and basis of Muslim society. He says :

Speaking broadly, the reason why Muslim people all over the world have made no progress for centuries together is their failure to profit by the liberalizing influences released by the European Renaissance whose distinctive contribution to the progress of knowledge has been the Inductive method. Though this method was not unknown to the early Muslims, the growth of Empires and the dependence on the priestly class soon replaced that by the more tempting Deductive method. The Quran was advanced as the last authority, from which everything of value to mankind was to be deduced. The result has been that Muslim education to-day is completely medieval, and is at least five centuries behind the Western, as can be seen from the antiquated methods followed in Muslim theological schools. The system of modern education was introduced in India nearly a century ago : yet the grip of the Mullas is still so viciously powerful that the ordinary man has hardly profited by it.

True religion rightly concerns itself with providing rich content for the yearning of the human soul. More claims have been made by misguided enthusiasts for organized religion than religion has made for itself. When, as has been done in Islam, misguided fanatics claim the right of religion to dictate in matters of daily life, the result always is deterioration in human efficiency. Next to the great mistake of abandoning the Inductive method is the abominable curse of the priestly influence in Islam which has corrupted to the very roots the purity of the original message. Let us fervently pray to God to deliver us from the influence of false priests and intolerable Mullas ; let us try to recapture that bold spirit which led Muslims to wander all over the world to investigate and explore new fields of knowledge !

One test of civilization is the attitude of society towards its women. In Muslim countries, for centuries together, a peculiar viewpoint has somehow come to prevail. Under the guise of religious sanction, Muslims have secluded their women, with the result that their education has been sadly neglected. Fundamentally wrong notions of love and sex dominate the Muslim society to-day. Among the causes of Muslim decline one of the most powerful is their contempt for women, which has made it impossible for them to develop their moral and intellectual personality. In a free society man has to exert himself to acquire those qualities that readily appeal to woman in order to win her devotion and keep it. The absence of this powerful stimulus in Muslim society may be said to be a very efficient cause of the decline in the physical, intellectual and moral strength of the people because woman is easily acquired and easily kept. We have been blind to the law of propagation of species, which has endowed the female with a very fine discriminative faculty for selecting that male who seems to her best capable of being the father of her children. The coercive marraige customs of several centuries have gone against the grain of woman's nature, destroyed her judgment, degraded her ideals, stunted her growth and reduced her to the position of a parasite in society.

The Muslims have been the victims for generations of several kinds of tyranny. There has been on one side the tyranny of the priests and the Mullas over the ordinary men and women ; there has been the tyranny of men over the women ; and the tyranny of the parents over the children. The time has come for every responsible man and woman to wake up to the need of shaking off these several tyrannies and effecting complete emancipation.

Among the lesser evils easily noted in Muslim society to-day are hypocrisy and cant, faction and unbrotherliness, irresponsibility to children, love of display and varying degrees of unbecoming selfishness. The spirit of unity, which was the strong point of the Faith with the early Muslims, appears to have wholly or partly departed from their midst, to be resurrected only in moments of acute crises.

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The Value of the Simon Report

In view of the absurd amount of uncritical praise which has been bestowed upon the Simon Report even by persons who do not agree with its recommendations, it is instructive to read the following estimate of its value by Sir P. Sivaswamy Aiyer in *Triveni* :

Owing to persistent propaganda, a large volume of public opinion has been created in Britain in favour of the Report. It has been vigorously supported by the Press and it has been held out as one of the most masterly reports ever submitted by a Royal Commission and as a historic State document. Even in moderate circles in England

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there is a prepossession in its favour and it seems to be held that the Report is bound to hold the field unless and until the contrary can be proved. This is not unnatural, for the other side of the case has not been placed before it. I do not belong to the school of Indian political thought which considers it useless to attempt to educate or influence public opinion in Britain. I still retain faith in the English people. The Simon Commission express the hope that, if their Indian fellow-subjects extended to them the courtesy of studying the Report as a whole, they would find that it has been inspired by a spirit of genuine sympathy. I have done this more than once and have found myself unable to discover any overflowing sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India. Nor have I been able to discover any proof of extraordinary ability, insight or statesmanship. The first volume of the Report which presents a survey of existing conditions is merely as assemblage of well-known facts, crude generalizations and unsifted statements. They have uncritically swallowed the statements made to them without any attempt to probe the facts or discover an explanation.

They have departed from the fundamental principles set out by themselves in planning their scheme of reforms. In recommending the breaking up of the existing structure of the Central Government, they have ignored the historical background of the existing constitution and the lessons to be derived therefrom. After laying down that constitutional legislation should arise from the needs of the times, they have thought it necessary on *a priori* grounds to frame a time-table for the extension of the franchise and direct that at the end of 15 years it should be extended to 20 per cent. of the whole population. While proclaiming that the constitution must provide opportunities for natural development and automatic growth, they have made no provision for the development of responsible government in the centre.

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Fundamental Contributions of the League of Nations

The conclusion of the decade of the League's existence is celebrated by *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* with an article from the editor on the achievement of the League of Nations. Says Mr. K. T. Paul :

Two fundamental contributions have been made by the League of Nations to the structure of international relations in the post-war period :—

(1) Its members have accepted in the Covenant the standards of conduct which have been referred to above and which, by reason of the extent of their acceptance, have created a supporting international morale for them. It is deemed inadvisable for any government to act counter to those standards even though it may not be a member of the League and may contest certain details of one of the specific engagements.

(2) The machinery of international relations has been developed through the existence of the organs of the League into an automatic system of international co-operation. Whatever the subject under discussion, a failure to agree at any particular time is not fatal to international agreement since additional meetings can always be held to reconsider a current difficulty.

A third new feature added to international life by the existence of the League is the "Geneva atmosphere." In former days the conduct of international affairs was essentially on the bilateral plane of diplomacy. An ambassador and a minister of foreign affairs met to seek individual advantages for their countries. They fell into agreement and contributed to the common interest by a sort of process of elimination—a 50-50 balance of interests. At Geneva the interest of one State is half of the interests involved. Moreover, the discussion would not take place at all if all countries represented did not regard eventual agreement as in their common interest. The "Geneva atmosphere," then, consists, in the first instance, of a disposition to co-operate on the part of the representatives of States. The social pressure of the "atmosphere" is considerable. A representative who stubbornly and unreasonably sticks to a point of view on a given matter does not add either to his personal popularity or to that of his government. On the other hand, there is general understanding and approval of any one who reasonably and courteously defends his national interest even at the expense of an immediate general agreement. A contributing factor to the "Geneva atmosphere" is the Secretariat, composed of highly trained experts, dealing with the subject involved from a detached, practical and scientific point of view, appreciative of the national interests of all the countries they serve, and familiar with the possibilities of reaching a compromise or of attaining an end by a different approach to the problem. Another contributing factor to the "Geneva atmosphere" is the fact that the organization of the League is both a large and a continuing machine. Therefore, A and B, the representatives of two States with adverse interests, may find themselves strenuously opposed to each other in the morning, while in the afternoon it becomes their duty to sit together upon a committee charged with elaborating a proposal in accordance with their common Covenant and intended to meet the approval of all their colleagues. All these practical reasons—not to mention the obvious one of the continuity of personal acquaintance—serve to maintain a co-operative disposition and an attitude of accommodation among the persons who conduct the affairs of their countries at Geneva.

—

A Social Experiment

A novel experiment in social uplift is described in *The Gramani*, a monthly magazine devoted to the study of Village Self-government and village civics in India. It is a village uplift society at Ghaziabad :

In these days of progress much is said about doing constructive work in villages in India but one is always at a loss to see how one can begin

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the work to realize one's dream in practice. "The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon" in its August issue gives some interesting account of the Ghaziabad Society founded by C. H. Pirthi Singh Nehra. The constitution and the actual working of the body should be a guide to those who are working out a model institution of this type. It must be remembered that the above Society is a non-official body with a fund and a programme of its own for work among villagers.

Co-ordinating the agencies of the Government working in villages, improving agriculture by opening moving agricultural schools, improving cattle by breeding good cows and bulls, spreading male and female education, carrying on female welfare work, teaching sanitary habits to villagers, starting village Boy Scout and Girl Guide Troops, establishing libraries in villages and improving the general health of the village are some of the items of the programme which is worked. The Society seeks to better the lot of the Indian Villager by guiding the village electorate and by propaganda work of various types.

As for the persons working for the society every member of the society is a member for life and takes certain vows by which he agrees to serve the villages to the best of his ability and sacrifice and to regard all foreigners and Indians as brothers and to make no distinctions of caste and creed. The society provides for the members and their families and the members are not allowed to do additional work to supplement this income. Every member is trained in his work, members are paid their allowances during their period of training and are paid higher wage which is not less than Rs. 35 per month after training. The President of the Society is also paid for his work.

Such team work should provide a new avenue of employment and service to selfless youths of modern India. We therefore recommend this form of activity to our leaders and workers in every province.

—

The Modernization of Nepal

The editorial notes in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* give an account of the modernization of Nepal on the authority of the special correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette*:

The order placed last year for a number of automobiles rightly suggested that though Nepal, with the exception of the Terai and the famous valley containing the capital and principal cities, is still forbidden land to all foreigners, modernization proceeds steadily, but without interfering in any way with independent Oriental administration or strict intepretation of the Shastras. Education and medical relief along English lines are making noticeable headway, roads and bridges are being built and improved, a new motor road is nearly complete, while communications are being improved by aerial ropeways and a telephone line provides an immediate link with the outside world. Not very long ago, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and staff paid a visit to Nepal, and on their way up were entertained to 'shikar' in the Terai on an unusually hospitable scale, no less than 60 elephants being provided. The Terai provides some of the best shooting in the world and, incidentally, a little known example of the traditional friendship between Britain and Nepal, which was again demonstrated during the Great War, and one form of recognition whereof lies in an annual gift in perpetuity by the British Government of Rs. 10 lakhs as also in the new treaty of friendship concluded in 1923.

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The Insurgeney of Indian Youth

Coimbatore is taken as a microcosm of India for a study of Indian conditions by the editor of *The Indian Lobour Review* and accordingly what he says of the youth of that town has a wider Indian application:

But the curious thing is that with a few exceptions, the great majority of those taking part, that is to the extent of courting arrest, have been youths and school-boys. And that is still the case even after the crest of the wave has reached us. This apparent indifference on the part of the leading citizens, including members of the Legislatures, has been a little puzzling. We use the words "apparent indifference" advisedly because, of course, there does exist, and has all along existed, a good deal of unexpressed—or shall we say repressed?—sympathy with the movement, and the Municipal Council has gone so far as to pass a resolution condemning the police excesses. But undoubtedly the honours of the campaign are with the young people and while we have admired and done homage to the ineffable insurgency of youth we cannot honestly say we have been favourably impressed by the sit-on-the-fence attitude of many of the elders. Is Coimbatore, we wonder, fairly typical in this respect of the majority of other towns in India? If so, then the leaders of the movement have certainly blundered badly in closing the door of peace.

—

The Wasteful Methods of Indian Cotton Industries

In the *Indian Commerce and Industry*, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar points out the wasteful methods of the Indian cotton mills:

We have shown that India requires Rs. 87½ crores worth clothings. With 148.612 looms she could have produced clothings worth 60 crores of rupees which she imports every year, but she produces only Rs. 27½ crores worth of clothings. Thus from the point of view of existing looms she is losing every year, Rs. 32½ crores. And with the spindles she has, she should have been producing clothings worth nearly Rs. 80 crores. So if spindles be considered she is losing every year Rs. 62½ crores. In round figures, the total loss for India from the management of cotton mills may be put down to

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47 crores of rupees on average per year This is much more than they earn.

Bombay, too, loses. With 70,753 spindles Bombay could have produced clothings worth Rs. 29 crores and with 33,78,365 spindles Rs. 33.8 crores, whereas Bombay produces cloth worth Rs. 16 crores only. Therefore owing to looms she suffers a l ss of Rs. 6 crores and owing to spindles her loss is Rs. 20.8 crores. In round figures therefore Bombay's total loss is something like 18½ crores of rupees per year. India loses each year 3½ times of what Bombay loses, but in no way can that loss be slightly treated.

It must be borne in mind that the estimate of all these losses is only relative. If after perusing the avove one runs away with the idea that Indian cotton mills are all being run at a loss or that no dividend is distributed, then one will be mistaken. The purpose of the present article is to demonstrate conclusively that Indian efficiency in the mills is of abnormally low standard. If our looms are giving less than their share our spindles are much more behind. This is surely deplorable. It may be argued that, why bother so much for efficiency when dividends are fat and prospects of other mills in India sanguine. But dividends alone cannot justify augmentation of mills. In order that they may stand in world competition, mills must be economically and scientifically managed. It is time that our mill-owners paid attention to the methodology of mill management to their own permanent benefit. If they are being run today on profitable lines that is not because they are on a sound basis, but in spite of their backwardness and primitive methods. No amount of tariff walls and protective duties in that case can save them from their impending ruin.

—

The Gandhi Cap

There is an interesting little article on the Gandhi cap by Dr. K. M. Hiranandani in *The Indian Review* which we quote in full:

In these times, there have been more than many remarks on the Gandhi cap. Those who have been in the military departments of the British Army must have noticed that the Khaki cap, worn by the military, is in all its shapes like a Gandhi cap, excepting the colour and the regimental symbols. I do not think, those officers, who have ever served in the military departments of any army could think of raising any objection as to its use.

Those who have been in the hospitals, must have seen the operating surgeons, wearing the white cap, which is in resemblance to Gandhi cap. In Europe the workers in various factories, laboratories, restaurants, hotels, cooking schools, wear a white cap, which is in resemblance to Gandhi cap. I saw in Europe some of the nurses of the hospitals, wearing a white cap which greatly resembled the Gandhi cap, *though most of the nurses wear single band white cap.* Most European women, wear a cap, which is made of different material, not necessarily white cloth, which somewhat resembles the Gandhi cap but greatly the so called Scotch cap. The Scotch topee that is worn by the people of Scotland, is little short of the Gandhi cap. The Gandhi cap is a clean cap, which is light and not heavy, for the head, and being washable is a good preventive of any disease, and it may be called the Health Cap.

Europeans and Indians in India

"An Englishman" pleads for greater social contact between Europeans and Indians in India in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine.* This, he argues, would to a very great extent, prevent "the blight of suspicion and mistrust settling over the growth of India's political future and relationship with Great Britain". Though the chasm between the British and Indians which is widening daily, is due to more fundamental reasons than mere want of social intercourse, there is no denying that its bitterness would have been lessened had there been some attempt at mutual understanding and civilities. At present there are none, at any rate none on a really equal footing. Some of the causes which have given rise to this state of affairs are pointed out:

There are Europeans who can never adjust themselves to changing times, who might still be living in the days of "John Company" and cannot shed the atmosphere of those times, who talk foolishly about their "prestige" and give not a thought to Indian prestige. These are the parochially-minded people, who unfortunately seldom, if ever, come into social contact with cultured Indian people, who live in the country most of their lives and learn nothing of its languages beyond a smattering of kitchen vernacular; indeed, probably their whole outlook on the Indian mind is formed by their contact with their own servants or with the shopkeepers they meet on their bazaar excursions. These are the people who encourage those petty caste divisions between Europeans themselves, and if Indian people could gain their company they certainly would act care much for it. But, to reason that because we are gregarious we should not create castes is to ignore human nature. If a station be large enough, life is bound to run in circles. Civil servants find it slightly easier to mix with one another than with army folk, who again refer to business people somewhat contemptuously as "boxwallah." Even in the service itself, the infantry is known to complain of the superior airs of those who cultivate "cavalry swagger" while both these divisions complain that the "Air Force keeps to itself too much!" Such little divisions will always exist and they exist probably more clearly among Indian people themselves. But this is not the crux of the problem.

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This question needs to be faced squarely and discussed frankly. In the past, India has been much to blame for fostering those "superior airs" by white races, about which one hears murmurs When the writer arrived in India as a young man eager to study and understand its peoples, he noticed all sorts of customs which struck his Western democratised mind as passing strange. In a small and very pleasant station of the U. P., a mounted villager would dismount, lead his horse by him, and then remount! People even used to put down their umbrellas, when passing! He was addressed, not politely, but cravenly, as "Your Honour," "Maharaj", and equally unwelcome flattering titles quite unknown in the West, but too well-known out here. If he went to buy a railway ticket, the babu showed a curious inclination to attend to him first, out of his turn, and could not understand why he should wish to be attended to in the proper order of arrival! Young Britishers now-a-days are essentially democratic; they never ask for such flattering attentions and they do not want them. But when these servile attentions are thrust upon them year after, wherever they move, is it any wonder they come to accept them?

—

Jute Cultivators in Bengal

The editor of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* has the following suggestion *a propos* of the Jute situation in Bengal:

Reports from Bengal have recently shown that jute cultivators in that Presidency have been hit hard by the slump in prices of jute caused by the abnormally large crops and the restricted world demand. It is stated that while the cost of cultivation is Rs 8 per maund, the price realized is barely Rs. 3. Government has been appealed to, to come to the rescue of the cultivators, and assist them by purchasing the excess over the requirements and release it for marketing in the next season when it is proposed to restrict the area of production. We do expect Government to give this much-needed assistance at this particular juncture, but the permanent solution must come from the jute producers' own organization. What is necessary is "orderly" marketing which comes in the wake of co-operative sale societies. An organization does exist in Bengal known as the Co-operative Wholesale, but its demensions are as yet small. The Co-operative Department must now play a larger part than hitherto in this business. Some arrangement will have also to be made to keep the jute growers constantly informed of the world's jute requirements, so that they may restrict or extend the area according to needs.

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Universities and Industrial Research

Sir S. M. Sulaiman pointed out the duties of a University with regard to the industrial development of a country in his convocation address before the University of Dacca which has been published in *The Educational Review*:

We expect the Universities to regulate and to expedite the general progress of the country. Without money, labour and time spent on research work, discoveries of industrial utility cannot be expected, nor can there be any hope of a real improvement in the economic life of the country. No nation can, without scientific discoveries to its credit, take its fair place among the great nations of the world. Its economic condition cannot be in advance of its industrial development, or its industrial development in advance of its scientific thought.

Abstract knowledge for its own sake is not the exclusive object of a university; all sciences and arts, vocational as well as industrial training, come within its comprehensive fold. The universities should recognise their responsibility for the material advance of the country, and take practical steps to bring University life more and more into touch with the independent professions, the services and the great industries of the country, by co-ordinating and harmonising their teaching with the higher grades of industrial and technical training. The general atmosphere of University life will be invigorated if brought into living contact with practical problems, and the University will enhance its reputation for utility in public estimation. In many advanced countries, the experiment of a close co-operation between the Universities and the great industries has been tried with success. The application of scientific research to industrial development is the highest gift which a university can bestow upon the country.

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The Finance Member's Speech

The Khalsa Review has the following editional note on the recent statement of Sir George Schuster before the Legislative Assembly:

Sir George Schuster has spoken; but has suggested no remedies. He lays a great deal of stress on disturbed conditions, but he admits that the fall in prices is a world-wide phenomena and not confined to India alone. He does not say what steps have been taken to secure an adequate and stable currency in India. Could he honestly say that if he had been holding the financial portfolio in a British Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer he would have been content with a bare review, without suggesting some ways and means for meeting the situation? That is where the difference lies between constructive statesmanship and trusteeship. He does not say what steps have been taken to discover if India has an adequate currency, serving as a measure of unit of labour in keeping with similar measures in other countries of the world in trade relation with India. His pleadings would then have had some justification, that his taking away nearly 88 crores from currency have had little effect on internal currency and that

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restriction of credit by raising the interest has had no adverse effect. As it is, his claim that his operations have had no injurious effect on prices sounds like new wisdom coined specially for India. Money is the measure of labour, and as such agricultural labourer must get same return in money for his labour as workers in other fields from whom he has to purchase his requirements. He would be content if he could enjoy in peace the home produce untempted by world's shop windows. The Finance Member must admit that he has been more concerned with the stability of exchange than that of maintaining a stable price level in the country. There is just one bright spot in his speech—the mention of a Central Bank. Let the Finance Member establish a Federal Central Bank, with Provincial Banks to support it, and he would have done something to give India a position in the financial world. The Legislative Assembly never committed a greater blunder than the rejection of Sir Basil Blackett's scheme. Will Sir George Schuster revive the scheme and put it through? Whatever world financiers may say, they are only aware of economic links which now bind the world, but they have not yet knowledge or power enough to control currencies of various countries and keep them on a common level till the coming of this event. The first duty of our Finance Member is to provide a stable and an adequate internal currency and to help the country to be self supporting in the matter of its requirements. No country importing all its requirements, except food, can remain in trade relation with modern industrialized countries of the world, without feeling the effects of this irrational arrangement. The Finance Member complained of disturbed conditions. The remedy lies with him to win the approval of country and the town by raising India to a position of economic equality, by giving her an adequate stable internal currency, by the organization of her resources and by protecting her new industries. It was rightly remarked by some body that the protection was more a matter of expediency than of principle.

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The Women of Persia

The All-Asian Women's Conference is to be held in Lahore from the 23rd to the 30th. January 1931. Invitations have been sent on its behalf to the varions women's organizations in all Asiatic countries. Hassoor-E-Afsher, the Secretary of one of these, The Society of the Patriotic Women of Persia, has written a letter to the Secretary of the Conference in which she describes the condition of Persian women. The letter from which the following extracts are taken is published in full in *Stri-dharma*:

Though His Imperial Majesty the Shah has granted us the permission to go about unveiled and Persian women can accompany their husbands to theatres and cinemas, as well as to balls and like gatherings, it is a matter of great regret that I have to record here the fact of all lack of concern displayed by Persian women regarding domestic reforms, despite their ardour to imitate the latest Paris fashions, and it is, therefore, that they are not particular about either social or civil rights and privileges of their own. It is only owing to the rare activity, energy and best endeavours of a very small number of our women in the country that the attention of different associations in Europe and Asia, has been drawn towards us, and had it not been for the strong power of endurance and resistance as displayed by the members of our society here in connection with the promotion of our avowed aims and objects, we could hardly have witnessed the relations now being established with the outside world, and I earnestly hope that all our ills and misfortunes will be well surmounted and obviated through the help and co-operation of our sisters so deeply concerned in the welfare of our sex.

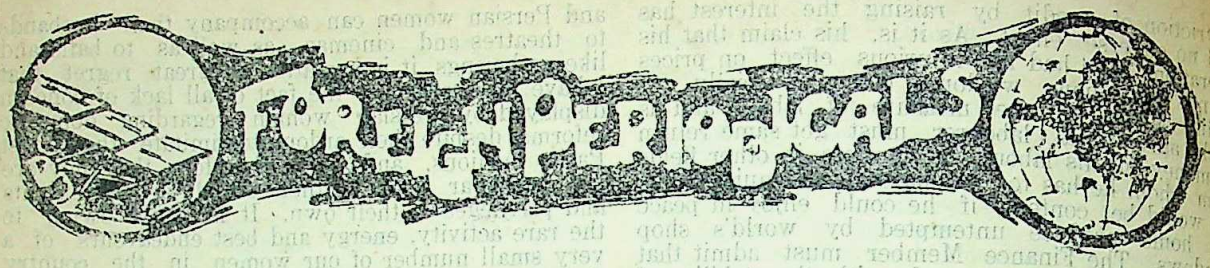
I trust you are well aware of the fact of a Conference of eastern women having been convened at Damascus in Syria, under the presidency of Noori Khanoom Hanadeh Beg, this year, when delegates from Persia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Palestine, and Iraq were present, and we were represented by Kodsieh Khanoom Ashraf, who is busy prosecuting higher studies at Beyrout. The said Conference has proved to us that so long as we Muslim women fail to own human rights and privileges, we shall never succeed in having our way to the path of progress and advancement and no salvation concerning our actual thraldom is possible. We were, therefore, compelled to unfold all ugly facts as to our domestic organization and begged of the Conference to pass Resolutions with reference to the following questions :—(1) The determination of the marriageable age of girls to 16, and not under. (2) The abolition of polygamy. (3) Fundamental modification in the law of divorce with the view of protecting the rights of women and their issues, on lines in vogue in advanced countries of Europe and America, and we urged the submission of these demands to the Governments of such different countries as were represented at the said conference, in shape of a general circular, and I wrote a due article in this connection on the subject of "temporary wives" and had it published in the *Shafek-e-Sorkh*, a well-known local journal. You will be surprised to learn that none could till now venture to discuss these subjects in public, and though I sought the help and co-operation of ladies and gentlemen in these matters, none has till now expressed himself or herself in agreement with me.

As to the women of Turkestan, I have no definite news about them since the Bolshevik regime. Before the Bolshevik upheaval, women in Trans-Caucasia had organizations of their own, and those of Kazan were remarkable. Most of the educated Kazan women and girls I came across had sane and enlightened ideas.

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Far Eastern Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children

The enquiry carried out by a League Commission into this subject in Europe and America has already been published in a sensational report. A new enquiry has been undertaken by the League for Asiatic countries. Its scope and objects are described in the League of Nations *News for Overseas*:

Territories to be Visited

The League of Nations has set on foot the enquiry into the traffic in women and children in the East decided upon by the last Assembly. Three travelling Commissioners appointed by the Council—Mr. Bascom Johnson, Mr. Charles Pindor and Madame Alma Sundquist—are proceeding to Syria, French Indian establishments, Indo-China, the chief Chinese towns and ports, Palestine, Iraq, Aden, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated and unfederated Malay States, Hongkong, Macao, Japan, Siam, the Philippines, Persia, India, Goa and Timor and the Netherlands East Indies.

West and East

At a meeting of the Committee of Enquiry on the Traffic in Women and Children in the East which met at Geneva simultaneously with the Travelling Commissioners, to make the final arrangements, the profound difference of mentality between East and West in these matters, and even between different eastern countries, was emphasized. In China, for example, parents are known to sell their children, particularly girls. Again, as in the Devadasi, prostitution is practised in connection with certain religious rites. These customs, which are of a purely national or even local character, cannot, of course, be included in any enquiry concerned with the international traffic.

Scope of the Enquiry

In general, the enquiry is to be strictly limited to the international aspect of the question, but as it is difficult to separate this from the national traffic the Committee's investigators may, with the previous consent of the authorities of the countries concerned, study such social, economic, legislative or administrative aspects of the traffic which, although national in character, contribute to the development of the international traffic.

The Committee examined data from the countries and territories to be visited and the representatives of these countries who attended the meeting gave further details in the course of the discussion. Particular note was taken of information on the activities of national organizations engaged in combating the traffic in Eastern countries. The enthusiasm and disinterested support of these organizations may be one of the most powerful factors in rousing public opinion in those countries. The position of children in the East formed the subject of special consideration.

Methods of the Enquiry

By the Council's resolution the investigators are authorized to obtain information from both official and unofficial sources, though even when using the latter they should keep in close touch with the official representatives. Representatives of the various Governments, particularly those with Eastern possessions, pointed out the danger which might be involved in the East by certain methods used in the previous enquiry into the traffic in Europe, the Mediterranean Basin and America. If the Committee of Enquiry felt that it should employ an agent to obtain secret information, it ought to reach an agreement with the official representative of the country visited and obtain his consent beforehand.

This enquiry is the second stage in the League's investigation of this subject, and is made possible by the help of a contribution of $ 125,000 from the American Bureau of Social Hygiene.

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Was the Kaiser Mad?

Those who have read Emil Ludwig's *William II* know how he finds the key to the character and personality of his hero in the latter's defective arm. An exaggerated, almost pathological, consciousness of this physical defect led William II to the opposite extreme of bravado. This theory may, or again, may not be true. But the doubt which always haunted contemporary observers, both German and foreign, was whether this exuberant personality was at all well-ordered in all its faculties. This doubt was expressed by Lord Morley as far back as the nineties of the last century, and the subject occurs again in the memoires of Prince Von Bülow, now being published serially in *L' Illustration*. After referring to an almost hysterically indiscreet and boastful letter of William II to himself, Prince Von Bülow writes:

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After reading this letter I understood why ...rvice since I had become Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Von Hohenlohe asked me in all seriousness whether I considered William II as a man of quite normal mental faculties. Once already, he had had the misfortune of being the minister of a mad king, and he had no wish that this should happen to him for a second time. As I was related to his family and to him for a long time he insisted upon my telling him the whole truth. Without hesitation I gave him the reply which I would give even today. 'No, William II is not mad; the analogy with Ludwig II is false, in the first place because the King of Bavaria was abnormal from the point of view of sex, and besides alcoholic and misanthropic in the highest degree. Our Emperor is absolutely normal from the physical, and wholly sane and a model from the moral point of view. But he is neurasthenic and it is from this that his vacillations between extreme pessimism and and exaggerated optimism spring. In contrast with his father, grandfather and ancestors, our young sovereign is inclined towards vanity, a defect common enough in princes for centuries, even thousands of years, but very dangerous This vanity gives rise to a kind of boastfulness which is politically deplorable and arouses antipathy. This boastfulness sprung also in part from a desire to hide a want of confidence, a weakness which is more common with him than is generally believed to be the case At the bottom of his nature lies fear and not courage. And last of all, he is absolutely without tact, and tact is an innate gift which can never be taught. After having replied to your grave question in all frankness and without the least reserve, I believe I am warranted in believing, in my heart and conscience, that William II is not mad, and as far as things can be foreseen will never be afflicted with mental alienation." The Prince kept silent for a fairly long time. Then he wrote again: "Alienated or not, there so many shades between the two! In any case, our young master, more than any other sovereign, has need for wise and able counsellors."

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Economics and Foreign Affairs

Any one who is interested enough in politics to try to think out one of the vexed problems of the day by himself soon finds to his discomfiture that he can make no progress unless he knows a good deal about some new and difficult science, or as some people would prefer to call it, the pseudo-science, of economics. This has been recognized on all hands in domestic politics. Now comes Sir Josiah Stamp and tells us that its importance is as great in foreign politics. His extremely interesting address at a luncheon given by the Academy of Political Science, New York, from which the extracts printed below are taken, is published in full in the *Political Science Quarterly*:

When we look at politics today, however, we find that at bottom practically all political questions are economic, and now we are coming to the point where we can perceive that most economic questions have to be handled, if we are to get to the root of them, by severe statistical methods.

I went some years ago into an embassy—you will readily identify it if I add that I have forgotten the country it was in, and I must not say the country it was for, and the time is unspecified—but anyway a member of the embassy looked up from his papers and said, in a rather despairing tone of voice, "This diplomacy business has all gone to the dogs. When I was trained for it, I thought I knew my job. I knew the history of these people and their politics and their balance of power and all that business. But now what do we have to do? We are given all this black magic of finance and economics and currency. Here I am asked to say whether I think this government is going to get hold of the currency successfully, or whether they will get thrown out in the process, because that will make a difference in their foreign relations. I really don't know the top from the bottom of the subject. I was never trained in this filthy science." He was quite petulant about it. But he did express a very great truth. He did bring out the point that the problems of international relations today are in their most difficult aspects mainly financial.

The other aspects are still with us, but very successful provision has been made for dealing with them on a large scale on an institutional or organizational basis. We have a World Court which is ready to handle problems and disputes about international law, boundaries and the like. We have the representatives of the nations meeting at Geneva regularly for common action and common discussion, and we are able to bring together quite quickly, as quickly at any rate as diplomatic action will allow, special conferences to deal with major problems like naval and military disarmament. So, most of the elements of difficulty in international relations have been provided for.

There is, however, at present no organization for dealing systematically and scientifically with the financial strains that come upon the world's economic and social organism, and we have not even improvised one yet, except for something that I shall refer to at the end of my remarks. If these economic questions are to be dealt with in the same spirit, in the same way as the others, new qualities of thinking are wanted on the part of those who take part in international discussions, who regulate international relationships, and particularly those who interpret them through the press and otherwise to the people.

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Dark Hours in England

M. André Siegfried, the well-known French Economist and historian, contributes to the *Petit Havre* a penetrating article (a translation of which appeared in the *Nation and Athenaeum*) on the present outlook for England:

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At present England is going through the darkest hours she has known since the war. It is no insult to a noble and energetic people if we remark upon the grave anxiety which it is experiencing in face of unforeseen circumstances. For nearly ten years the English have been in a critical position: several times they have thought that they were emerging, and never have they doubted that they would emerge. But now a new storm is descending upon them while the old one is still blowing. Is unemployment again going to increase? (It has already begun to do so.) Are exports again going to diminish? Will there be a further weakening in British influence upon international affairs? The constant raising of these questions betokens an atmosphere of acute anxiety. Can it be that a people which has never lost confidence in itself is beginning to mistrust the future?

In the nineteenth century the world was dominated by the English economic system, and the English grew used to being the economic directors of our planet. They believed that this situation would last forever. Even after the war, in the crisis of 1921, it was universally believed in England that the tension was temporary. All that seemed necessary was for international economic life to recover its balance, and then, in the natural course of events, England would be bound to recover her proper preponderance. In this way England sought for the causes of her troubles in the outside world, and never dreamed that the real weakness might be in hereself.

The general strike seems to have opened the eyes of the more wary. After this terrible adventure some people perceived that the economic conditions of the nineeteenth century, so perfectly arranged for the advantage of Great Britain, could probably never recur. The more sagacious realized that some foreign markets, which were thought to be lost temporarily might indeed be lost for good. A mere return to pre-war conditions was therefore inadequate as a programme. It became necessary to accept the world as it now is—to admit, in fact, that this is the twentieth century, with the United States a first-rate l'ower, with the Far East in rebellion against European domination, and with the Dominions, children only yesterday, grown up and possessing a life of their own. From this moment England began to wake up, and now she can no longer shut her eyes to the possible disappearance of her belief in her owu economic supremacy. Consequently the English feel that they are faced with a grave crisis, but it is in their morale that they are suffering even more than in material ways. At least, such is my impression. And as a result they are in danger of giving way to a pessimism unjustified by the circumstances.

The student of nineteenth-century English history can easily trace the first signs of the present troubles about the year 1880. It was then that serious competition began, whereas English industry had previously had the field practically to itself. This is made quite clear by an examination of the crisis of 1885. At that difficult moment we see England setting to sleep upon her past successes just when she should have made an effort to pull herself together. This was the time when English manufacturers and tradesmen began to work less hard. They came late to the Office, went away on Friday night for the week-end, and came back only on Monday afternoons. Instead of keeping up with the latest technical improvements they pretended that success depends upon character rather than upon knowledge and technique. Between 1880 and 1890 England began to lose her dominating position in the market for metal manufactures; everywhereshe was confronted with German competition. She protested, as if this was an injustice. 'Made in Germany' she cried, as if she was shocked. About 1900 she was reassured, perhaps mistakenly, by a brilliant economic recovery. But the crisis of 1921 was no ephemeral trouble suddenly appearing, but the result of a process which in fact had begun nearly half a century earlier. And this is the real danger of the present situation.

What is required, therefore, is not to change a world which cannot be changed, not to try to revive economic conditions which have been dead for thirty years, but to adapt the country to modern conditions of international competition. Rationalization? Of course. But this is not easy when you are not ten but fifty years behind the times. It is difficult, above all, when you are used to making money easily, without much work or knowledge, when you have lived on a traditional belief that British prestige is in itself enough. It entails a whole reformation including a policy in education, in the national philosophy of life, in intellectual, industrial, and technical equipment. And it must be confessed that the country is ill prepared by its past for such an undertaking.

Hence the extreme confusion which reigns. To reconquer the export markets English goods must again be the cheapest obtainable. But price are no longer determined merely by the possession of coal fields. Mass production is necessary and for this America is better situated than the little British Isles. Moreover, labour must be labour which is productive. There would be no objection to high wages in England if there were a corresponding productiveness, but there is not. Above all, what is required is an economic organization unburdened by fiscal and other charges, a state without a million and a half unemployed to support.

In a word, England hesitates when faced with the brutal measures which might make a partial recovery possible. She keeps her unemployed, and feeds them. She also keeps to a great extent her old ways and her old attitude. The old free-trade spirit which marked her so deeply in the nineteenth century is growing weaker every day. Unable to maintain her position in the world, England is sliding gently but undeniably towards protection as a solution. Like everyone else she thinks of sheltering behind a wall. 'Since we cannot keep foreign markets, let us use our privileges and make sure at least of the home market, and the colonial markets. Let us, like other people, keep poachers off our preserves.' This is the feeling behind a mass of controversial articles and speeches: there are a hundred such every day. Lord Beaverbrook's campaign in favour of Empire free trade merely means protect on.

Examined carefully, the proposal means giving up the whole Liberal tradition of nineteenth-century England. It is a proposal put forward in

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a country which has lost its self-confidence. To study this question I have come to London for a month. Need I add that I am rather impressed by the prevalent pessimism? It reminds me of the confusion which reigned among us in France in the years 1924-1926. We have emerged from it. And so will England, but perhaps she will leave behind parts of her old economic structure. Let us study the matter systematically, for the two countries are more dependent upon each other than we sometimes think.

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British Policy in Palestine

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations held an extraordinary session to enquire into the events in Palestine of August, 1929, and presented its report to the Council. In it the policy of the Mandatory Power, that is to say, Great Britain comes in for a good deal of criticism. The criticism as well as the replies of the British Government are published in *The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*:

The Mandates Commission considers that the Mandatory Power has, by its general policy since the Mandate came into force, not always done everything possible to prevent the explosion of the antagonisms known to exist and to lessen their violence. The task is exceedingly delicate and difficult, and consists essentially in, on the one hand, social and economic problems raised by Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine and, on the other, of the political problems arising out of the obligation to develop self-governing institutions in a country divided against itself. The Commission suggests that the Palestine Government has not been sufficiently active in developing the country economically, and believes that had such a policy been adopted and pressed energetically the result of general economic development would have been to develop a sense of solidarity between Jews and Arabs and to blunt the edge of antagonism by giving all elements of the population the feeling that the new regime was contributing to their welfare. Up to the present, the institutions concerned with economic development have been established entirely on the initiative of the Jewish organization and naturally in the interests of the Jewish population alone. The Mandatory might be well advised to contribute capital to industrial, agricultural and commercial concerns, and to provide common vocational training for the youth of both communities as far as possible. In general, the Commission believes that a more active policy on the part of the Mandatory, and a firmer and more constant determination on the part of all its representatives in Palestine to carry out the Mandate in all its provisions would probably have diminished the force of the racial antagonisms from which the country suffers.

On this, the British Government comments that its task is not only to promote conditions securing the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions, but that it is also bound to safeguard "the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race or religion." The last obligation is the core of the problem, and its bearing upon the problem of how to execute the other two is largely ignored by the Mandates Commission. The Commission admits that Arab resentment was ultimately due to their political disappointments but suggests that this may be met by economic measures. This fails to take account of the paramount importance hitherto attached by the Arab leaders to the political issue and ignores the fact that the demands of the Arabs have always been for a particular form of representative institutions which would be plainly incompatible with the execution of the Mandate.

As to the charge that the Mandatory Power has neglected agricultural and other development in the interests of the Arab, and the general thesis that a proper development policy would have so increased the general prosperity and contentment of the population as to reconcile all parts of the community, the British Government observes that such a view assumes the existence of practically unlimited funds at the disposal of the Palestine Government. Its resources are, on the contrary, strictly limited. The view further implies a fundamental misconception of the British Government's general policy with regard to to territories for which it is responsible. This policy which is justified by long exoerience, is that such territories must be emancipated as soon as possible from dependence upon grants-in-aid from the British Exchequer; If a territory is to be developed on a sound economic lines it must be developed on a self-supporting basis. Since 1921, the British Government has contributed more than nine million pounds sterling to Palestine, exclusive of guaranteeing a loan of £4,500,000. The policy of development is made more difficult by having to take account of the interests of both Jews and Arabs. The Commission ignores what has been done by the Mandatory for agriculture, education, communications, health, sanitation, land tenure, etc. In an annex to its reply the British Government gives some details of its activities in these respects.

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An American Comment on the Breakdown of the "Peace" Negotiations

For us in India, the "peace" negotiations have no longer even a retrospect interest. But foreign comment on the topic is useful as showing the trend of opinion. "Gandhi asking for the moon" is the comment of one American paper. Not all Americans are of course of this opinion. As the following editorial in *The New Republic* shows, competent American opinion is under no delusion about the real questions at issue:

In declining to accede to Mahatma Gandhi's conditions for a cessation of passive resistance, the British government has assumed the responsility for continuing the struggle against Indian national-

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ism for an indefinite and probably bitter future. The October Round Table Conference now seems doomed to failure. The chief demand was for a government responsible only to the people of India, with a right to secede at any time from the British Empire. This sounds extreme, but it was essentially a demand for a gesture of British good faith, on which a genuine dominion government might be built. Britain would not want it understood that she holds any of the self-governing dominions against its will. The belief that she desired to do so would make cordial relations with any of them impossible. Indians are profoundly suspicious of the British government's intentions, and a declaration of this sort is essential to allay the suspicions which stand in the way of a free discussion of the Indian problem. In the present situation it is the intangible considerations which are important, and what is wanted is an act of faith on the part of Britain, rather than too detailed a consideration of the future type of Indian government.

Other stipulations of the Indian Nationalists were subordinate to the main conditions. They demanded not only full economic control, but control of the defense forces. This is an essential corollary of 'the substance of independence," since British command of an army in India is incompatible with self-government. British claims and concessions which seem to the Indians unjust, including the Indian public debt, the Nationalists wanted to refer to an independent tribunal. This is essentially an appeal to arbitration, to which it would be difficult to object. Political prisoners not found guilty of violence they wanted released, their confiscated property restored and any fines paid refunded. Village officers who have resigned and were dismissed on account of passive resistance they wanted reinstated. All special ordinances were to be repealed. The Viceroy's reply dismissed the conditions as "impossible" and of no value to the peace movement. He was willing only to withdraw the restrictive ordinances if the Nationalist campaign were called off, but would not guarantee the release of political prisoners. This is not even an offer to restore the status which existed when the non-cooperation movement started, and indicates the complete failure of the authorities to make any concessions.

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Indian Unrest and Indian Art

Mr. E. B. Havell opens up a new line of approach to Indian unrest in *Indian Affairs*. It is due in a great measure, he says, to the deliberate discouragement of indigenous art traditions by the bureaucratic rulers of India:

We may be satisfied that the sum of our achievements in India is far greater than that of our failures. But that does not explain Indian unrest or lessen it. A cause of irritation which seems trivial to us may rankle in the Indian subconsciousness even more than India herself can express. Artistic blundering is certainly not one of the major grievances of the Indian nationalist, perhaps from a consciousness of his own share in the degradation of Indian art. But a living popular or national tradition of art is the expression of the peoples mind and, if from indifference or a lack of understanding we repress its free development we are sitting on the safety valve of national life and provoking an explosion. We are diverting the creative and productive faculties which find their satisfaction and contentment in art into non-productive or disruptive channels which only convey dissatisfaction and unrest. And this is exactly what departmentalism has been doing and is still doing to art in India. All former rulers of India have appropriated Indian art and made it their own. Thus every new chapter of Indian history before British rule began was illuminated with a new series of pictures of national life, ever varied and ever beautiful. There was no valid reason why the same stately pageant of art should not have continued its progress under British rule. The craftsmen were there and are still there. There skill was as great as it had ever been. They had the same capacity as their ancestors for adapting their art traditions to new needs and new ideals. With sensible guidance they were just as capable of giving expression in terms of art to the ideals of British government, its sobriety, sanity and efficiency as their forefathers had been in expressing the extravagance and luxury of their Mogul rulers. They would have made Christian churches as beautiful as Mahommedan mosques. The craftsmanship of our public buildings might have been as fine as Shah Jahan's, without imitating his reckless expenditure. The so-called Mogul style of architecture would, by the natural law of artistic evolution, have been changed by now into a no less beautiful British-Indian style; and this with a great saving to the public exchequer, for the pretext of economy by which the philistine tries to justify his artistic failures is always shallow and insincere. A living art always changes with the times. If economy is practised it becomes economical. The decay of art connotes moral and material decline, whatever official blue-books may prove.

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What India Resents—A Missionary View

The Rev. John Mackenzie contributes to *The International Review of Missions* a survey of the present situation in India. In course of this survey he recounts the grievances which Indians most resent:

Let it be remembered first of all that the people of India do not endure with equanimity what they consider the stigma of being regarded as a subject people. It is curious that so many British people should find this difficult to understand, and that there should be so much surprise that the benefits of British rule are not more fully appreciated. Is it not just what we should expect in a people of high intelligence and keen sensitiveness, moving towards freedom but not yet free, that they should resent the very existence of the last vestiges of foreign domination, however benevolent? Have we in the West become so secure in the enjoyment of independence that we are incapable of entering imaginatively into the feelings of an Indian in

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reading, say, the following words in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 : 'The time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples' ? It may be said that the extremist politicians have shown an unreasonable impatience not only of policy but of facts. I am prepared to grant this, but I am now trying to give a psychological explantion, not a justification of their actions.

Added to the resentment that is felt at the continuance of the mere fact of political determination from without is the widespread and growing belief that Great Britain holds India for purposes of economic exploitation, that she intends still to hold India for these purposes, and that there is no sincerity in any promises made to the contrary. These are allegations that touch British people on a delicate spot, and they are intended to do so. Is there any truth in these charges ? It is for ourselves to say. Very few even of the bitterest opponents of the British Government accuse the Viceroy or Mr Benn of insincerity or of selfish motives. But on the other hand there are the utterances of prominent public men, which have been taken not entirely without reason as confirmation of the worst suspicions which extremist leaders have entertained. I think, for example, of various articles in the *Daily Mail*, some of them by men whose names carry great weight. These articles are avidly read in India. One of them, by Lord Rothermere, entitled, 'What India means to us' has been given specially wide publicity, and almost every Nationalist newspaper has drawn attention to sentences in it such as the following : 'Do the electors who are the rulers of India realize that without Indian trade it is impossible to maintain the dole and pension services of Britain ?' and 'The promise of Dominion Status should be cancelled and not confirmed.' Lord Rothermere did not mean to play into the hands of the extremists, but his article has, I believe, been more valuable to them for propaganda purposes than any one of their own writings. Lord Rothermere is only one of many whose words and writings have communicated to India. While I have been writing, Mr Winston Churchill has been reported as saying that Dominion Status for India was impossible in the lifetime of anyone now living. We may be wrong of the people of India to doubt the sincerity of British promises, but they certainly have had great provocation.

I mention another thing, without which the present movement is quite unintelligible. British rule has meant peace and order for the people of India. These are blessings, but it is a question whether they are entirely unqualified blessings. We commonly hears in India the complaint that the British have emasculated them. It is not to be wondered at that the new nationalism should have manifested itself in a spirit that has led people, especially young people, to adventure and sacrifice. Over and over again one has heard it said that freedom can never be got as a gift, it must always be won. The *satyagrahis* (non-co-operators) who have put themselves in the way of blows from *lathis* (heavy sticks, with which the police are armed) and imprisonment have the feeling that they are soldiers of freedom, and the non-violent warfare which they wage is commended as a moral substitute for war.' Their sacrifices are compared with those of the young men of Europe during the great war. Whatever judgment we may form on this, it is our business at least to understand the psychological significance of it.

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The First Phase of Japan's Foreign Policy

Mr. H. Saito of the Japanese Foreign Office traces in *The Japan Magazine* the different phases of Japanese foreign policy. In this survey the account that is given of the first phase of Japanese policy should prove to be of the greatest interest to Indian readers, as it describes the anxieties and the strivings of a weak country trying to maintain its independence in the face of powerful Western Powers. After referring to the ultimatum of Commodore Perry, as a result of which Japan was suddenly thrown open to foreigners, Mr. Saito says :

After the formal opening of our country to foreigners, foreign policy was not all plain sailing, for the foreign treaties could not be concluded without granting rights of extra-territoriality to foreigners. The judicial authority of Japan over foreigners was thus prohibited, and even our tariff rights were abridged. The leaders of the nation at that that time could not but feel how undignified was the position in which they had been placed, and how humiliating was the predicament of the nation itself, in thus having to compromise Japan's sovereignty. It is not too much to say that this feeling of disgrace forced upon Japan by unequal status rankled in the mind of the whole nation which remained restless until it was removed. But to remove it took a long and tedious time, involving moments of trial and further humiliation. Consequently the process of revising these hated foreign treaties was the most important task the Foreign Office had to deal with in these years, and proved a test of the soundness of Japan's foreign policy. From 1854 to 1894 is a space of 40 years ; and all this time innumerable and difficult negotiations were necessary before the treaty revision was brought about and extra-territoriality abolished, in 1894 ; but tariff autonomy was not fully achieved until 1911.

Japan's courtesy and patience during this long period of trial is a proof of the spirit that always guided her foreign policy. Instead of facing aggression with agression, she set about reforming her government and improving her civilization until the country was so progressive that foreigners had no fear for their safety in Japan. This policy we are now advising our Chinese friends to adopt and follow. It may be that times are different and that China's demands are the only way, however. But for Japan it was a great thing to know that while the difficult task of treaty revision was being accomplished, the other equally difficult task of modernizing our feudal state was being achieved and Japan became a modern nation. Students were despatched abroad to acquaint themselves with western knowledge and the ways

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of modern civilization; and these returned to become the teachers and leaders of the country. It is not too much to say that all departments of life were transformed.

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Haeckel's Love Story

The following beautiful story of the great German biological philosopher Ernest Haeckel is told in *The Times Literary Supplement* in course of a review of the newly published letters of Haeckel:

Haeckel was in his sixty-fifth year when he received a letter from a young woman, whose identity has been disguised by the name Franziska von Altenhausen, who had been deeply impressed by a volume of his which had fallen into her hands, and who wrote to ask him to recommend some suitable books on natural history. She wrote briefly to the effect that her upbringing, in an old aristocratic family, had been quiet and solitary, that she had been trained in strictly conventional belief, and that, although still ignorant, much that had previously troubled her mind had been made clear by the book she had read. She added that he was dealing with neither an autograph collector nor a bore, but with a person who was searching for the truth. It would have been a hard-hearted or singularly obtuse sort of celebrity who refused a request made with such modesty and such patent sincerity. Haeckel was neither hard-hearted nor obtuse. He thanked his correspondent for her letter, sent her a number of books with suggestions as to the order in which they might most profitably be read, and concluded with his best wishes for her studies in natural philosophy. So began a correspondence lasting nearly six years, which tells a story of unusual interest and poignancy.

She was thirty years old when she first wrote to him, apparently attractive, fond of country life and devoted to her family, who were proud and God-fearing. Haeckel was almost as solitary in spirit as she: he travelled extensively in search of Zoological and other material, but for most of the time he was marooned in Jena with a wife—his second wife—who had been an invalid for many years, and a daughter who suffered from acute melancholy. He had had to bear abuse and attack of a painfully bitter kind for his propagation of Darwinism and his general profession of a materialist philosophy; persecution on account of his anti-clerical sentiments came not merely from the ignorant and the bigoted, but from academic and scientific quarters as well. Franziska's letters came a year or so before the publication of "Die Weltratsel." There is nothing fanciful in giving her the credit for some of the gentler and less aggressive aspects of his most popular work. She knew he was as idealistic as more conventional believers; she wished him to present to the public the features she herself knew best of all.

But it is not in the frankness of their exchange of views, stimulating and interesting as that is, that the correspondence of this remarkable pair has most to offer. Nearly two years elapsed before they met, though they each made one or two abortive attempts at meeting during that time. The letters which passed between them exhibit a degree of spiritual intimacy which gives an air of complete inevitability to their developed relationship. They fell in love, with the utmost naturalness, almost as soon as they saw one another in the flesh. What was important and what grew in importance as their passion, perhaps intensified by separation, became stronger—was the moral scrupulousness and the stern sense of duty which animated each of them. Their attachment to one another was not of the rarefied, intellectual variety which has frequently marked the lives of eminent men of letters; it was for both of them, the deepest emotion of their being. But Haeckel was a married man of fastidious morality, sensitive to the fact that both his calling as a man of science and the dependence on his care and affection of an invalid wife made special demands on him. The problem was a difficult, indeed as insoluble, for Franziska, who was less troubled by nations of propriety than by an inescapable sense of obligation towards Haeckel's wife. They tormented themselves by considering the possibilities; the thought that each of them was waiting for the sick woman to die was an agony of conscience. They saw one another at rare intervals—not more than two or three times in a year, perhaps. It was an intolerable strain on both of them, and more than once the woman, with an impressive courage, was tempted to end the correspondence. Nobody who reads these letters can doubt either the spiritual fire of their emotion or their suffering. The tragic irony of events was reserved for the solution of the problem, which came with appalling suddenness. Franziska von Altenhausen died in November, 1903, apparently fron heart failure. A month or two before her death, amidst all the signs of her whole-hearted love for the man to whom she was writing, there is an almost casual reference to the fact that her heart was troubling her. The patthos of the last few letters, indeed, which are marked by passionate emotion and concern on his side and tenderness and unfailing enthusiasm on hers, could scarcely be sharper. The entire correspondence, one of the most memorable of its kind, is a remarkable revelation of the conflict of love and duty in a sterner and more austere generation than our own.

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The Anglican Church and Birth Control

On August 15, the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops passed a qualified resolution permitting birth control in certain cases. This decision is acclaimed as a great step forward by the radical opinion of the world. *The Birth Control Review* quotes the opinions of eminent thinkers and writers on the resolution of the Lambeth Conference:

George Bernard Shaw:

"I am not surprised by the report. On the subject of Birth Control the bishops have given way under the overwhelming pressure of an accomplished fact. The whole thing is just an

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attempt to see whether the church can be brought into some relation with modern views.

I do not think the church will gain any new ground or make up the ground it has already lost. I do not see how the church's attitude to this question can be reconciled with its attitude on divorce. The bishops ought to have discarded the Prayerbook and the articles of religion and a few other things. Then they would have got nearer the twentieth century."

The New York World, (Editorial, August 16th):

"The conference has been urged to take this action by Lord Dawson of Penn, the king's physician, who pleaded with its members not to condemn a method widely practiced by members of the church. It is significant that the approving vote of 190 included a majority of the Low Church bishops in England and that the opposition vote of 67 included most of the colonial and missionary bishops from parts of the empire which have other standards."

Dean Inge:

"Now it is admitted for the first time that the morality of an act depends on the motive, and men and women must judge for themselves whether the motive for wishing to limit their families is of purely Christian standards or not. This decision will bring comfort to many troubled consciences.

The bishops unquestionably are right in deploring the increase in irregular connections which has followed the knowledge of methods of prevention. In any case, Birth Control has come to stay. The only course open to the Church is that which the bishops have now taken—to bring the practice before the tribunal of sensitive and enlightened conscience."

The New York Tribune, (Editorial, Aug. 16th):

"Such action by the House of Bishops should carry great weight both inside and outside the Anglican Church. It should help to convince many who have condemned as immoral the agitation to change the present stringent prohibitory law that this movement is no expression of laxness but is a serious effort to make the law conform to what is in fact the practice and the principle of highminded members of the community. It is difficult to understand the point of view of those who still argue that it is moral to force children upon homes that do not want them."

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Is Life Worth Living?

This is a question which has troubled humanity for long, long ages, and though men have never been able to answer that question satisfactorily, they live on cheerfully, retaining—if there be any volition in an act of faith—their faith in life. An American writer has again raised the question and is ready with an answer, not her own of course but of numerous men and women, collected by that modern device of circulating a questionnaire. The answers, summarized in an article contributed to the *North American Review*, is quoted in the *Literary Digest*. Here are some of its arguments and conclusions:

Mrs. Kelly recalls that half a century ago the English philosopher, W. H. Mallock, wrote a book entitled "Is Life Worth Living?" and answered the question in the negative. She continues:

"In those mid-Victorian days life was thought to have an inherent value, a sort of sacredness as of a gift from God, that almost tainted with sacrilege such a question and such an answer.

"All the English-reading world was a bit shaken and aghast, its spokesmen inclined to deprecate such an inquiry. Even on remote college campuses in this country young people read and discussed the book, and felt satisfyingly audacious. And newspapers chronicled an increased number of suicides.

"Then *Punch* sardonically remarked, 'It depends on the liver': and all the English-reading world laughed and quickly forgot about its momentary doubt."

The key-note of any civilization, we are told, is in its attitude toward life. How does our own age feel about it? Mrs. Kelly has sought the answer in modern fashion by collecting and classifying many views based on actual experience, and drawing conclusions from them. Since her inquiries were confined to her own circle, mostly professional people, "the investigation does not afford a cross-section of life," she admits, "but its results do show certain definite and significant trends."

Taking first the answer given by the largest number of people, Mrs. Kelly says:

"If what these many persons said to me is a fair indications of modern human feeling, then more people get their chief satisfaction in life out of work than from any other source. Here are a few typical answers:

"'Life would be decidedly dull for me,' said one middle-aged man, 'if I did not have the constant stimulus of the thousand and one demands that my work makes upon me every day, and so I suppose that, considering everything, it is my work that gives me the deepest, steadiest, and most dependable satisfaction.'

"'A good job that you are interested in, that calls out the best you have in you, and gives you an adequate material return,' was another answer to my query."

Women who have chosen a professional life instead of marriage are especially apt to give the joy-of-work answer, the inquirer found, and she was never able to get any of them to say whether or not they thought this pleasure worth more than what they had given up.

Of the scores of people questioned, we are told, only two replied definitely and decidedly that life was not worth living.

One is an elderly woman who has fed rather meagerly at the table of the world's good things. She insists with caustic bitterness that "nothing life has given her has compensated, or could possibly make amends, for the pain, the sadness, and the injury these deprivations have caused her."

The other is a young man, gifted, in full health, a poet and a successful writer, who "maintains with deep-rooted conviction that life does not and can not offer enough dependable satisfactions to make it worth while." Why, then, does he continue to carry on? He replies that "the habit of living and of trying to use one's faculties is so deeply

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ingrained in man that he can not go counter to it without making an even worse mess of his life."

Summing up her findings, Mrs. Kelly is surprised to note how few people nowadays get their chief pleasure from the intimate personal relations of life. She concludes:

"I believe this would not have been true two generations ago, when Mallock wrote his philosophical discussion of life's worth, and decided against it. In those days, I am sure most people would have mentioned marriage, home parent-hood, filial and other family relations as unquestionable sources of the most important joys of living.

"In the secret depths of their hearts perhaps they might not have thought so, but they would have considered it the proper and decent thing to say. That fact marks another divergence between their day and ours.

"The comforts and assurances of religion would undoubtedly have been another frequent answer in Mallock's time. But not one of all the people with whom I talked mentioned religious faith as affording any part of his satisfactions in life.

"I doubt very much also whether there would have been, fifty or sixty years ago, so striking a balance in favour of the joys of work, of the happiness springing out of devotion to an agreeable job.

"If all these many persons with whom I talked spoke truly about their reactions to life—and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of any one of them—then, since they are all normal and representative individuals, the people of this present time are getting out of life more pleasures and a greater variety of them! and so are finding life more interesting and worth while, then did those of any other time within living memory."

Obstacles to American Trade in India and the Remedy

By M. S.

THE present intense wave of nationalistic feeling culminating in the boycott of British goods has given an opportunity to most foreign nations to consolidate their business in India. Japan, France, Germany, Czecho Slovakia and America have all benefited by the boycott of British goods as many goods that are not manufactured in India have been substituted by foreign goods other than British by the nationalistic buying public. While America has undoubtedly advanced her trade in India dealers in American goods think there is no limit to her expansion if the matter was rightly tackled; for in point of quality American goods are hard to beat. The main obstacles to American business in India or rather its growth are:

(1) Proper banking facilities do not exist for financing American exports to India and too much reliance has to be placed on English banks which are usually not accommodating to Indian dealers and do not encourage opening letters of credit.

(2) The British business is entirely done by shippers from London who very often have very little capital but who are financed by the British banks to an extent quite disproportionate to their capital and resources. The Indian dealers on this side are mainly relied on to meet their obligations, and, credit of 60 and 90 days is freely given even to small dealers. A local firm which shares profit with the London shippers is often used as a case in need, sometimes guaranteeing the account, and sometimes simply acting as an agent and canvasser. This system will have to be adopted by American shippers more largely. The American system of employing one firm to ship and act as factory agent is not satisfactory as it does away with a shipper and an Indian correspondent. Yet the profit paid to the factory agent and shipper is larger than any British manufacturer pays for the services of a shipper, Indian agent and the financing Bank.

(3) Distribution should, as far as possible, be entrusted to Indian firms with experience. The American manufacturers should get lists of reliable Indian Merchants from the membership lists of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. A main obstacle today is the appointment of highly paid Americans or Englishmen who neither speak the language nor understand the people. Too many

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changes are made in agencies and the local British firms who generally are agents for American goods have too much power and too much voice as regards cutting out Indians, who do the developing and who work up the business. Highly paid, well trained Indians should be appointed as superintendents to supervise the business instead of Britishers or others as is now done.

(4) Americans have a way of thinking in big figures. In India business develops from little beginnings and when in a conservative country it takes root it develops into something huge. But the first contract or offer that is given is often poor and very meagre. Americans turn down such an offer, believing the market must be poor or the firm offering such small contracts must be insignificant. Yet all manufacturers now doing colossal business will have to admit they started in India with a small beginning with very poor figures. A British firm of cycle Manufacturers who did 80,000 cycles in 1927-28 started in 1920 with hardly a business of 400 cycles in the year.

Advertising, when done, is done through British intermediaries or International organisations where the British have enormous pulling power and control. All Indian owned and widely circulated newspapers are often ignored and only the British owned and English newspapers of India are largely used. The Vernacular newpapers, unless they are popular with the British element for their parrot cry views of British origin, are very much neglected. The large mass of the Indian buying public never see the highly expensive advertisements of American products.

To develop the American business, therefore—

(a) Indian firms, merchants and agents should be much more largely employed.

(b) Branches of American firms should associate more Indians with their business and give them greater scope and opportunity.

(c) Advertising should be largely in vernacular journals and the popular nationalistic journals which are widely read and circulated and command better sales.

(d) Financing should be developed on British lines, necessitating employment of more shippers, (preferably Indians) Indian agents on this side, credit terms on 60 and 90 days bills through American Banks or branches of Indian Banks.

(e) Regular reports of market conditions, market requirements, opportunities for business openings, etc., should be collected by having a large Indian staff of "out-of-employment brokers" discharged from British Mercantile offices who should be attached to the Trade Commissioners Department in the Consulates.

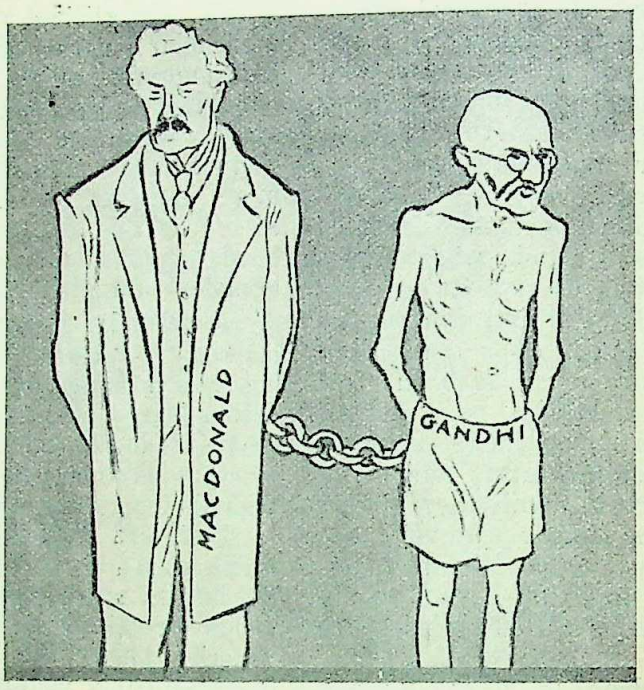
There are a large number of articles which used to come from Britain which the buyers now desire to be substituted by goods obtained from other sources. America has the natural resources, the manufacturing facilities and the finances to capture this growing market, quickly and effectively. India is not yet easily, in a position to manufacture all her needs and probably shall not be so for another twenty-five years. Indian businessmen have to satisfy the popular demand and look for substitutes to Italy, France, Germany and Japan. If America woke up to her opportunity she could easily build up a great trade here, as well as provide employment for thousands who are now falling into unemployment owing to the decline of British trade in India and the consequent economic disorganization.

The Government of India whose financial stability largely depends on trade and the fullest employment of India's man power, would doubtless put no barriers in the way of this Indo-American economic *entente*.

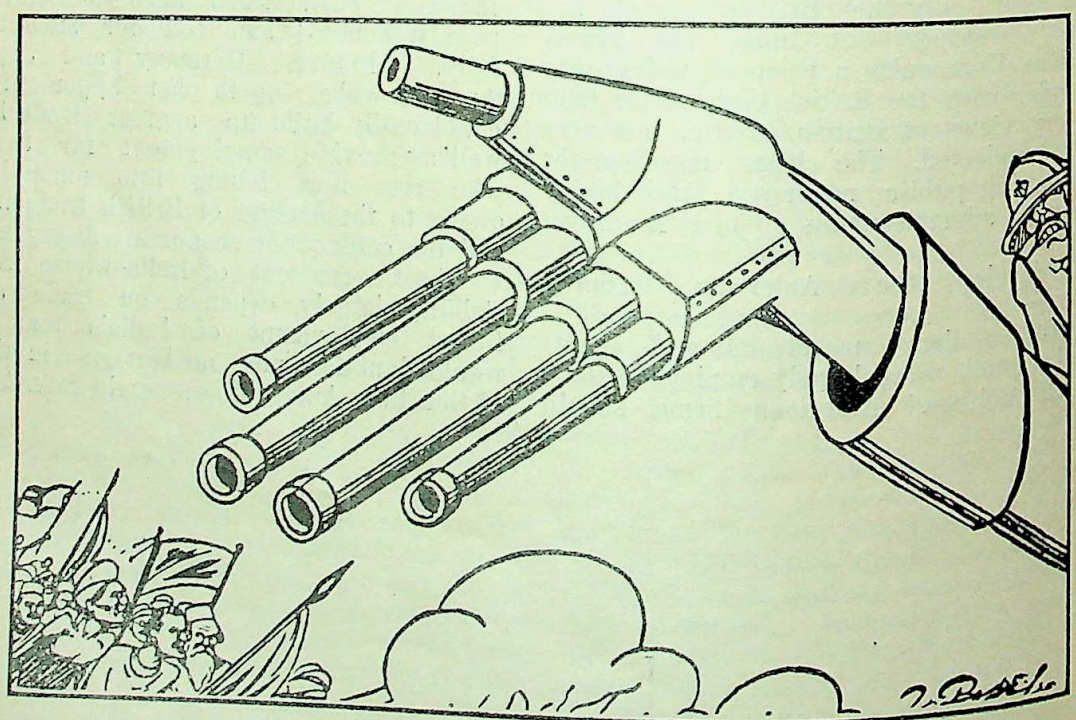
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The World's Humour



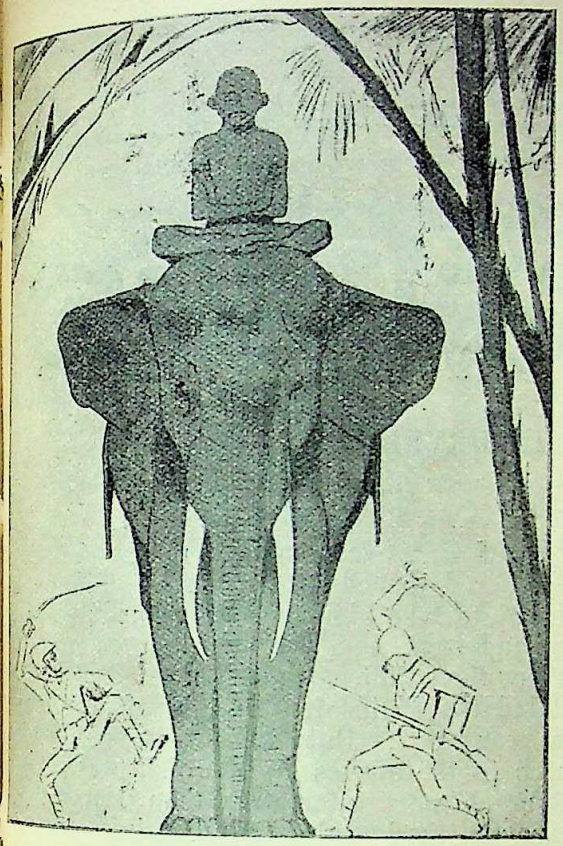
Problem : Which is the Prisoner ?
—"Ulk" (Berlin)



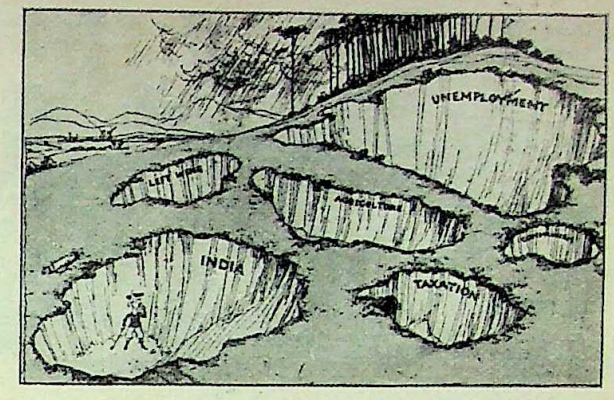
The Labour Government extends its Hand of Friendship to India
—*Pravda*, Moscow

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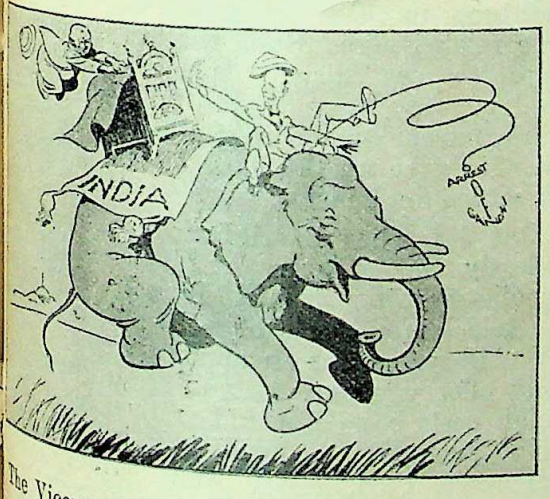
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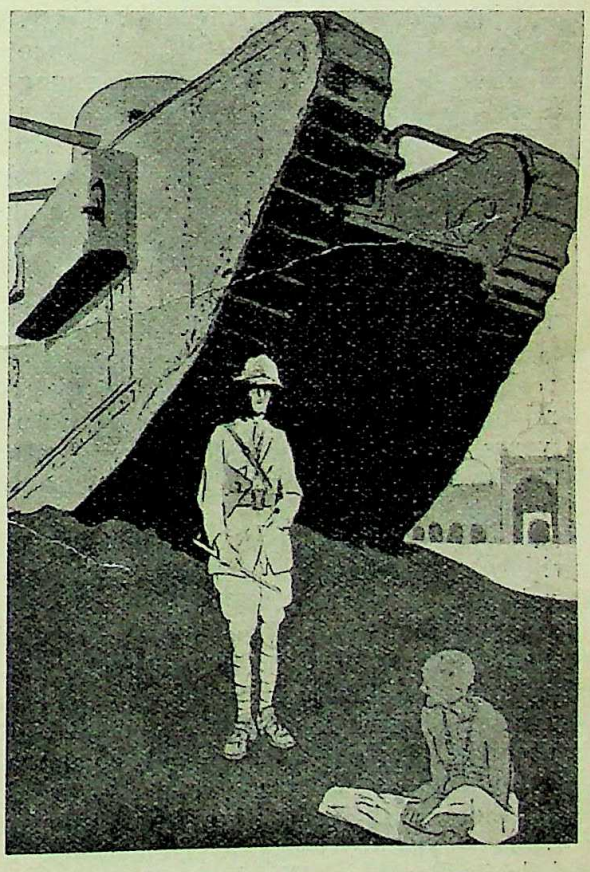
Gandhi
A German view of the Indian Situation
—*Kladderadatsch*, Berlin



Nothing but Bunkers
The Prime Minister—"The fairway seems to have disappeared altogether since I started playing this season !"
—*Glasgow Bulletin*



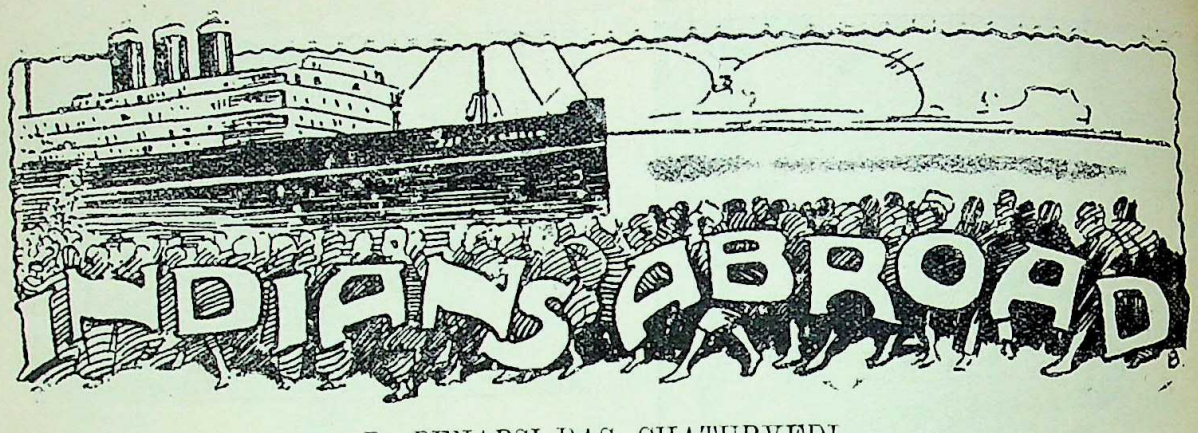
The Viceroy—I have the situation well in hand
—*Glasgow Evening News*



The British—"Our weapons are different, Mr. Gandhi but one of us must conquer in the end."
—*Simplicissimus*, Munich

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By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

The Late Mr. Badri Maharaj

I was shocked to read in the *Leader* the news of the death of Mr. Badri Maharaj of Fiji Islands. He came to India two years ago and though fifty-eight years of age, was quite hale and hearty. He told me that he could work as hard as a young man of twenty-five. The life of Mr. Badri Maharaj was really full of romance. He was perhaps the only Indian who went from the coolie lines to the Council. The Rev. C. D. Lalla of Trinidad, who represented our people in the Legislative Council of Trinidad, the Hon. R. Gajadhur of Mauritius and the Hon. A. E. Seeram of British Guiana, are sons of those Indian labourers who emigrated to the colonies, but Badri Maharaj himself worked under indenture for five years from 1889 to 1894. It will not be out of place to narrate a few facts of his romantic life here.

Badri Dutt was born in the year 1871 at the village of Bamauli in the district of Garhwal. His father Pandit Kashi Ram was an astrologer of some repute. In 1878 Badri Dutt was sent to a school to study astrology. Being a boy of an adventurous nature Badri Dutt left the school and without giving any information to his parents started for Benares with a Pandit to read Sanskrit there. He studied Sanskrit grammar for some years at the Dwarikadhisha Pathshala in Benares. We doubt if the dry *Kaumudi* was at all liked by this adventurous boy. In the year 1885 Benares was visited by an epidemic of cholera. Badri Dutt, therefore, had to leave the city. It was fortunate that he gave up the idea of becoming a Sanskrit Pandit. He went to Gorakhpur. In that year some Indians were being recruited as sepoys for service in Africa.

In Police Service

Badri Dutt went to the recruiting officer and offered himself as a recruit. The officer refused to take him on the ground that he was under-age and advised him to try his lot in the Police department. Badri Dutt entered the Police force as a *chaukidar* in the year 1887. But the work of keeping watch in the streets late at night was perhaps not much more interesting than learning by heart the hard rules of Sanskrit grammar and so Badri Dutt left the service without even giving any notice or resignation. He had a great desire to go abroad. He proceeded to Calcutta and thence he went to Singapore and Penang. The troubles and hardships he had to undergo in his reckless adventures in these places are too numerous to be related here. Suffice it to say that his desire to see distant places outside his country was more than fulfilled and he returned from Singapore a sadder and wiser boy. He gave up the idea of going abroad and settled in Benares.

One day when Badri Dutt was wandering aimlessly in a bazar of Benares he met a coolie-recruiter named Dwarika Brahman, who told him all sorts of false things about Fiji. "Do you want an appointment? I can easily offer you one. As you are a Brahman—a high caste boy—I would rather give you a high post. Do go to Fiji. It is just near Jagannath Puri. We want coolies and chaprasis, soldiers and *seths*, policemen and Pandits. You will have to work as a clerk in an office. Moreover, being a Brahman, you can work as a *Purohita* there and you can earn a lot of money by *Kathawarta*." Badri Dutt believed the recruiter and was shipped off to Fiji with 800 indentured labourers.

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Arrival In Fiji

All the 800 labourers were distributed in different estates and Badri Dutt was given to the Penang Sugar Refining Company of Raki Raki. He had to work very hard to earn 5 shillings 6d. per week. Being a Brahman he was much respected by the labourers who called him *Maharaj*. I cannot narrate here the difficulties of his life as an indentured labourer under cruel sardars and uncivilized overseers. In 1894 he became free and worked for another five years as a free labourer.

After ten years Pandit Badri Dutt bought a plot of land and began to work independently. By his labour and thrift he became a man of substance in Fiji. Mr. C. F. Andrews wrote about him in the introduction to a Hindi book—*Prabasi-Bharatwasi* :

"The fact should be widely and extensively known that the Hon. Badri Maharaj, who went under indenture 30 years ago to Fiji, has risen by force and honesty of character to a distinguished place in the colony. He has been able to send his two sons to a college in New Zealand." Sir George Barnes also referred to the position and property of Pandit Badri Maharaj in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on Sept. 11, 1918.

The Pacific Press of Suva, Fiji, writes about him :

"When representation on the Legislative Council was extended to Indians, in 1917, he was nominated as the first Indian Member. In Council he suffered from the disadvantage that his command of the English language did not extend to any flights of rhetoric, but his speeches gained all the more weight from the simplicity of their phrasing. His speech on the Tailevu Settlement, in particular, will long be remembered for its vivid grasp of the fundamental aspects of the matter. When the Residential Tax was imposed, he resigned his seat in protest, earning thereby universal gratitude and respect. Later he accepted re-nomination, and continued to represent his people until the promulgation of the new Letters Patent last year. He was a member of the Board of Education and served on several Food Commissions.

Pandit Mananiya Badri Maharaj was perhaps the first Indian to send his children out of the Colony for education. He sent one to New Zealand, and at present has two sons and a daughter at college in India. One son is in New Zealand, studying law, two sons are in the Fiji Civil Service and one assisted his father. A married daughter lives at Lautoka.

He was a staunch supporter of the Colony as a home for Indians."

Though orthodox in his views he much appreciated the educational work of the Arya-samaj and gave financial help to its institutions. He sent one of his daughters to study at the Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Jullunder. In the healthy and vigorous climate of Fiji Mr. Badri Maharaj could have easily lived twenty or twenty-five years more. Death has, however, removed him from among his friends, and we offer our condolence to the bereaved family.

Need of a Constructive Scheme of Emigration

It was sometime about 1835 that Indians were first sent as labourers under indenture to colonies and in 1935 we shall have finished one century of modern Indian emigration. If one looks back at this period one is simply surprised at the thoughtlessness with which the Government of India has been carrying on this important work. For about eighty years the Indian Government worked more or less as a coolie supplying agent of the colonial Government and it required a tremendous amount of agitation by the late Mr. Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews to put a stop to that inhuman system. After the abolition of indenture slavery the Government has been trying to accommodate itself to the views of the Indian public on this subject, but they have never shown any creative imagination. Most of their work has been done under pressure of agitation by the public and rather reluctantly. The fact that they have not yet set up a separate department for this work and emigration is huddled together with lands, health and education is a clear proof of their unimaginativeness. In this connection I would quote here the opinion of Mr. M. P. Chitale, Advocate of Tanganyika, which he has sent to me in a letter.

Discouragement and Apathy

Mr. Chitale writes :

"It is really surprising why no serious attempt at colonization was ever made by the Indian Government. Africa—East Africa specially—has been the most suitable place for Indian colonization for the last hundred years and more but on account of our criminal negligence we have now almost lost

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our chance in these parts so much so that now our stay here is almost under sufferance and we meet with deliberate discouragement and apathy.

I consider the following reasons, causes and explanation of this negligence :

(a) The Indian Government being foreign did not give any heed to the necessity of colonies for India's teeming and poverty-stricken millions.

(b) Desire of the Imperial Government not to encourage Indians to colonize. Thirty years ago when it was found out that the highlands in East Africa were suitable for European settlement, the Imperial Government never thought of Indians. They conveniently forgot that these highlands were as suitable for Indian settlement as for European.

(c) Pre-occupation of Indian politicians in home politics due to the want of any sort of effective voice in the Indian Government.

(d) General ignorance of the Indian public about the possibilities of these colonies or the necessity or advantages of colonization. All this may be put down to faulty education and want of propaganda on this subject.

(e) Lack of sufficient enterprise amongst the younger generation and reluctance of the intelligentsia to go in for trade and commerce. Ignorance of the merchants themselves which prevented them from looking beyond immediate profits and taking interest in politics and nation-building or organized industrial development from a nationalist point of view.

All these obstacles could be removed only if the Government of India had any earnest desire for Indian colonization. Even now they can do a great deal by framing a definite policy of colonization and by carrying it out vigorously."

Tanganyika

Mr. Chitale proceeds :

"Tanganyika is very suitable for Indian colonization but we require young men of education prepared to work hard in the wilds. They must also have some capital to put them on their feet. The real cultivator class of India is certainly not the right type of colonist especially as he is too much like the local African and instead of improving his own status he will probably sink to that of the African.

"Land however is not very plentiful. The Government is following the policy of reserving so much for native needs for the next two generations that only some of the excess is thrown open for occupation.

"Most of the Indians, who are here, are merchants of the petty trader class and carry on their business well enough but barely with a small margin of profit and do not care very much for political or other rights because they do not understand and cannot spare time to try to do so.

"Things have changed a little but I am sorry to say, not very much. The Indian merchant has not been very keen about agriculture in this country just because he did not understand it on a large scale, which is the only one profitable here and secondly because he usually had no capital whatever. He could buy goods on credit but cultivation of land and waiting for long time was another matter.

"There is another class of Indian—mostly young men of promise and education—who has been coming in larger numbers to these parts. But he usually goes in for service. He is raw from school, is ignorant of trade or agriculture and has no capital. Such young men even go to the extent of declaring that if they had any capital they would not have left their mother country for these wilds. They come here with no idea of settlement and would return the moment their finances are considered sufficient. They stay on only reluctantly owing to force of circumstances. It is the merchant class of India only who has struck root in the soil of this territory. Our attempt should be to add to this another class that of young educated (not in arts) hardy farmer of India who will come not because he must but because he will."

Objection Against A Barrister In Malaya

An esteemed correspondent writes to me from Penang :

"Recently, when an application was moved at Kuala Lumpur on behalf of Mr. K. P. K. Menon for admission to practise in the Federated Malaya States, there were some objections with regard to Mr. Menon's activities prior to his arrival in Malaya. He came to Malaya in 1927 and has been practising in the Straits Settlements since 1928 as an advocate and solicitor. It was stated that Mr. Menon had undergone a term of imprisonment in connection with

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the Vykom Satyagrah and that he boycotted the Madras High Court. Now Vykom Satyagrah, as we know, was a pure social reform movement and I cannot therefore understand how it could be anti-British, for which alone there is scare in Malaya. Secondly, is it a crime for a barrister to leave practice if he liked and resume it when he likes? It is to be noted here that some years ago, Mr. Manilal was refused admission to practise here."

Need Of Hindi-Prachar In the West Indies

Of all the colonies, where Indians have settled in large numbers, British Guiana, Trinidad, Surinam and Jamaica have been very much neglected by us. Our social, and religious workers have often visited East Africa, South Africa, Mauritius and even Fiji but the West Indies have almost been forgotten. Living at more than ten thousand miles distance and cut off from all cultural connection with the Motherland, our people in the West Indies have forgotten their Indian vernaculars. It is most difficult to make arrangement for teaching all these different vernaculars The only practical thing is to revive the easiest among them, *i. e.*, Hindi. The authorities in Fiji have realized the importance of this fact and have recognized Hindi as the language of Fiji Indians. The Colonial Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad etc. should follow the example of Fiji. In the meanwhile we should encourage every non-official effort in this direction. The other day I received a letter from Pandit Rameshwar Mishra (c/o Sagar Esqr., Tunapuna, Trinidad, British West Indies) who wrote :

"You will be sorry to learn that our mother-tongue, Hindi, is on her death-bed in this colony. There is an absolute lack of enthusiasm among Hindus to learn the language of their forefathers. It should, however, be said to the credit of Muhammedans that they have opened their schools in mosques. I have been trying to spread the knowledge of Hindi as far as possible. Will some lovers of Hindi in the mother-land help me with some text-books ?"

May I draw the attention of the Nagri Pracharini Sabhas and Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to this subject ? Hindi is the National language not only of India but also of Greater India and we should do everything to keep it alive among our compatriots abroad.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Investment of Insurance Funds

Insurance Companies control huge funds and the question of their investment has become a problem of considerable importance. There are two points to be considered with regard to investments by insurance companies, firstly safety and secondly adequate return of interest. Formerly the usual practice was to invest mainly in gilt-edged securities. But during the last war the dangers of large investment in Government securities were exposed to public view. These securities underwent heavy depreciation and a crisis in the insurance companies of England was averted by special facilities afforded to them as an emergency measure of the Board of Trade. Besides it is now being seriously considered if interest yielded on Government securities is adequate.

The modern theory is to distribute insurance funds over a number of heads and invest a large portion in ordinary stocks and shares. America has taken the lead in this direction. A large number of industrial concerns in America are financed by insurance companies. This yields a higher rate of interest and at the same time contributes towards the industrial development of the country. Judicial selection of concerns in purchasing stocks and shares enables the insurance companies to avoid losses in this connexion.

The Indian Insurance Institute, in course of its written evidence to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, has discussed the problem of investment of insurance funds in India. Although it is desirable to invest in industrial concerns it is not very feasible for small

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insurance companies to make judicius distribution of their limited funds over a number of industries. So the Institute has suggested that suitable measures should be devised to attract insurance companies to deposit a large part of their funds in Banks who would in their turn finance industries. Insurance companies will get a fair rate of interest without exposing their investment to undue risks and at the same time their funds will help national industries. In this connexion the Institute has suggested the amending of the existing Insurance Act requiring Insurance Companies to deposit Rupees two lakhs with some Bank, this deposit not being withdrawable without the sanction of the Government of India. Under the existing law Insurance Companies are required to deposit with the Controller of Currency Rupees two lakhs (face value) in Government Securities. Often highly depreciated securities at low market price are purchased which considerably defeats the very purpose of this deposit. If all insurance companies transacting business in India make the deposit of the kind suggested by the Insurance Institute, it is estimated the Indian Banks will receive about Rupees five crores.

Aviation Insurance

The development of aeronautical industry has confronted the insurance companies with a problem regarding proper assessment of aviation risks. The industry is still in its pioneer stage and no definite data are available to fix up accurate rates of insurance. Capt. A. G. Lamplugh, head of the British Aviation Insurance Grop, in a recent article, has stated that since 1919 the total loss to underwriters in aviation insurance has been about £550,000 which has been borne very largely by London market. He has warned the aircraft operators that unless, with every aid to safe and efficient navigation, they can guarantee to operate reliably, the rates of insurance for aircraft passengers and cargo will be at such a level that economic transportation will cease.

Connected with this is the problem of insurance of persons travelling in aricrafts. British Insurance Companies have decided to charge an uniform extra on such lives. An American Insurance Statistician has recently collected statistics regarding aeronautical deaths in 1928 in fifteen non-American countries, United States of America and Canada. The figures are given below :

World Air Pilots Accident Record 1928

	Number of Pilots	Deaths	Rate per 1000
Non-American Countries	575	10	17·4
Canadian Pilots	458	6	13·1
American Pilots	739	20	27·1

World Air Passengers Accident Record 1928

	Passengers carried	Passengers killed	Ratio of passengers carried to passengers killed
Non-American Countries	270,000	12	1 in 22,500
Canada	149,954	11	1 in 13,600
U. S. A.	593,601	30	1 in 29,700
	1,01,3555	43	1 in 23,600

World Air mileage Fatality Record 1928

Non-American	Miles Flown	Deaths	Number of miles flown to a death
Countries	12300000	35	350000
Canada	2724000	17	160000
U. S, A.	22344000	51	438000
	37368000	103	363000

It is expected that in the next few years fatality rate in aeronautics will undergo considerable reduction. It may be mentioned that railways in earlier days had a heavy record of fatality but it showed a marked decline with the progress and development of railway industry.

Insurance Advertising

"It pays to advertise"—the truth of this saying has been borne out by the experience of several commercial concerns. At a recent advertising convention one of the delegates humorously alluded to the successful results obtained by advertising by quoting his own experience—one morning he advertised for a night watchman for his house, the following night his house was burgled. That advertising is an essential necessity for the expansion of business is now admitted by all persons.

Formerly, British Insurance Companies were averse to advertising and they depended upon the merit of their business for its expansion. But unless sufficient publicity is given to the merit it is not possible to attract popular attraction. American Insurance Companies who entered English

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field for business started insurance advertising on scientific lines and one of their most eminent workers, Mr. J. F. Junkin, proved by practical example that each pound he spent on advertising fetched at least a guinea. The writer of these notes had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Junkin, in London and studying his methods and he felt impressed with his advertising skill. Since then several British Insurance Companies have abandoned their old conservative policy and have taken to advertising on a large scale. Experience is supporting the continuance of their new policy.

So long advertising by individual companies has been the order of the day. Business men are now seriously considering the question of collective advertising. All the concerns dealing in same line jointly advertise to create taste among the public for the commodity they sell, keeping in background the names of individual concerns. In England the fruit-sellers advertise on a large scale on the line "Eat more fruits" and thereby create public demand for fruits. As a result, all fruit-sellers are benefited. The question of such collective advertising on behalf of insurance companies was discussed in England. Although the principle was approved the idea did not materialize owing to want of unanimity among insurance companies on the details of the plan. But in America the Advertising Committee of the National Association of Life Underwriters and the Life Insurance Sales Research Bureau have prepared a complete scheme for the purpose. They propose to spend $ 500,000 per annum for three years for a national campaign of life assurance advertising. The propaganda will be carried on to propagate ideas regarding life assuranee and to extend the knowledge of health principles and thus aid in the prolongation of life. The necessary funds are to be raised from life assurance companies, each contributing seven cents per $ 1000 of new ordinary insurance paid up plus a small percentage of renewal premium.

In India as yet no serious effort has been made to undertake collective advertising for life assurance. But a number of fire insurance offices in Bombay have combined for the purpose and they are carrying on propaganda for support to Swadeshi insurance.

British Insurance Failures

Systematic propaganda is being carried on by interested parties to create an impression in the minds of the public that Indian insurance companies are not quite reliable and that prospective insured should unhesitatingly place his insurance with some British insurance company as if an institution sponsored by Britishers is immune from defects. First class Indian insurance companies are as sound as their non-Indian rivals; and defects are to be found in some companies in every country of the world. In this connexion it may be interesting to quote the following from an Insurance Journal of England:

"Since the year 1900 no less than 300 British Insurance Companies registered at Somerset House, have either ceased to operate on independent lines, ceased to operate altogether or never commenced serious operations at all."

A reference may also be made to the report of the Official Receiver regarding the affairs of the British Surety Insurance Company which has recently been published. As our own words may be misconstrued as prejudiced, we give below an extract from the aforesaid Insurance Journal regarding this failure:

"The Company was doomed to failure from the outset. The sums paid away for goodwill and promotion expenses, etc., were absurd. The arrangements with Scottish Finance Company certainly are a mystery, for this concern agreed to underwrite 125,000 shares for a commission of 5 per cent and to provide preliminary expenses for the sum of 18,500 in cash and act as issuing house for 5000 guineas.

The prospectus was issued and the public subscribed for 64,256 Shares. Why did not the underwriters take up the balance? The Scottish Finance received the full amount *viz* £ 18,500 and its fee 5000 guineas (less an amount of £ 800 which is in dispute) but apparently refused to recognize any responsibility for the failure of the sub-underwriters to meet their obligations. Mr. Lincoln A. Smith was having £2500 a year, free of tax, and a commission of not less than £250 per annum, and in addition drew £2,278 for expenses. Lord Askwith, the chariman, was paid £1000 per annum, free of tax, and the other directors £400 at the outset. A suite of offices at a rental of £2,900 per annum was taken.

No wonder the Official Receiver says in his report "charges for rent and management expenses were based on scale that was out of

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all proportion to the amount of business done."

Comments are superfluous.

S. C. RAY

The Third Sterling Loan of 1930

The Controller of Currency gave a rude surprise to the money market by the announcement on the 15th October last that the Secretary of State for India was issuing the prospectus of yet another sterling loan for £12,000,000 on behalf of the Government of India. Never before, from the days of the Mutiny, the Government of India was so stranded as to be driven to draw upon the London market three times within a year. The Government seems to have developed an insatiable thirst for money at any cost, and no one can foretell the extent of its consequences that are sure to befall the world of Indian finance and credit.

This third loan in the London money market, and the fourth big loan operation of the year has been in the form of 1935-37 bonds for £12,000,000. The issue price is £100 per cent and the bonds bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum. If not redeemed previously, the bonds will be repaid at par on October 15, 1937, but the Secretary of State reserves the right on giving three calendar months' notice in the *London Gazette* to redeem the bonds at par on, or on any half-yearly interest date after, October 15, 1935.

The bonds are issued in denominations of £50, £100, £200, £500, £1,000 and £5,000, and are free of stamp duty. An interesting feature of the issue is the payment of subscriptions by instalments as follows :

On application	£ 5 per cent
On Monday, 3rd November, 1930	£ 25 per cent
On Friday, 19th December, 1930	£ 45 per cent
On Thursday, 29th January, 1931	£ 25 per cent
	£100 per cent

The proceeds of the loan are to be used for repayment of £6,000,000 India Bills due on 20th December, 1930, and for capital expenditure on railways in India and for general purposes.

Arrangements were made to transmit applications lodged in India through the Imperial Bank of India, and subscriptions to the loan could be received in India in the offices of the Imperial Bank at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon and Karachi.

The issue met with remarkable welcome in London. Underwriting for the loan proceeded there even on the 14th October, that is, on day before the Indian money market could come to know of it, and we are told that queues of several hundreds formed outside the Bank of England at the close of the banking hours on the 14th and early again on the opening of the Bank on the 15th October, seeking prospectuses of the loan. News was received here on the 15th ultimo, that is, simultaneously with the announcement of the issue by the Controller of Currency in India, that the sterling loan was over-subscribed immediately after the offer was opened, and the lists were closed at 10 A.M. that very morning. These are facts that stand out as irresistible evidence of the irresponsible way in which the true interests of India are looked after by her "trustees" at the moment. The irony of the situation is further aggravated by the fact that Sir George Schuster personally went over to London and fixed the details of the loan on his own judgment without the advice either of the Secretary of State's Council or that of the Governor-General of India. Simla has had little information available regarding how the £12 million loan came to be floated on such attractive terms. The contrast is very great when it is remembered that only the other day the British Socialist Government raised a loan at 2 per cent less, and even the Ceylon Government obtained sufficient funds in London at 4½ per cent.

There has been a good deal of jubilation in some quarters on the "success" of the loan. The *Financial News* congratulated Mr. Wedgwood Benn on the achievement of the unique distinction of borrowing on a large scale in the London money market thrice this year with conspicuous success. It is, however, forgotten by these admirers of the Secretary of State for India and his advisers that little business acumen is needed to be generous with other people's money. At a time of falling prices and declining rates for money the terms offered for this loan have not only been liberal but shockingly so, and it was only to be expected that the investing public would gulp at it. The statement that the success of the loan is indicative of the futility of Congress propaganda against foreign loans and the

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threat of their repudiation is misleading, and it is not only impolitic but outrageously mean for the Government of India to take advantage of the present struggle in the field of politics with a view to saddle the country with heavy commitments to Great Britain for many years to come.

It may be recalled that the first sterling loan of the year was in February for the sum of £6 million at an effective interest of £6-13-3d per cent. It was commented upon in the *Economist* on the 22nd February that, "there is no doubt that this particular issue could have been made on a 5¾ per cent basis. It was heavily "stagged," it was more than six times over-subscribed, and the Bank of England was prepared to accept these bonds as "floaters," that is, as equal to British Treasury Bonds for borrowing purposes.

The second issue in May for £7 million followed much the same lines as regards the terms of issue, and the Government of India showed no signs whatsoever of taking lessons from its previous experience nor from the vehement criticisms urged against the terms both in India and in England.

These sterling loans were followed by a 6 per cent rupee loan issued in India in August last for an unlimited amount of money. This loan brought in something like Rs. 29¾ crores or £22 million. Closely following this comes the third sterling loan of the year for £12 million at 6 per cent.

The total sum raised through these four loans have been nearly Rs. 53 crores involving the payment of about Rs. 3.18 crores per annum annually for interests. One wonders where the Government intends to lead the country to, and how it can collect further revenue from the already over-burdened tax-payers to meet at least the additional annual charges.

As regards the increasing burden on the tax-payer it is sometimes argued that the new borrowings are made mainly for productive purposes. This is more than a myth, for any business man knows that with the present organization of big industries like railways it is ridiculous to expect an honest return of over six per cent steadily for sometime. The Railway Finance Committee realized this thoroughly and decided in the beginning of the year to withhold further capital expenditure on the construction of new lines so long as Government could not raise money at cheaper rates than 6 per cent. We are now told that part of the new loan is meant to be spent on railway capital expenditure. One is naturally anxious to know why the policy decided upon by the Railway Finance Committee early in the year has been reversed. In the absence of detailed statements of the manner in which Government proposes to utilize the large amounts raised in recent months one is apt to think that reference to railway expenditure is made only as an eyewash and the bulk of the money is meant for "general purposes."

A foreign financial expert, who has been just travelling through India and is engaged in the study of economic and financial questions, made some interesting observations on the new sterling loan. He said: "The Government of India Loan comes as a surprise to people who are accustomed to see financial transactions of such importance and magnitude being very carefully weighed and wisely carried out." Amongst the causes which have induced the Government to float the loan three are regarded as apparent. First, the great drop in revenues through the economic depression and political movement; secondly, that the Government was unable to remit funds to meet Home Charges; and thirdly, the stabilization of exchange even at a lower gold point is greatly endangered by the present economic and political situation

As regards the consequences of raising this loan there can be no doubt that the feeling of Indians in general will be greatly roused against the Government for putting such an unreasonable burden on the tax-payer. In the political field this is bound to strengthen the hands of the Congress. The economic consequences are likely to be still more serious. A loan at a lower rate could surely have been raised in the London money market. Further, if a sterling loan has been raised at such a high rate, the treasury bills and the rupee loans in India will naturally call for a still higher rate of interest. How then will industry and commerce secure necessary finance at anything near reasonable rates?

The raising of this loan at 6 per cent with a six years' lease of life means, moreover, a drop in the prices of previous loans involving serious losses to the investors both in India and in England. A London press cable brought us the news that the gilt-edged market was slightly strengthened immediately

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after this new issue. This has a tendency to give a rather misleading impression to holders of old securities. The foreign expert asserted that as a matter of fact Indian investors, banks, insurance companies, trusts, etc., are sure to face further losses on their so-called gilt-edged securities which are proved to be neither gilt nor securities.

Particular attention should be drawn to the reaction of this loan on trade and exchange. "A constant increase of the rate of borrowing of the Government of India can be forecast from this high rate," said the expert "the only consequences of which will be further depression in trade and industrial undertakings." If capitalists can obtain a return of six per cent without any work and without facing the risks inevitable in industrial undertakings then nobody would go in for industrial activities or invest money in trade. That would cause further depression and deepen the economic crisis through which the world is passing.

As regards the bearing on exchange the expert is of opinion that although one of the reasons that have actuated the floatation of the loan is to get sterlings to meet Home Charges as also to enable the Government to keep up the exchange rate at least at the lower gold point, the real effect will be something entirely different. Exchange will be weakened for the following reasons: first, the disastrous economic consequences will weaken the exchange; secondly, it will give additional inducement to Indian and other capitalists in India to remit their money to London, increasing thereby the outflow of gold from the country.

It may be roughly calculated that about a million and a half pounds or nearly two crores of rupees will be India's net loss in seven years owing to the excessive rate of interest paid on this new loan. Attention may be drawn again in this connection to the facts that the Ceylon Government has recently raised a loan in the London market at 4½ per cent, and the British Government at 4 per cent, "while the mighty Indian Government with incalculable assets and resources" could not raise it at anything less than 6 per cent.

It need hardly be said that the financial policy of the Government of India in recent years, after the departure of Sir Basil Blackett, has been far from satisfactory. While the 1927 rupee loan was raised at 4 per cent, that of the following year was issued at 4½ per cent, and as one year rolls by the rate is progressively moving upwards. Thus in 1929 the rate was 5 per cent only and in 1930 it has soared up to 6 per cent. The most curious phenomenon is that while the Government of India has had to offer as much as 6 per cent the Mysore Government has successfully raised decent sums in India in August last at 5 and 5½ per cent.

The Congress accuses the Government that its economic policy has been and still continues to be harmful to the best interests of the country, while the Government and its Anglo-Indian advocates are laying all the blame on the nationalist movement for ruining the economic structure of the country. Nobody knows where this vicious circle will lead us to, but one thing is clear, that the organized custodians of the economic and political interests of India have hopelessly failed in the management of their trust. A deliberate attempt, if any, on their part to complicate economic relations and to force India to a state of bankruptcy on the eve of her attainment of self-government will only lead to serious consequences. The repudiation of foreign debts that now sounds like a mere threat may become a dire necessity for the future financial administrators of India if the present financial policy of the Government of India is persisted in.

Inter-Imperial Economic Relations

At the plenary session of the Imperial Conference, which commenced its sitting in London in the beginning of October, the Dominion premiers and representatives of various Governments were called upon to state what each unit in the Empire was prepared to do for the development of inter-Imperial trade.

Mr. T. H. Thomas, Dominions Secretary in the British Labour Cabinet, opened the discussions, observing that the difficulties each of the delegates was experiencing in the economic field were naturally uppermost in all minds on account of the present economic world blizzard. The circumstances of the last twelve months not only altered their whole conception of things but created unprecedented difficulties. In 1930 the United Kingdom imports declined 12 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1929 and the exports declined by 19 per cent. Relatively the United Kingdom was in a more serious situation than the

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Dominions where large new industries have developed that are doing the trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain. The United States had also made considerable strides mainly in motor cars and in oil.

Regarding inter-Imperial trade relations it was pointed out that out of a total of £ 1,220 million worth of imports into the United Kingdom imports from the empire represented only £ 358 million, while the total imports into the overseas part of the empire totalled £ 728 million of which imports valued at £ 354 million came from the rest of the empire. The United Kingdom's total imports of food, drink, tobacco and raw materials amounted to 1,737 millon lbs. of which only 270 million lbs. came from the rest of the empire, while imports into the overseas part of the empire of manufactured products totalled 448 million lbs. of which only 213 million lbs. come from empire sources. It is evident from the above that although a great part of empire requirements could be met from increased activities in the development of inter-Imperial trade it would be almost impossible for Great Britain or for some of the Dominions to cut off relations with the rest of the world. This is more true of the supply of food products and raw materials than of manufactured goods. Mr. Thomas hoped that some method of agreement might be devised so that the great potentialities of the empire at any rate may be fully used for the benefit of all concerned.

The Canadian premier, Mr. Bennet, put forward a definite plan founded on the broad principles of empire protection based on common advantage and guided in its application by need to ensure the welfare of the home producer. He did not contemplate any move towards empire free trade which, he believed, was neither desirable nor possible. All that he proposed was to offer the mother country and the other parts of the empire preference in the Canadian market in exchange of like preference in theirs, based upon an addition of ten per cent increase in the prevailing general tariffs or on tariffs yet to be created. The setting up of technical committees in each country within the empire for complete inquiry into the effect upon their domestic situation of such a proposal was suggested.

Mr. Scullin, the Australian premier, outlined a scheme of economic co-operation between Great Britain and Australia and thought that if the industrialists of the two countries could consult and evolve a plan of allocation of work for the supply of each other's requirements the Government of Australia would do all that it could to improve mutual trade relations.

Mr. Forbes of New Zealand thought that the system of tariff preference was most effective in fostering inter-Imperial trade, and he advocated the utmost possible extension of tariff concessions either by general agreement or by individual agreement between two or more portions of the empire.

The South African Finance Minister. Mr. Havenga, strongly opposed the idea of empire free trade and said that South Africa could not afford and would not subscribe to such a policy. His country would, however, welcome readjustment of trade relations with different parts of the empire as may be arranged by mutual agreements.

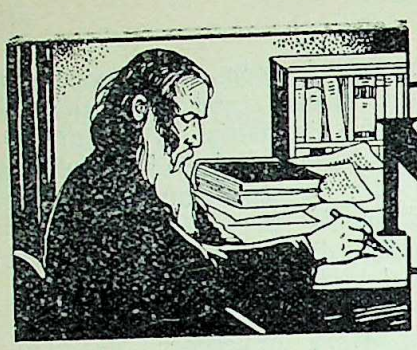
The most important announcement, so far we are concerned, was that from Sir Geoffrey Corbett the spokesman on behalf of India. India, he said, was ready to encourage the development of imperial trade, but she was not prepared to depart from her present policy of discriminating protection. Therefore, she was unable to commit herself to any general scheme of tariff preference within the Empire, but must reserve complete freedom to deal with each case as it arose. In this connection Sir Geoffrey dwelt on the enormous possibilities of the Indian market with a total seaborne trade of more than £414 million. But it was pointed out that the share of India's exports purchased by Great Britain was disproportionately small, being only 22 per cent, while her share of India's imports was no less than 43 per cent. Moreover the gap between the price of raw material and the cost of the finished article tended to be wider in the case of British manufactures than in the case of foreign manufactures.

From all that was said at the conference it is pretty certain that the cause of Empire Free Trade is doomed. Let us wait and see what new formula is evolved after the conference to help British trade and industries from the ruin they are faced with.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

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NOTES

Dr. Walsh on Mr. MacDonald

Dr. Walter Walsh is the leader of "The Free Religious Movement towards World Religion and World Brotherhood." Free Religious Discourses are delivered as part of the activities of this Movement. Two of these discourses are a Pulpit Review of Dr. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" and an address on "Gandhi and India."

According to a Reuter's telegram, dated London, October 23,

Dr Walter Walsh in an open letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the "New Leader" as an old associate in the cause of democracy declares that Mr. MacDonald's "fatal endorsement of the doctrine of continuity in foreign policy" (of imperialistic domination), has forced him to meet India's demand for self-determination by coercion instead of consent and mutual adjustment.

He adds: "You seem to have impressed your views on an apparently unanimous Cabinet (including some who like yourself have posed as India's special friends) who seem willing to share the reproach of inglorious retreat not only from the Labour Party's public declarations but from promises repeatedly made to India. But the Prime Minister who does not resign must bear the blame. It is impossible for you to evade the choice before you. Either you must arrange a real conference on the basis of five points set down by the imprisoned leaders—liberated for that purpose—or you must intensify terrorism to the point of war and be remembered as a Minister who lost India."

The so-called Round Table Conference is a move of the Labour Ministry which lends colour to Dr. Walsh's criticism. This Conference move appears to us rather mysterious in view of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's and the Labour Party's declarations relating to Dominon Status. When any British Party and its Leader are sincerely convinced that a measure is necessary, just and over-due and when that Party comes into power, it straightway undertakes legislation or whatever else may be necessary to carry out the reform. But in the case of India, though Mr. MacDonald, when not in power, was quite sure that India wanted, deserved and would soon have Dominion status, he on coming into power calls a conference to ascertain the wishes of India, practically bringing about the exclusion from it of all those Indians who are best fitted to speak for India! And this Conference also includes representatives of the British opposition Parties who do not want political progress in India.

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All-Asian Educational Conference

A sort of brief prospectus has been published in the papers to the effect that "the first All-Asian Educational Conference will be held at the central Hindu High School grounds at Benares on December 26-30, 1930. Delegates are expected from nearly all the eastern countries, and eminent scholars from Japan, Georgia, Philippines and Ceylon will address the conference on different topics. Indian scholars like Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir C. V. Raman and Dr. Bhagavan Das will deliver public lectures of the greatest importance. Indians of all creeds and ranks interested in education will be able to attend the conference as delegates, if they are deputed by educational bodies and have paid their delegation dues." They may attend the conference also by enrolling themselves as members of the reception committee by filling the prescribed form and paying Rs. 2 to Pandit Ram Narain Misra, Head Master Central Hindu High School, Benares. Members of the reception committee will be treated as delegates.

The object and scope of this conference are not quite clear. Some educational problems are common to all continents and countries. Similarly there may be some which are special and common to all Asian countries. But it does not seem that these peculiarly all-Asian problems are to be discussed at the conference. For, it is said in the prospectus, "Indian," not Asian, "educationists who desire to read papers or deliver addresses should immediately communicate

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with the Secretaries of the various sections of the conference for the subjects in which they are interested." So, probably the conference is pre-eminently an all India educational conference and its Pan-Asiatic character is to consist in its being attended by "delegates" from nearly all "eastern countries." India, however, is a rather big country in which some general educational problems have special features in different regions and some regions have peculiar problems. So, to make the conference really serve an all-India purpose, it would be necessary to have experienced Indian educationists from all the main regions to act as sectional secretaries, in order that speakers and papers dealing with all peculiar regional problems and special regional features of general problems might be secured. But of the fourteen sectional secretaries, the competency of none of whom is questioned, six belong to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, three to the Madras Presidency, three to the Bombay Presidency, one to Mysore and one to Gwalior.

The sections into which the conference is divided are—Health, Hygiene and Physical Culture; Illiteracy; Adult Education; Library Service; Kindergarten and Montessori systems; Rural Education; Character, Moral and Religious Education; Parental Co-operation; Teachers' Associations; Teachers' Training; Primary Education; Secondary Education; University Education; and Women's Education.

Presumably it is not the opinion of the organizers that no one in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces and Berar, N.-W. F. Provinces, Orissa and the Panjab has any such special or expert knowledge of these subjects as to make him a competent sectional secretary. Nor do they probably think that Indian educational problems do not present special features in these areas or that these regions do not have peculiar problems of their own.

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins is the secretary of the Women's Education section. She is admittedly a competent person and a lover of India. But in order to prevent the wrong conclusion from being drawn that India has not yet produced even a single competent woman educationist and organizer, some able Indian woman should and cou'd have been discovered to fill the position.

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Child Marriages in the West

This Review has all along been consistently against child marriages. Therefore when we reproduce anything to show that such marriages still prevail in the West to some extent, that is not for indirectly supporting the custom. What we contend is that the prevalence of this practice ought not to stand in the way of India getting political freedom, particularly as the law placing restrictions on the custom has been passed with the help mainly of Indians.

A Reuter's telegram dated New York, October 19, runs as follows:

According to the annual report of the Superintendent of Schools, 483 boys and girls (mostly girls) dropped from the school rolls, last year, owing to marriage.

Married persons included a girl of 12 years, another of 13 years, twenty boys and girls of 14 years, and 83 aged fifteen.

The Pioneer comments:

That not even the country of Miss Katherine Mayo is in a position to throw stones at the social customs of other countries, is shown by the statistics of child marriages in the United States. Without desiring to exaggerate the significance of the figures which, indeed, are exceptions that would be swamped in a table of averages, it is as well that the world should realize *that no nation is perfect*, and that reformers should in every case start their charitable activities at home before they tackle the weak spots in the social organization of others. (Italics are ours.)

Mr. E. J. Thompson writes in his latest book that "Europe and America were once as unhygienic in practice as India is now, and child marriage was not unknown." And Europe and America were even then politically free.

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Rabindranath Tagore on Russia

The Statesman, which is notorious for its friendliness towards India and its charitable disposition towards eminent Indians, printed the following cable on the 1st October last:

(From Our Correspondent)

London, Sept. 30.

The Times' Riga correspondent, after describing the shock caused even in Russia by the recent execution without trial of 48 Russians on a charge of conspiracy to create a food famine, says, the *Izvestia* publishes an appreciation of Soviet culture alleged to have been written by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who has recently spent a fortnight in Russia.

Dr. Tagore is reported to have said that his heart rejoices and dreams that some day his

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country may be admitted to the blessings and emancipation of spirit such as the Soviet people enjoy—*Copyright.*

The mean insinuation is that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore appreciates that Soviet culture of which execution of men without trial is a part.

But let that pass.

Elsewhere in this issue we have published the views of the Poet relating to Russia which appeared in *Izvestia.* In that contribution, there is a clear and unambiguous condemnation of the methods of violence followed by the Soviet authorities. Whether the *Times* or the *Statesman* will have the fairness to publish this condemnation, one need not speculate. It is enough that the truth has been placed before the public.

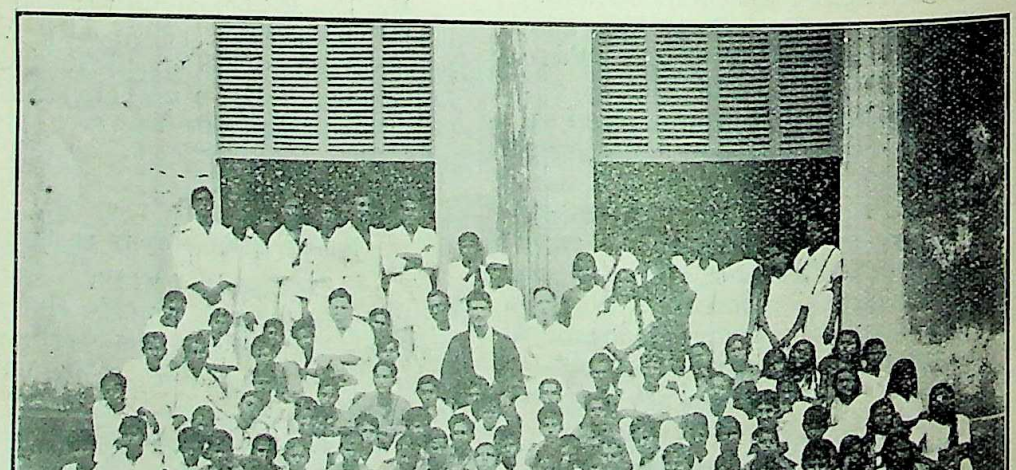
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Jujutsu in Santiniketan

Professor S. Takagaki teaches Jujutsu, the Japanese art of wrestling etc., in Santiniketan. He is one of the most distinguished teachers of the art to be found in Japan. In Santiniketan both male and female students and some others learn Jujutsu. Some of the girls and boys have already made considerable progress in the art. In September there was a demonstration of what the students of the art had learnt. It was held at Sinha Bhavan.



Mr. S. Takagaki, Professor of Jujutsu in Santiniketan



The Professor of Jujutsu with his friends and pupils.
Prof. S. Takagaki in the centre, Prof. Jagadananda Ray to his left

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A Jujutsu trick

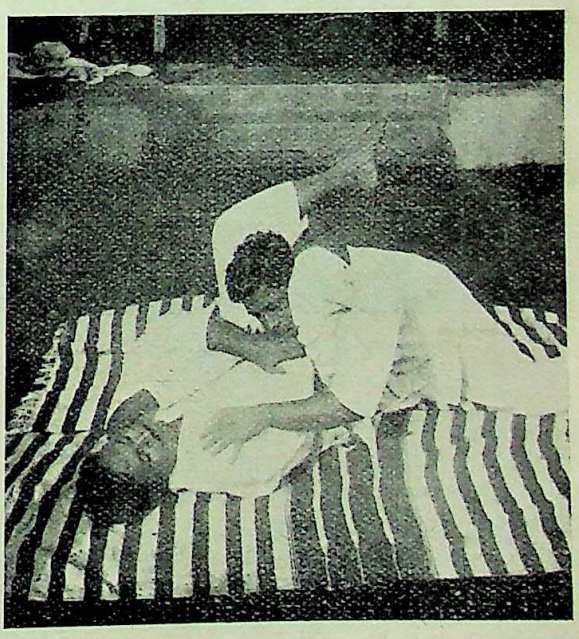


A Jujutsu trick

Two Japanese friends of the professor had come from Calcutta to witness and take part in the demonstration. They also were experts in Jujutsu.

Jujutsu, practised with due regard to its rules, gives one a good physique. As it is a defensive art, it tends to promote self-possession and courage, and represses excitability.

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A Jujutsu trick

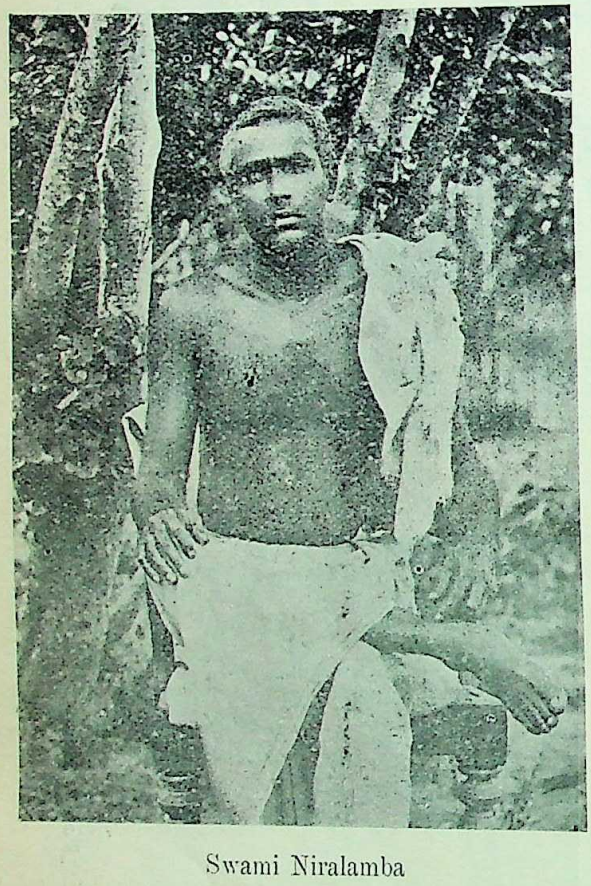
The late Swami Niralamba

The late Swami Niralamba was not a famous man. But nevertheless, his was a remarkable personality. Born in Channa, Burdwan, on the 19th November 1877, he studied in the Kayastha Pathshala College, Allahabad, for some years when Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was its principal.

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His name then was Yatindranath Bandyopadhyay. He was remarkable for his intelligence but not for diligent study of text-books. Details of his subsequent career are not known in full. At one time he was in the army of the Baroda State. At that time Aurobindo Ghose was in the Baroda



Swami Niralamba

Educational Service. It is believed that Aurobindo Ghose owed his faith in Indian Independence to the companionship of Yatindranath Bandyopadhyay. Both were among the accused in the celebrated State trial at Alipore in the first decade of this century. The former was acquitted, the latter discharged.

Niralamba Swami had travelled extensively in Tibet, Afghanistan and some neighbouring countries. He was courageous and fond of adventure. Latterly, it is said he had become a disciple of So'ham Swami *alias* Syamakanta Banerji, the tiger-tamer. Even when Niralamba Swami had become a Sannyasin, he was a staunch Nationalist. During the Kumbha Mela of 1905, he resided at the house of the writer and showed him and his family the different camps of the *sadhus* of different sects. Almost everywhere he asked whether the books or sayings of the teachers of those sects contained any predictions relating to a free India. All the *sadhus* appeared to be quite indifferent to such a worldly topic. Only one *sadhu* of the Garibdasi sect, being hard-pressed, said that in one of their books it was written that India would be free twenty-eight years from the date of that *Kumbha Mela*. Twenty-eight years from 1905 gives 1933 as the date of India's emancipation. It is a weakness of human nature that even those who do not believe in prophecies are in the privacy of their hearts inclined to hope that some predictions may come true.

Niralamba Swami had his Ashram at his birth-place. He died on September 5, 1930.

—

Miah Abdul Bari Chaudhuri

In Miah Abdul Bari Chaudhuri Bengal has lost a distinguished captain of industry in the shipping line.

Abdul Bari Meah, Director of the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company, died on Saturday at 9 P. M. October 20, at his residence at Ahline, Rangoon. On receipt of the news about 2,000 Mussalmans of Chittagong gathered at Pathantooli under the auspices of the Sardar Samity and prayed for the peace of the departed soul. Half-mast was flown on the steamer office, the jetty and the steamers of the Bengal-Burma Steam Navigation Company as a mark of mourning.

A public meeting of Hindus and Mussalmans was held at the Muslim Hall when resolutions expressing sympathy for the bereaved family of the deceased and Chittagong people's appreciation of the services of the deceased were passed.—Free Press.

—

Women and War

In the last number of this Review, pp. 446-448, an article from the *Asia* magazine was reproduced with the exception of some passages. It is necessary to quote one of those passages to bring out the full moral superiority of a non-violent means of winning freedom. The following sentences are to be read as occurring before the last paragraph of the article as extracted in this Review:

"In war, pillage is not considered wrong, is often ordered and is sometimes held out as an inducement to the soldiers. In civil disobedience there is nothing of the kind. Though in war ravishment is not recommended nor enjoined, few campaigns of any large proportions have been free

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from this odious crime and outrage on womanhood. Also, an army of fallen women often accompanies bigger armies of far more sinful men to feed their lusts. Civil disobedience is entirely free from menace of either kind to womanhood."

—

Decline in Lancashire Cotton Exports to India

According to a Free Press Beam Service message,

The publication of the monthly trade returns of Great Britain always gives occasion to the "Morning Post" to draw attention to the strength of the Indian Boycott and call for stern measures to end it. The figures for September last which the paper reproduces are very impressive. Compared with September of the last year, cotton exports from Lancashire to India during this September show a decline of 75 per cent. The money value of this drop may be computed at £ 900,000.

The adversity of any foreign country does not give us pleasure. We shall be glad if Indian manufacturers of khaddar and mill-cloth have increasing sales.

—

French Governor-General's Visit to Chandernagar

(Associated Press of India)

Chinsurah, Oct. 18.

It is reported that the Governor-General of the French territories in India will soon pay a brief visit to Chandernagar in connection with the recent raid for the arrest of certain alleged revolutionaries.

It is also understood that the Colonial Minister is shortly expected from Paris.

Have these proposed visits any political significance?

It is well known that when Aurobindo Ghose and others were tried at Alipore two decades ago, a Bengali gentleman who was alleged to have been their accomplice had to be let off because he was a French citizen of Chandernagar.

—

Mr. Spender on Invitations to R. T. Conference

Mr. J. A. Spender points out in the *News Chronicle* that the Indian Government has not adopted the usual procedure in obtaining delegates for the so-called Round Table Conference. He writes that "the normal procedure would have been to invite the leaders of all parties to the London conference and throw upon those who declined the onus of doing so and explaining why. So far as I can see, it remains open to the Congress party to say that they have not been invited and have not declined. Those who know Indian politics and consider the possibilities of the future will not think this a mere point of form.

—

Marquis of Zetland's Objections to Indian Home Rule

There does not seem to be anything new in the objections urged against the introduction of Home Rule in India by the Marquis of Zetland in a recent address of his of which Reuter has cabled the following summary:

In his presidential address at Birmingham and Midland Institute, Marquis of Zetland said that formidable obstacles lay in the way of immediate introduction of complete system of parliamentary self-government in India. He declared that it was impossible to create a democratic electorate by a stroke of the pen in a country in which ninety per cent of the population was illiterate and in which nearly ninety per cent lived in remote villages scattered over an immense countryside. Two matters of highest importance were the control of the Army and the position of the Native States. Obviously the latter could not be compelled to enter any All-India system against their will. It was one of the merits of the Federal Scheme put forward in the Simon Report that it opened the door to the inclusion of the Native States in an All-India system, should they desire to enter it but their right to be consulted was fully recognized by the Government and indeed was one of the reasons for holding the Round Table Conference.

The Marquis of Zetland considered that the position of the Army in India was perhaps the most difficult problem to be solved before India could obtain complete Home Rule. Regiments composing the Indian Army did not constitute a National Army. They derived the cohesion which they possessed from the fact that they were officered by men of a single race, namely, British.

Almost all these arguments have been repeatedly refuted in this *Review*. The Marquis of Zetland has been one of its subscribers and readers ever since he, as Lord Ronaldshay, was Governor of Bengal. That he reads it is evident from criticisms of some of its contents in some of his books and from his attack on Dr. J. T. Sunderland, because the latter contributed an article to it on the harm resulting to England from her possession of India. So, so far as his lordship is concerned, we can say little which he could not have found in previous issues of this magazine.

That ninety per cent of the population of India is illiterate is a fact for which the British Government is responsible. Any objection based on this fact does not, therefore, come with good grace from any

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Britisher, particularly from any Britisher who as Governor could have promoted but did not vigorously promote the cause of universal elementary education. Even such an would-be clever British propagandist as Mr. E. J. Thompson has had to admit in his *Reconstruction of India* (p. 255) that "when the British came," "there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years." If literacy has increased within the last ten years, it has done so because of the efforts of the Indian Ministers in charge of Education. But that the last ten years have brought India up to the same level of literacy which she occupied in pre-British days, is a mere guess on the part of Mr. Thompson. The true state of things cannot be known until the next census. As for our literacy in pre-British days being of a low kind, it must be borne in mind that the education given in the Sanskrit seminaries in pre-British times, though not utilitarian, was by no means "low." The primary education given in the village schools included mental arithmetic, about which the Rev. J. Long has written :

"The rules of common Arithmetic set to doggerel rhyme by a Kayastha, one Suvankar, the Cocker of Bengal, have been chanted for a hundred and fifty years in 40,000 vernacular schools. Thus the Hindus took the lead in a practice which has since been introduced in our English infant schools."

The system of education named after Bell and Lancaster was adapted from India.

That illiteracy ought not to be a bar to self-rule, has been admitted even by Mr. Thompson in the following words :

"From one point of view the masses in India are deplorably ignorant and degraded. There is another point of view, from which it is seen that they have kept a large degree of that susceptibility to immaterial issues and loveliness, which is genuine culture. Furthermore, such a man as Akbar must be called a highly-cultivated man, though he could not read or write. All our brains do not live in our eyes and fingers.

"I should like to see education driven ahead with all speed. But illiteracy in itself should not be a bar to self-Government, any more than it was in Britain or America."—*The Reconstruction of India*, pp. 255-256.

As for the difficulty of creating a democratic electorate for a predominantly rural population, "scattered over an immense countryside," it is certainly not beyond the power of human ingenuity to do so. Soviet Russia, according to the *Statesman's Year-book* contains a total population of 147,013,609 of whom 120,716,341 live in villages. The total area of the Soviet Union is 8,241,910 square miles and that of India 1,805,332 sq. miles And yet there are democratic representative institutions in that Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, though the rural population there is scattered over a much immenser countryside than in India.

Nobody has wished or proposed to *compel* the "Native" States to enter an All-India system against their will. But everybody knows that the 'politicals' have means at their command to compel them *not* to enter any All-India system which is not the product of British brains or which is not at least approved or tolerated by Britain. The Simon Federal scheme is not the only possible Federal System which can "open the door to the inclusion of the 'Native' States in an All-India Sytem, should they desire to enter it." Indian Nationalists also recognize the right of the "Native" States to be consulted, with this difference that, whereas the British Government ignores the existence of the people of the Indian States, Indian Nationalists do not do so.

That the Indian Army is not a National Army is a result of the policy pursued by the Army authorities. Details need not be repeated. The Marquis of Zetland will find them, if he has not done so already, in the articles on "The Martial Races of India" published in the July and September numbers of this magazine.

None are so blind as those who will not see.

—

Rabindranath Tagore's Health

The minds of the people of India were agitated at the alarming news relating to Rabindranath Tagore's health sent by Reuter from America. One message stated that owing to illness he had been obliged to cancel all his engagements and advised to go to some place where he could have rest. This was supplemented by another which was still more alarmingly worded. It was to the effect that a certain Doctor Marvin had said that he had not over-estimated but rather under-estimated the seriousness of the Poet's state of health. Then came a cable to Santiniketan from Dr. Timbres, who is the Poet's honorary physician in attendance. It stated that, though his heart weakness necessitated rest, anxiety was not necessary.

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Dr Timbers had considerately cabled of his own accord—we can guess why. No one had cabled to him from here. Next day, in reply to a cabled enquiry from Santiniketan, Mr. C. F. Andrews' cable was received to the effect that the Poet was better and that he would reach Calcutta late in December next.

It is not quite clear why Dr. H. M. Marvin added that "he has understated rather than overstated the seriousness of the situation. Wise physicians do not frighten patients or their relatives and friends. While we certainly long for the Poet's speedy return to India in a good state of health, we do not quite appreciate any stranger's strong desire to hurry him out of America. We have no desire to be unjust to anybody. But there may be persons in America who may have—say—a sub-conscious desire that Rabindranath Tagore should leave America very early. As he has not taken any part in the political struggle going on in India, as he is an Internationalist, and as he is capable of taking and usually does take a detached and philosophic view of the happenings even in his own country, there is naturally a fear in the minds of British Imperialists and propagandists and their friends in America that, though he will not of his own accord speak on current Indian politics, anything coming from him relating to that topic through newspaper interviews and drawing-room talk, may prejudice British interests.

Our desire and prayer is, in the first place, that he may recover completely by taking complete rest in some health resort in America, and, in the second place, that, if possible, he may be in a position to fulfil all his engagements in America.

—

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Along with all our fellow countrymen we desire and pray that Pandit Motilal Nehru may be speedily restored to health and again be in a position to act as adviser to the self-sacrificing political workers of India.

—

Read Bombay Papers

For months past, week after week the Government has been publishing a weekly review of the political situation in India, so far as it relates to the civil disobedience movement. According to those reviews that movement has been continually losing strength and popularity. At the same time Lord Irwin has been promulgating ordinance after ordinance. So it has become necessary for the *Satyagrahis* and non-participating friends of the movement as well as its opponents, in all parts of the country, to try to know the exact truth about it. It is not at all easy to know it, as the openly published newspapers do not contain all the news necessary for forming a correct estimate. For instance, in Bengal, little has appeared in the newspapers of what has been happening in the Midnapore district. We have received three Reports of Enquiry Committees relating to occurrences there which have not been published in any newspaper. Moreover, as the Press Ordinance has been worked by different sets of men in different provinces, the papers in some provinces are more 'newsy' than in others. Hence, those who can afford it, ought to read at least one Indian paper from each province. As Bombay has taken the leading part in *satyagraha*, Bombay nationalist papers in particular, such as *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Free Press Journal*, ought to be read for the news they contain.

—

Romain Rolland on Happenings in India

Certain proposals relating to the celebration of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's 70th birthday having been placed before M. Romain Rolland on behalf of some friends of the Poet, that great French Idealist has written a letter to the editor of this magazine relating to the celebration. The letter concludes with the sentence : "I need hardly tell you with what passionate sympathy I and my sister are following the heroic happenings of your country."

—

The London Conference

Before the present issue of the Review reaches London, the conference between the representatives of the three British parties and the Indian nominess of the British Government from British India and the Indian States will have begun its sittings. Some take an optimistic view of the probable results of the Conference, whilst there are others

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who have declared that it cannot but end in smoke or in confusion worse confounded. Some Indians—and they are not Extremists—have gone so far as to assert that the failure of this conference will result in a revolution in India. The prophet's roll is not ours. We will just wait and see. But in the meantime we may quote the opinions of an Englishman who has been an opponent of civil disobedience and a supporter of the Round (?) Table Conference. We mean Mr. Wilson, editor of *The Indian Daily Mail*, who is now in London. From there he writes to his paper (October 15) under the pen-name of "Scrutator" :

If the Imperial Conference and the way in which it is being conducted are to be any measure of the way in which the Round Table Conference is to be conducted, then British Indian politicians can look forward to a grave disappointment. During the last fortnight I have made many enquiries in Whitehall and discussed the Indian situation with a host of people. I regret to report that there is almost universal ignorance as to the fundamentals of the situation, or if I may put it in a more blunt fashion, the Government of India's facts have been accepted without question, and all that is left to mitigate the situation is a certain amount of wishy-washy sentimentalism. This may not represent the inside intentions of the British Cabinet, but if the British Cabinet is being misinterpreted, and if Mr. Wedgwood Benn in particular is not being understood by this above generalization, then the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India have themselves to blame.

He tells us why they are to blame.

It is almost impossible to break down the barrier of officialdom which surrounds Indian affairs. The India Office pretends to be loyal to Mr. Benn, but it does not take much perspicacity to detect in this loyalty a determination to persevere with traditional self-defence. I am not exaggerating when I venture the opinion that there is nobody at the India Office, from the Secretary of State down to, or up to, the Information Officer, who has the slightest comprehension as to the nature and the intensity of national feeling in India. Not only that, but there is no real information in the India Office as to what has actually been happening in India. Apparently the terrible stories of Lathi charges and the innumerable police excesses have not yet been heard of in Whitehall, and the general picture that is accepted there is one of resonable, kindly and well-behaved authority trying its best to combat law-breaking fanatics.

I have not the slightest hesitation in accusing the Government of India, the official news services and all other sources of information of an elaborate conspiracy of silence about the real condition of affairs in India. The first task facing British Indian delegates when they arrive in London is to educate the British public and to tell them, without frills or any elaboration, exactly how the present Government of India functions.

What Mr. Wilson writes about Mr. Wedgwood Benn clarifies the situation in England relating to India still further.

This would not be so bad if the Secretary of State were willing to listen to real information. Mr. Wedgwood Benn unfortunately has somewhat succumbed to the intoxication of office, and to most people he is as inaccessible as Lord Birkenhead at his worst. Nor is Mr. Benn over-popular with the Labour Party. He appears to treat Labour Members of Parliament with the same indifference as he treats authoritative representatives from India. He may listen, he may not, but he certainly does nothing. Allegations as to the way in which the Government of India have behaved leave him incredulous and cold, and his main grievance seems to be that the official Congress party have refused to adopt his policy and to take part in the Round Table Conference.

Now Mr. Benn may or may not be perfectly honest in his desire to make the Round Table Conference a success. I must say that I have seen no evidence yet which would make any one reject this hypothesis. But Mr. Benn cannot grumble if India's well-wishers are rather doubtful, through lack of evidence.

Mr. Wilson then pays a well-merited tribute to the Indian Civil Service.

It is a striking tribute to the ability and skill of the Indian Civil Service that it has managed more or less to muzzle even the Labour Government. If Mr Benn had been more courageous he might have defied these services, but as Mr. MacDonald is determined not to take the knock on India, the only thing Mr. Benn can do is to shelter himself rather ignominiously behind the Viceroy. The position is not fair to Lord Irwin, it is not fair to India ; but until the Labour Party, or any other party for that matter, can be forced to realize that India is the major problem now confronting the British Commonwealth of Nations, some such sort of political tactics can be expected.

Having "purposely stated the worst about the Indian situation in England first in order that the better things might be seen in their true perspective," Mr. Wilson observes that

even the above diagnosis does not rule out the possibility that the Labour Government will do the decent thing with regard to India. It may be, and this I think is a likely explanation, that having gained time and having avoided awkward Parliamentary situations, the Labour Party, through its Government, will be prepared to give India a square deal. There are personalities and elements in the Labour Government which are prepared to go as far as the mass opinion of India and to give a real measure of self-government. There will, of course, be strenuous opposition, but if the British Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference can put up a definite and coherent plan, I do not think that even Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Benn will idly reject such ideas, and will not be prepared to do their utmost to put such proposals on the Statute Book.

What is the meaning of "the mass

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opinion of India?" Is there anybody among the Government nominees from India who represents this mass opinion? Do all the nominees put together represent this mass opinion? How many among them ever attempted to bring Indian politics into the heart of the illiterate people of India? The Man who above all made the masses politically minded is in jail with thousands of his co-workers and followers.

"If the British Indian representatives (?) at the Round Table Conference can put up a definite and coherent plan—Yes, *if*. But have the British selectors of these so-called representatives made their selection solely with a view to securing from the Indian side such a definite and coherent plan, or was there any other underlying motive?

The British delegates number thirteen and the nominees from India more than seventy, we believe. In any case, the Indians at the Conference will far outnumber the Britishers. One is, therefore, curious to know in what way decisions, in what way any measure of agreement, will be arrived at. Presumably, not by the process of taking votes. For in that case, on many questions there is sure to be more votes on the Indian side than on the British side. So, probably, as we have guessed all along, the Indians will discuss things among themselves, with or without the help or opposition of Britishers, and the British members—particularly those of the Labour Party—will be the arbiters. Briefly put, the Indians will propose and the Britishers will dispose. If so, the Conference is to be another edition of the Simon Commission.

If argument be of any avail, if it can carry the day, there certainly are among the Indian invitees several distinguished persons who would be able to bring forward very sound and irrefutable arguments. But it was not for lack of good reasoning that India has not yet become free. Justice and reason are on our side. But something more convincing has been hitherto lacking. Will the group of Indians at the Conference be able to supply it? We trow not.

In any case, if all the Indian invitees—at least a clear majority of them—can present an agreed demand, that may be considered with respect by the British side. But if any minority group insist on the satisfaction of their demands first before they can join others in presenting a united national demand, nothing may be gained. Let that be secured first which all Indians are to get, before negotiations are started for fixing the shares of the different parties. What would be dividing the chickens before even the eggs have been laid.

—

The Ninth Ordinance

We do not propose to examine in detail the ninth ordinance promulgated by Lord Irwin nor the statement of the reasons which have moved him to do so. For we can only offer such comments as seem to us reasonable; but of what avail would they be against *force majeure*?

The Congress has declared non-violent war against the Government, which in its turn has been waging war against the Congress, not excluding the use of physical force for gaining its object. That may be considered by it allowable. Such retaliation we also do not consider unnatural, though we consider it unstatesmanlike. But official documents should be scrupulously free from intentional or unintentional misrepresentation. Lord Irwin's statement, unfortunately, does contain some misrepresentation, though personally he may not be aware of the fact. Take, for example, the concluding sentence of the first paragraph, which runs as follows:

> "In view of the declared intention of the Congress to cause still greater damage and suffering to the public, I have considered it my duty to take such further powers as, in the opinion of my Government, will assist in checking the activities of the various organizations, through which effect is being given to the mischievous programme of the civil disobedience movement and other subversive movements."

The methods and activities of the Congress may causes damage and suffering to the public as they have done, but is it correct to say that it is the *declared intention* of that body to cause damage and suffering? Where, when and by whom, orally or in writing, was such intention declared? All wars waged by Governments cause some damage and suffering to the public. The last great World War did so to the public of many countries, including Great Britain. Some countries, including Britain, are still suffering from trade depression and unemployment partly as a result of that War. But Britain and her allies all declared, rightly or wrongly, that they were fighting for lasting peace, world democracy and self-determination for all peoples. One may not in the least

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believe that the Allies were actuated by any high and altruistic motives. But even such a sceptic will hardly make the unjustifiable statement that in the World War Great Britain's declared (or even secret) intention was to cause damage and suffering to the British public, France's declared (or even secret) intention was to cause damage and suffering to the French public, and so on. Similarly, when the Congress states its object to be to free the country politically and thereby do good to the country, one may doubt the truth of such a statement, but it would not be correct for even such a person to assert that the *declared* (or even the secret) *intention* of the Congress is to inflict damage and suffering on the public. People who intentionally injure others, generally do so for themselves benefiting thereby. What selfish gain accrues to the Congress workers who are sent to jail or are battered with *lathi* charges or are fined, or have their presses or other properties seized, etc?

The ordinance itself admits of much detailed criticism, but as we have said already we do not intend to offer such criticism. We shall only point out that sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 3 do not appear to us logical and ethically justifiable. Then run as follows:

> 3. (*1*) The Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, notify any place which in its opinion is used for the purposes of an unlawful association.
>
> (2) The Magistrate, or any officer authorized in this behalf in writing by the Magistrate, may thereupon take possession of the notified place and evict therefrom any person found therein, and shall forthwith make a report of the taking of possession to the Local Government.

There are some purposes of some associations, which have been or may be declared to be "unlawful" quite arbitrarily, which, even in the opinion of the Government, are not unlawful. For instance, the preaching and promotion of temperance and total abstinence and pushing the production and sale of khaddar and other Swadeshi goods. For this reason, we think in sub-section (*1*) above, the word "unlawful" ought to have been inserted before "purposes," and before taking possession of any place used by an "unlawful" association it should have been made necessary to prove that it is used for "unlawful" purposes. Eating, taking rest and sleeping are not unlawful purposes. Yet it is plain that a place where Congress workers eat, rest or sleep may be taken possession of by the police!

—

The Effect of the Ninth Ordinance

The promulgation of each ordinance is said to be due to some emergency. Yet every successive weekly review of the situation contains statements to the effect that the civil disobedience movement is weakening. If that be true, how do fresh emergencies arise?

The last sentence in the Viceroy's statement runs thus:

> "But I am persuaded that, if the force of public opinion, which is to an increasing extent being directed against the grave injury which the civil disobedience movement is causing to the country, is exerted yet more effectively to resist its activities and to demand of those responsible for it that it shall be ended; and if public opinion is supported in this resolution by the action and conduct of individual citizens, each in his respective sphere of interest, influence and responsibility, there will be a speedy restoration of such conditions of order and tranquillity as may enable me to regard these measures as no longer necessary."

Lord Irwin's informants have probably told him that public opinion has been becoming increasingly anti-Congress. That is not our information. The Congress has been most active in Bombay and there the mercantile classes have suffered the greatest loss. Therefore, if the Viceroy's information were correct, Bombay merchants ought to have welcomed the ninth ordinance, called the Unlawful Association Ordinance, 1930. But as a matter of fact, what have the Indian Bombay merchants done? According to the *Bombay Chronicle*, the Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations (the Vyapari Mahamandal) has sent the following long telegram to protest against it to Lord Irwin:

> The Committee of the Vyapari Mahamandal, (Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations) are amazed at the text of the Ninth Ordinance against Unlawful Associations, and still more perturbed at the reasons given by the Viceroy for the issue of such an Ordinance. The main operative Sections of the Ordinance constitute a grave, unwarrantable, and indefensible invasion of the rights of private property. Commercial Public cannot but condemn such unwarrantable acts of indiscriminate repression, which in their actual administration must necessarily involve the greatest possible injury to ordinary law-abiding population, thanks to the excessive administrative powers inevitably having to be entrusted to executive officers for the administrations of this Ordinance.

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Fundamental Rights Of Citizenship

The Ordinance, moreover, has been issued in utter ignorance of conditions in cities like Bombay, where the possibility of fractions of house property owned by unoffending citizens, but occupied by persons or Associations which may be considered by executive authority to be unlawful, assure the greatest possible scope for the abuse of the extraordinary powers conferred under this Ordinance on Government servants. The scope of the Ordinance, moreover, applying as it does to movable as well as immovable property belonging to or used by persons or Associations liable to be considered by Government as unlawful, opens the gravest questions of the fundamental rights of civilized citizenship, which this Ordinance most flagrantly violates. Even condemned criminals are not denied their rights of property, nor considered as civilly dead, in respect of rights of property, which the present Ordinance denies to people and Associations deemed by executive fiat to be "unlawful."

Government's Strange Notions

The Ordinance empowering Local Government to afford reasonable compensation to aggrieved owners of property, under conditions mentioned in its text opens up another door, not only for grave injustice and financial burdens but seeks to drive a wedge amongst property—owners against the national sentiment. In cities like Bombay, demands for compensation under such administrative acts are bound to make the finances of Government more than ever out of joint, and the commercial community cannot but look with the gravest apprehension upon such developments, and condemns them whole-heartedly. The Committee regret to note that Government betray want of impartiality coupled with strange notions as to urgent consideration of deep-rooted genuine grievances and as to open mass expression thereof. The Committee deplore that Government are doing sheer injustice to bodies and persons known for their representing frank, earnest, honest efforts for securing immediate better administration. The Committee emphatically observe that Government are mixing up civil disobedience with revolution, confusing either of them with violence.

Government Does More Harm Than Congress

The Committee, therefore, consider the object intended by His Excellency in promulgating this Ordinance will not only not be attained, but the breach between the people and the authorities will become widened beyond bridging. Commercial sentiment considers such injury as has been alleged to be wrought by Congress activities is far below that inflicted upon the country's commerce and industry by acts like this of the Government of India, and of Local Governments in giving effect to the same. The Committee record that unless Government revise in time such mistakes and misconceived and misapplied methods of dealing with the situation, they will be bound to issue several more such misdirected efforts and afflictions which result in chaos with termination of goodwill and harmonious relations. The Commercial community, therefore feel convinced that given such mentality, in the rulers of the country, as is indicated so abundantly by the present Ordinance denying the ordinary rights of property to peaceful, law-abiding citizens simply by means of executive fiat, and merely because individuals or Associations cannot commend themselves to the executive desires regarding the destiny of this country, and the means of working it out, it makes the strongest possible proof of the impossibility of getting the present system of Government to consider the problem of the country from the correct standpoint and hence the Committee would urge upon His Excellency to note the mischief of such action upon public mind and on public peace, which will only make any satisfactory settlement of the problem more than ever difficult. The Committee would, therefore, earnestly impress on the Government of India the unwisdom of such an Ordinance, and request them to withdraw the same before they perpetrate irreparable mischief.

When we first read the Ordinance, we thought it might convert the civil disobedience movement into a secret movement. We are glad it has not yet had that effect. We also guessed that, in the alternative, Congress workers might take it into their heads to have their offices under trees or in the open air. The very next day we read in the papers that in Benares a Congress Committee had established its office under a peepul tree and in Ahmedabad Congress offices had been located in the street. Another suggestion to Congress workers, made by a Muslim "Dictator," has been acted upon in some places, namely private houses may put up Congress Committee sign-boards.

The Indian Daily Mail of the 23rd October contains the following paragraph :

> A significant sign of attitude of the city public to the Congress was provided by the manner in which Bombay celebrated the Hindu New Year's Day, on Wednesday.
>
> The most striking part of the celebration was the display of the tri-coloured National Flag, almost everywhere. In the crowded localities of Kalbadevi, Bhuleshwar, Mandvi, and Girgaum every house had a big National Flag flying over it. Below in front of every shop smaller size flags were hoisted.
>
> Besides this demonstration of loyalty to the Congress almost every house and shop in the localities mentioned above put up boards with the following words on them :
>
> Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee;
> Mandvi District Congress Committee;
> "Congress House," etc., etc.
>
> These boards were very prominently put up and are to be found in large numbers in Mandvi and Bhuleshwar.

The old "Congress House" in Bombay having been taken possession of by the police and locked a new "Congress House" was opened on October 23 in Mandvi. It is a four-storied house. According to the *Indian Daily Mail*,

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As soon as the police heard that a new "Congress House" had been opened, Superintendent Tawde and Inspector Gole, of the Princess Street Police Station, hastened to the spot with a posse of constables, entered the building, broke open the locks and raided the house.

To their great disappointment the police did not find anything in the rooms. They, however, removed the national flag, the office board and a heap of 'old shoes', which had been purposely kept there to be confiscated.

Realizing they had been very cleverly taken in the police left the place, the crowd enjoying the fun immensely.

As soon as the police left the place, another flag was hoisted and another board put up.

The "Congress Bulletin" continues to appear everyday as usual, the police being unable to suppress it.

We do not think it absolutely impossible for the Government if it exerts its full strength, to make it impracticable for Congress workers who have homes or lodgings to carry on their work. But it is not unthinkable that in that case India may come to have a large army of non-violent political *sannyasins*—homeless, landless, propertyless, without family ties, and wanderers over the face of the country.

—

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi given the Lie Again

In the official report of the debate on the resolution *re* outbreak of lawlessness at Dacca, reprinted in our last issue, the reader will find that Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, M. L. C., read extracts from a Report alleged by him to have been sent to him "with the concurrence of" certain residents of Dacca. A contradiction of this allegation by one of these gentlemen, *viz.*, Mr. P. K. Bose, Barrister-at-Law, which had appeared in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, was printed in our last issue, p. 416. Another contradiction, which had appeared in *The East Bengal Times* of Dacca of September 20 last, did not attract our attention early enough to be published in our last issue. It was by Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee, one of the gentlemen with whose concurrence, Mr. Ghuznavi said, the Report had been sent to him. Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee writes in that letter of contradiction :

To avoid misunderstanding I can tell you once for all that I did not know anything about any report alleged to have been sent by some Moslem leaders to Mr. Ghaznavi. It was never sent to him with my concurrence or knowledge. I have seen that report now with Mr. Ghaznavi and it is an unsigned document. If anybody connects my name with that report anyway it will be a falsehood.

I had a talk with Mr. Ghaznavi, who told me that it was a mistake on his part to say that the report was sent to him with the concurrence of myself and that of Mr. P. K. Bose. It was improper on his part to make such a careless statement without ascertaining the truth.

In conclusion, I can assure you that I have not made any statement about the Dacca riots to anybody anywhere up till now, nor do I like to make any statement about it at present.

—

Dr. Tagore, Mr. C. F. Andrews, and R. T. Conference

Mr. C. F. Andrews has written to Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, editor, *Vishal Bharat* :

"Would you very kindly tell Ramananda Babu with my love that the news that came over that I had urged Congress leaders to come to the Round Table Conference was misreported. Neither I nor the Poet did so. I certainly would never do so, because that is a purely political issue. The Poet only said that he hoped that some method of agreement might be found, but he feared it was impossible while the police terroism went on."

—

More Vigorous Repression

According to official reports, the civil disobedience movement has been declining. But in spite of such reports an Ordinance, more drastic than any promulgated before, has been published and put in force, and repression is going on everywhere more vigorously than ever. Repression is the only alternative to granting the demands of the Congress. As the latter policy has been thought by the Government out of the question, repression need not be complained of. But why repression should become stronger as *satyagraha* becomes weaker, being a mystery, there is a disposition to connect that fact with the approaching sittings of the so-called Round Table Conference. For instance, *The Week*, the Bombay Roman Catholic organ edited by Mr. A. Soares, writes :

Is this the way to create a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference? That is a question asked in the more moderate papers. We do not care to enquire whether this grand offensive against the Congress will create an atmosphere, favourable or unfavourable, for the Conference; but we suspect it is by no means unconnected with the Round Table Conference. There is an impression, voiced in influential organs of the British Press, that the miscellaneous Indian gentlemen gathered in London are likely to pitch

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their demands very high, if the Congress carries on its flank attack on the British Government. The inference is that, if the Congress receives its *coup de grace* before the Conference meets, the British delegates will find their Indian colleagues more reliant and amenable. If that is the idea at the back of this last fierce onslaught on Congress organizations and property, disillusionment awaits Government. The Indian delegates, those at least who have a reputation to lose, are carrying their political life in their hand, and they dare not abate by a jot or tittle their demands without being hounded out of public life. And that, irrespective of whether the civil disobedience move is crushed by main force or not. The British have got to recognize they are faced, not with a sectional or sporadic rising, but with a racial and national insurgence which no amount of ordinances will succeed in putting down permanently.

—

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

Much anti-Indian propaganda is being carried on in America by paid and unpaid, known and secret agents. During the World War, propagandist methods were carried to perfection. Many of these methods are now being turned to use in America against India. But truth and justice appear to be prevailing up till now. *The New Freeman* of New York, one of the journals taking interest in Indian affairs, writes thus on the subject:

We are in receipt of a good many printed documents tending to show that the cause of Indian Independence is much misrepresented in America. Sir Henry Lunn and various other influential Englishmen are considerably exercised, because the United States so largely misunderstands the English Government's attitude and intentions towards India, and also its motives for reducing the present insurrection." It appears from the statements of these apologists that India is almost a liability rather than an asset to England. Great Britain is making very little money out of India; a correspondent of the London *Times* adduces figures to show that American ideas on this point are much exaggerated. British exports to India also are small, especially in textiles they hardly amount to anything nowadays. Moreover, according to Lord Meston at Williamstown the other day, the rebellion is really not nationalist in character, but arises out of a fanatical will to make one type of religion predominate—and so on.

As far as this paper is concerned, while we do not take stock in a single word of all this, we are not interested, and we would cheerfully concede *pro forma* any of the points raised. The only thing that interests us is that a good many Indians are tired of British rule. This is enough for us. If they are wrong, or acting from improper motives, that is the Indians' business; it is not the business of the English to play second Providence for them. We do not care a button how much or how little money England makes out of India, or what the rate of her Indian trade is. Our stand towards India is exactly what it would have been towards the American colonies in 1776, money or no money, trade or no trade, religion or no religion and not all the press-agentry, casuistry and hair-splitting in the world will change it.

—

Indian News in America

That Americans are somehow receiving news relating to India will also appear from the following extract from *The Nation* of New York:

Here and there tucked away in the dispatches from India are the nuggets of news which are the most significant after the non-resistance itself. It is reported by Negley Farson that the British department stores are empty; their customers were formerly 90 per cent Indian. British-owned newspapers are losing circulation very heavily and British banks business; the Bombay Indian factory-owners have voted to have no further dealings with British banks. Nearly all the British bankers and mill operators are now petitioning the Viceroy for a statement promising dominion self-government. The price of cotton has fallen one-third; heavy failures are expected on the next settlement day and one-half the Bombay mills will soon be on half time. The British-owned Bombay *News* declares: "If the trade decline continues owing to the political situation India is heading for a big economic crash." No fewer than 170,000 bales of cloth, half of them sold, are lying in storehouses, none being called for. Of imported cloth hardly any is released to individual customers. The imports of piece-goods dropped from 215,000,000 in April, 1929, to 165,000,000 in April, 1930. "Boycott Week" began on June 29. A Madras magistrate has actually made it a crime to wear Gandhi caps. Finally, not a single ruler of an Indian state or a single Indian minister has uttered one word favouring the Simon report.

—

An American View of the Simon Report

The same American journal publishes an article on the Simon Report by Mr. Richard B. Gregg. He gives an indication of the Simon Commission's sense of proportion.

An examination of the index gives an idea of the Commission's sense of proportion. Apparently Finance is the most important subject, for under that title in the index there are 41 items or subheads, occupying two full double-column pages. Defense of India apparently loomed next largest in their minds, as its subheads fill one full page. Taxation occupies an additional column. Communal Representation has 34 subheads, Mohammedans 25, Europeans 23, Depressed Classes 16, Anglo-Indians 15, Christians 12, Hindus 12, Swarajist Party 10, Non-Co-operation 3, Gandhi 3. If we are struck by these last two items, we find on further examination that out of a total of 725 pages of text in both volumes of the report, Gandhi and his 1920-21 movement are given 4 pages, and the history of Indian politics since 1920 occupies 12 pages.

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Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment

In the Lahore Conspiracy case, three of the accused have been sentenced to death, seven to transportation for life, and one to seven years' and one to five years' rigorous imprisonment. Three have been acquitted. The public will be justified in refusing to consider the convicted persons guilty, because the ordinary procedure, with the necessary safe-guards for ensuring justice, was not followed by the special tribunal.

—

India at the Imperial Conference

At the Imperial Conference the Maharaja of Bikanir responded to the Premier's welcome 'on behalf of India,' not as of right, as he said, but only by the courtesy of Mr. Benn, the Secretary of State for India. The Maharaja was not sent a copy of the agenda of the Imperial Conference.

"Scrutator" writes in *The Indian Daily Mail* :

Nobody seems to realize, and by nobody I even include serious politically thinking people, the importance of the Indian problem. On Wednesday the Maharaja of Bikanir delivered a most serious warning at the opening of the Imperial Conference. In the most careful language and with a background of the traditional loyalty of the Indian Prince, he told the Empire delegates that unless the Indian problem was solved satisfactorily, that is, to the satisfaction of the Indian people, the future would be most gloomy. *Nobody paid any heed to this warning*, and the majority of the London newspapers did not even print his speech. His Highness spoke after General Hertzog and the Irish delegate had made their speeches, in which there was not a single word about the British Crown or any of the stock phrases about loyalty. His Highness most carefully emphasized the loyalty of his Order and gave it as his opinion that India, if treated properly, would be willing to remain as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is instructive to note that the draft of His Highness' speech which was given to an Indian Civil servant to knock into shape, came back to the Maharajah with these striking sentences deleted.

As the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has said, there is no progress without making trouble, and loyal people do not make trouble. Englishmen think that loyal people have no grievances, and, therefore, it is not necessary to listen to or report their speeches.

—

Sacrifices Made by Bardoli Farmers

The Surat correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* gives the following account of sacrifices made by the Bardoli farmers in pursuance of the No Land-tax campaign :

We found all the villages from Bardoli to Vankaner and Valod to Mandvi completely deserted. Houses were locked from outside. Cattle were let loose in the grazing land. Only labourers were seen in their huts, full of sorrow at the absence of their masters. Some of the inhabitants had not emigrated from their village but only with a purpose. They stayed behind to reap the ready rice crop from their fields. We visited some fields on our way. In a small area of 1 acre, where hardly 5 persons would be found working in normal times, we saw more than 50 men, women and young children working in dead haste at 12 midnight, some were cutting the rice, some were separating the rice from the straw, some were gleaning and some were arranging the straw while others were throwing the rice in the carts and immediately the carts were filled up, they were driven away to some safer territory. All the processes from cutting to disposal of the crop were taking place simultaneously and finished in a few hours.

But farmers' anxiety is not over with the despatch of the carts. At any hour of the night they are followed by the police, so till they reach some non-British territory they are in constant fear of being arrested. In spite of all possible precautions a cart of a farmar from Bhamaiya village was stopped at night near Varad and taken possession of by one Jehangir, new Police Patel of Varad.

In spite of such a constant fear farmers have almost removed their rice from the Taluka. But they cannot remove everything from the fields at this time of the season. The people have been given the last warning on the 10th October to migrate to a man within 24 hours from the Taluka, farmers were awaiting that order from the Swaraj Ashram at any moment, and people did not wait to argue but obeyed.

THE SACRIFICE

In bright moonlight of 10th October crowds of men, women and children, who still remained in villages, marched out and at what a great sacrifice? They own 117,000 acres of land in the Bardoli Taluka. Average value of land is Rs. 500 per acre. They have sacrificed to-day at least for the time being, lands worth nearly 6 crores of rupees. Houses of Bardoli farmers are not mere huts but decent, well-built 'pacca' buildings. In round figures they are worth Rs. 3 crores at the minimum. And the standing crops in the fields, which took their whole year's labour, at least Rs. 50 lacs. Thus the farmers of Bardoli are sacrificing their all in this world for the fulfilment of their pledge to Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai.

And where have they gone? What idea can the outside world have of the plight of the people? In open fields they have erected bamboo roofs with all the four sides open. Such a small place has become the abode of many a family. All the conveniences of life are not with them, they are removed still farther away. And yet, the people do not grudge these hardships and miseries. They willingly migrated from the British territory at a word of command from the Ashram authority. Those few who remained in villages to reap the rice crop, have also migrated yesterday and to-day, not a soul is to be seen in the villages of Bardoli Taluka.

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Farmers Setting Fire To Crops

Some who could not remove their crops have set fire to them with their own hands and gone away. If necessity arises they are prepared to undertake still terrible sacrifices.

To-day, the whole Taluka is disorganized. Nobody knows where the inhabitants of a particular village have migrated.

There are many other villages in Gujarat which have been deserted by the inhabitants, because they do not want to pay the land tax.

—

Conference of the Women of Asia

A sufficient number of favourable replies having been received to the proposal initiated by the women of India that the women of the countries of Asia should meet in a conference in India, arrangements are now in full swing for welcoming delegates and preparing programmes. The organizers of the conference do not consider that the political conditions of India are or will be such as to prevent the holding of the conference or to cause any discomfort to the delegates. The conference will be held at Lahore from 23rd to 30th January, 1931. Briefly the objects of the conference are as follows :

(1) To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia as members of a common oriental culture.

(2) To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilization so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, Arts, the cult of the family, veneration for Motherhood, spiritual consciousness, etc.)

(3) To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilization (ill-health, illiteracy, poverty, under-payment of labour, infantile moratality, marriage customs, etc.)

(4) To sift what is appropriate for Asia from Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery, etc.)

(5) To strengthen one another by exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the various countries of Asia (economic, moral, political and spiritual status).

(6) To promote world peace.

Favourable replies promising co-operation have been received from Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan, Burma, Iraq, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Hawaii, Persia and Baluchistan.

This conference deserves every support.

—

Panjab States' Subjects' Conference

The *Servant of India* writes :

At a conference of the subjects of Punjab States, Patiala would naturally receive great prominence—or is 'notoriety' the word ?—and both the presidential address and the resolutions passed by the Conference dealt largely with Patiala. The Conference stood by the charges made by the Committee appointed by the All-India States' People's Conference against the Maharaja of Patiala, which, it was pointed out, could have been proved by the Conference, if proper facilities for the production of evidence had been available. But the Government by ordering a sort of departmental inquiry by a Political Officer had shirked the popular demand for an independent inquiry into the matter. In these circumstances the findings of the Fitzpatrick inquiry, though exonerating the Maharaja, cannot have much weight with the public, who will continue to regard it as in the nature of a white-washing inquiry.

The conference also made it clear that the men chosen to represent the Panjab States at the R. T. Conference were not their real representatives. It condemned as unsound and unjustifiable the theory that the Princes ruling the Indian States had direct relations with the King of England and not with the Government of India, and asked for the immediate establishment of responsible government in the Panjab States.

—

Tagore's Message to W. I. L.

Pax International, published at Geneva, prints the following message of Rabindranath Tagore to W. I. L.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has done valuable work in bringing to bear upon the civilization of the West the ideals of spiritual life which demand social service and beli-f in non-violence to establish the future civilization of humanity. Women are naturally gifted with the power of Peace and the modern age needs their active co-operation in its effort to unite the different peoples of the world on the basis of mutual understanding. I am glad to know that the W. I. L. has accepted its full share of responsibility in this great work.

I am sure our women of India will be happy to join hands with their sisters in the West in their service to humanity, and that the visit of the representative of the W. I. L. to India, which I hear is being arranged for, will help to bring India and Europe closer together in lasting bonds of comradeship.—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

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Gandhi Society Formed in U. S. A.

The *New York Herald* publishes the news that

An all-world Gandhi fellowship has been formed with a committee of one hundred. This committee includes John Haynes Holmes, and other prominent clergymen and citizens. The committee has its headquarters in New York, and is enlisting members for the fellowship and also organizing an all-American committee of one thousand.

A hundred-page journal named *Dharma* is published as an organ of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship. This magazine will keep the members and the public informed of the progress of the non-violent, passive resistance movement. The present number contains articles on various subjects from such writers and reporters, as Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Annie Besant, Romain Rolland, Aurobindo Ghose, Sherwood Eddy, Mahatma Gandhi and many others.

A fellowship centre has been arranged at Rhinecliff-on-the-Hudson, New York, where members can stay and put into practice the principles of Gandhi Fellowship.

The object of the fellowship is to cultivate in individual and collective life the doctrines of *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *satyagraha* (soul-force) for the promotion of peace and happiness of the world.

—

Release and Rejailing of Leaders

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, Mr. Sundar Lal, Mr. Jagat Narain Lal and several other leaders were recently released from jail after serving out their full terms of imprisonment. One by one they are being arrested and sent to jail again.

Satyagraha had gone on while they were in prison. It was expected that their presence in the midst of their comrades would give it a fillip. But the experiment of running a movement without any of the prominent leaders to guide it will probably have to be tried again and again. The result can be anticipated.

—

Mahatma Gandhi and the Nobel Peace Prize

The Negro World of New York tells its readers why Mahatma Gandhi did not get the Nobel Peace Prize in 1923.

"Political peace" sums up all the awards made hitherto by the Nobel peace foundation at Oslo. In the international whirlpool only the strongest power can bring pressure to bear. And whoever brings that pressure effectively is in a position to effect a truce in any conflict. And such a truce-maker has been hailed up till now as a great worker for world peace,

Theodore Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel peace prize for effecting peace between Japan and Russia. And Woodrow Wilson received that award for the Versailles Treaty, that veritable travesty of justice and peace. In fact, the Nobel peace prize Committee has made a bad mess out of that award. It has always sought a melodramatic political figure for its laurels, without taking a long range view of the work of those men in establishing true peace.

Humanitarians had put forward the candidacy of Mahatma Gandhi of India, we beileve it was in 1923, as the greatest worker for true peace. From the reports current then the committee of award seems to have refused the award on the narrowest margin. The slight majority believed that it was not wise to affront the greatest of world powers, Great Britain, against whom Gandhi has been waging relentless war.

It seems to us that all efforts that do not aim at true peace will fail to bring about an enduring world peace. What do we mean by TRUE PEACE? We mean thereby that all the causes that give rise to oppression, greed and jealousy must be eliminated before a worthwhile peace can be established. And Mahatma Gandhi has been advocating such a peace.

—

The Congress Programme

Three items of the Congress programme have been placed prominently before the country : (1) The boycott of foreign, specially of British-made cloth ; (2) the setting up of parallel popular institutions, to function side by side with, if not to displace, Government institutions ; (3) an extension of the no-tax campaign.

If carried out successfully, the third item would hit the Government the hardest. But for the success of the campaign, the people of particular areas must be perfectly non-violent and prepared for the heaviest sacrifices and great and prolonged sufferings. And, as observed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the people must also be prepared to do without any of the services rendered by the Government. For it is neither just nor reasonable for those who do not pay taxes to depend on Government for the services which taxes go to purchase.

Worked vigorously, the first item is likely to make the British public cognizant of the Indian point of view most quickly.

Civil arbitration boards are perfectly lawful and it is possible to work them successfully. Criminal arbitration boards also would be lawful so far as the amicable settlement of quarrels went. But they could not inflict punishments without coming into conflict with the Government.

—

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Arabs and Jews asked to follow Gandhi

At a meeting held in New York to protest against British policy in Palestine as outlined in the White Paper which has just been issued, the principal speaker urged the Arabs in Palestine to follow Mr. Gandhi's example and adopt a policy of passive resistance against the British.

A leader of the Jewish community in Paris, at the same time, said that a movement would soon be started to boycott the British in Palestine following the practice of Mr. Gandhi's followers.

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Christ in Anglo-India

The *Bombay Chronicle* publishes the following item of news which, of course, needs no comment.

According to a report officialdom at Mussoorie has decided to enrich Christanity by a new commandment 'Thou shalt not pray for Indian politicians'. It appears that the chaplain of the Christ Church at Mussoorie 'while performing the service for the sick, named Pandit Motilal Nehru also and prayed for his speedy recovery.' This seems to have offended the local authorities who are understood to have called upon the unfortunate chaplain to explain his conduct. Strictly speaking the authorities are justified in their action. Pandit Motilal Nehru is the leader of forces working against God's own Englishmen's divinely ordained mission to save India from herself. Prayers for his recovery, therefore, will convict a chaplain of positive heresy.

—

The Sentence on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

As we go to press the news reaches us that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 600 (in default four months' additional imprisonment) by the City Magistrate of Allahabad. This is the fifth time that he has been arrested and tried for a political offence. He took no part in these trials and desired to take none. But he made a statement this time in the court which concluded with the following words :

To the Indian people I cannot express my gratitude sufficiently for their confidence and affection. It has been the greatest joy in my life to serve in this glorious struggle and to do my little bit for the cause. I pray that my countrymen and countrywomen will carry on the good fight increasingly until success crowns their efforts and we realize the India of our dreams. Long Live Free India.

—

A Special Fellowship for a Distinguished Medical Scholar

The India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie has been doing very useful work in securing educational facilities for Indian students in Germany. It has recently secured a special research fellowship for a distinguished Indian medical scholar through the co-operation of the Ministry of Education of Wurtemberg.



Dr. Khirode C. Chaudhuri

Among various applicants, the choice fell upon Dr. Khirode C. Chaudhuri, M.B. of the Calcutta Medical College, who has been carrying on special studies in children's diseases in Vienna. In selecting Dr. Chaudhuri, his proficiency in German language was taken into consideration, while he was very highly recommended by Sir Nilratan Sarkar, M.D. of Calcutta, Dr. Taraknath Das and various professors of the University of Vienna. Dr. Chaudhuri is now carrying on his research in the Children's Clinic and the Institute of Tropical Medicine of the University of Tübingen.

We wish to draw the attention of Indian medical men and women, that well-qualified

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and serious graduates of Indian Medical Colleges will find every opportunity for higher medical education and research work in German universities. They will be welcomed without any discrimination. A medical student in a German University, living modestly, will require *One Hundred and Fifty to Two Hundred Pounds* for annual expenses.

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie strongly suggests that prospective scholars—medical or otherwise—who wish to study in German Universities or Engineering Colleges, should acquire some knowledge of German before they leave India. India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie welcomes co-operation of Indians, interested in promoting Indo-German cultural relations. All communications should be addressed to Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich, (Germany).

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The Indian Crisis and the Way out

In 1924 I ventured to write that although the Non-Co-operation movement in India had died down, within a very few years it would rise again, and that on the second occasion it would be too powerful for any alien Government to overcome or suppress. Those words have come true, for I have no hesitation in saying that the movement for political freedom in India has reached its final stage, and will succeed in its object before the present campaign has ended.

But to a large number of people in this country such a conclusion is far from being apparent. Even staunch Labour supporters are all at sea over the Indian question. Generally speaking the press has done everything in its power to belittle Gandhi and his movement, and to make believe that the Civil Disobedience campaign was cutting no ice, was of small dimensions, and if firmly handled would soon fizzle out. Many, alas, are still of the opinion that such is the case. It is to disillusion these people, particularly inside the Labour Movement, that I imagine Fenner Brockway has published "The Indian Crisis."*

As a matter of fact events in India have become such a tangle that no Englishman who has not closely studied the Indian problem for many years can possibly understand it. Moreover, India is such a vast country that an interpreter is required to assist one to place in their true perspective the events of the last six or seven months. But apart from that fact, the people of this country, and even the Labour movement, have never realized the strength of the nationalist movement, the enormous influence of Gandhi and the constructive nature of his leadership. Perhaps these things would not much matter were it not for the fact that this ignorance may have tragic consequences. The publication of "The Indian Crisis" is an attempt to provide the knowledge that is so manifestly lacking, and thus to end a condition of things which otherwise may lead to one of the world's outstanding catastrophes.

Events in India are moving fast. Already the Simon Report is out of date. Its confession that the Commission did not allow itself to be influenced by recent and current events in India is enough to condemn its recommendations. Even the first volume of the Report, which sought to describe existing conditions in India, revealed an astonishing lack of appreciation of the power of the nationalist movement in India, of the quality of Gandhi's leadership, and of the constructive work that Gandhi and the movement he has sought to lead, have attempted. Thus a good deal of filling in was needed in order to give the people of this country a true picture of the present situation in India.

In the space of 200 pages Fenner Brockway accomplishes this task exceedingly well. His book is correctly titled: it is an attempt to select all the more important features of the struggle, to get behind the barrage of ignorance that exists, to the actual facts and to place in their proper perspective the momentous events of the last few months.

Great care and restraint have been exercised in writing this account. The facts are fairly stated, and although the author feels strongly upon his subject, he has avoided the temptation to exaggerate. Naturally, the book is written from the standpoint of a Socialist, which means that points are brought out and emphasized which an anti-socialist, for example, would be tempted either to ignore or belittle. The earlier chapters of the book deal briefly with the history of the British occupation and

* *The Indian Crisis* by A. Fenner Brockway, M. P. Victor Gollancz Ltd. 2-6d net.

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of the movement for political freedom on the part of the Indian people. Considerable space is devoted to Gandhi, to his great work for India, his philosophy, his leadership and his influence. All the crucial stages in the nationalist movement during the last few years are described, so that from these chapters it is possible to get a clear conception of the Home Rule movement and to appreciate the recent decisions of Gandhi and the other Congress leaders with reference to the Civil Disobedience campaign and the Round Table Conference.

As this book describes the Indian situation right up to the present moment, it is safe to say that it is the best armoury of facts available. It is also attractively written. The general social conditions are carefully described, and are supported by the latest statistics. An account of British financial interests in India, accompanied by statements from ancient documents as to our purpose in that country, leave one in no doubt as to that purpose to-day.

But I imagine that it will be in that section of the book which deals with Gandhi and his influence and the present Civil Disobedience campaign, which will most interest the majority of readers. In these pages is described the effect of one of the greatest personalities, and one of the outstanding movements, of all time. I think it is true to say that no man who has ever lived has so profoundly influenced the lives and conduct of so large a number of people during his own lifetime as has Mahatma Gandhi. Not one per cent of the people of this country have more than the vaguest knowledge of Gandhi's influence in India, and of what the Indian people have done along the lines of non-violence since Gandhi started the present Civil Disobedience campaign last March. Nor will any one after learning that story, feel inclined to deny that a people who can do what the Indian people have done during those troubled months will ere long, no matter what we say or do, win complete political freedom.

Here lies our responsibility. A Labour Government is in office. Its sympathy with the Indian movement is undoubted, but it is in a minority and fears a general election on the Indian issue. But is that fear reasonable? I am inclined to doubt it. What I think is needed is a broadcasting of the facts of the situation throughout the country. The sinister figure in British politics on this issue is Mr. Lloyd George, but I sincerely doubt, were the facts known, whether the bulk of the Liberal Party would follow their leader on this issue. But apart from tactics there is is the question of principle, and in view of the decisions of Labour Party Conferences the Party has to consider how long it is prepared to tolerate the present state of affairs in India. Fenner Brockway helps to decide that question.

WILFRED WELLOCK

—

The National Flag of India

In connection with the report that *Gairika* instead of white, has been adopted as one of the colours of the national flag by a Panjab Congress Committee, it might not be irrelevant and absolutely without interest to recall the following letter published in *The Young India* and quoted in *The Modern Review* for January, 1925. In our note also we supported the claim of *Gairika* :

We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great symbol of self-respect, a national flag. Our Swaraj colours are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given of these colours. One popularly accepted is that red represents Christianity, white Hinduism, and green Islam. It has also been suggested that red stands for Hinduism, and white for religions and cultures of India other than Hindu and Moslem.

We beg to approach you with a suggestion about the proper colour to represent Hindu or Indo-Aryan culture and religion. We suggest the ochre colour (Gairika, Geru or Gerua). It is the colour of *sannyasa*, of *tyaga*, of *ahimsa*, the highest ideal of our Indian civilization. It is the colour of most Hindu sects—Brahmanical, Buddhistic, Sikh. Shivaji's flag, the Bhagwa Jhanda, was the *Gairika Uttariya* of Sri Ramadasa. Rabindranath in many a magnificent poem has sung of Gairika Uttariya of Bharata, who is the great *Tapasa*, the great Ascetic. We suggest that in India's national flag, the Gairika of the Brahmachari and the Rishi, of the Bhikshu and of the Yati, of the Sadhu and the Vairagi, and also of the Indian Darwesh and Pir, be given its proper place.

Red is a colour we do not usually associate with Hinduism. In Bengal and elsewhere, red is used by certain Hindu sects, the Saktas specially. The red Java flower and red sandal paste are sacred to Kali and red silk garments are worn in Sakta ritual. Red or saffron is the colour of war with Hindus. It does not strike the Hindu note of *ahimsa*.

White, again, is not specially associated with Hinduism. Further, red, white and green are already the national colours of some other countries, Italy and Portugal for instance.

Could we not have red, ochre and green for our "Hindusthan-ka-tiranga jhanda" the tri-colour banner of India ? If the colours do not harmonize, we could have ochre white and green, ochre for Hinduism, green for Islam, and white for other faiths and

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cultures of India. Or we can have a "Chauranga Jhanda"—red, white, ochre, and green?

We respectfully request you, revered Mahatmaji, and also other leaders of the country to give your opinion on this suggestion of ours, and if you think fit, the matter may be brought before the coming Congress at Belgaum, for discussion and final acceptance. Opinion from Hindus and others who have brought about this question is respectfully invited.

Yours Most Respectfully,
Dwijendra Nath Tagore
Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya
Suniti Kumar Chatterji
Kalidas Nag
Nepal Chandra Roy
Bhim Rao Shastri
J. J. Vakil
Prem Sundar Bose
Marichi
N. Aiyaswami.

—

Two Non-official Enquiries

We have received the reports of two non-official enquiries into certain happenings in the Midnapore district of Bengal, where there is a great deal of civil disobedience going on at the present time. Reports either official or non-official are not infallible; but when grave allegations are made, the Government, in order to escape condemnation, should look into the truth of such allegations and do justice to the injured side and punish the offenders suitably. We have been informed that these reports have been submitted to the Viceroy of India as well as to the Governor of Bengal. We expect the Government to take necessary steps in this connection.

The first report deals with "Complaints about several cases of severe assault and some deaths at the village of Chorepalia (Police Station, Egra—Sub-division, Contai) in the District of Midnapore said to be due to the action of the Police." The Members of the Committee signing the report are no lesser men than

Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C. (Member, Round Table Conference.)
Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Bar-at-Law
Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, Lecturer, University of Calcutta.

The report deals with what is alleged to have happened on the 7th September, 1930, in the village of Chorepalia when, the report says, a certain number of villagers who had come on deputation to the Circle Officer regarding payment of Chowkidari tax were charged with *lathis* by the Police and dispersed. In the course of the charge many villagers were driven into a tank with *lathi* blows. As a result many were severely injured and some got drowned. Five dead bodies which were recovered the next day from the tank bore marks of *lathi* blows on their heads. These bodies were, it is alleged, disposed of without any *post mortem* examination. The signatories of the report say in conclusion:

"The incident at Chorepalia showed not only disregard for human life, a defiance of law and necessary legal requirements, but also the incompetence and perverseness of those concerned. It was an incident that would have called for drastic action in any civilized country."

As ours is a civilized country and our rulers members of a civilized race, we hope drastic action will be taken, after the contents of the report have been verified.

The second report is called the Tamluk Enquiry Report and is signed by

Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., Member Round Table Conference
Mr. P. Banerji, M. L. C.
Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Bar-at-Law
Mr. P. R. Sen, Lecturer, Calcutta University

The members of the Committee say they visited Tamluk Sub-division and examined 34 witnesses from 15 villages at the village of Gokulnagar on the 30th August 1930 and 32 witnesses from different villages at the village of Narikeldaha on the evening of the same day. Many of the witnesses, says the report, had no connection with the Civil Disobedience movement, but, yet complained of assault and damage to property. Generally speaking, the Report summarizes the allegations made by the first group of witnesses under the following heads:

(a) Burning of houses, granaries, straw-stacks and jute-stacks.
(b) Destruction of household property.
(c) Removal of household property.
(d) Personal assaults, sometimes severe, leaving marks.
(e) Detention, without charge or justification.

The allegations made by the second group of witnesses are summarized in the report as follows:

(a) Assaults and personal violence which were unprovoked and were in many cases severe.
(b) Destruction or damage to furniture, household articles and stock-in-trade of householders and trades-people breaking open or safe boxes.
(c) Desecration and destruction of a sacred Hindu image inside a room set apart for worship.
(d) Removal of ornaments and property. Forcible and unauthorized use of food-stuffs belonging to householders.
(e) Damage to buildings.

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(f) Destruction of papers of a Co-operative Bank.

(g) Forcible use and occupation of private houses, sometimes for many days, excluding the owners and without their consent, and use without payment, of food-stuffs belonging to owners.

(h) Dentention without charge or trial.

(i) Obtaining execution of documents by coercion, the coercion in one case taking the shape of forcibly keeping a man in police custody from 1 P. M. to 1 A.M., when he was released on signing a bond.

In conclusion, the members of the committee of enquiry say :

Such acts have been driving discontent deep and are creating an abiding sense of wrong in the minds of the people.

If the allegations made in the report are true the Government should at once remove from their office, those responsible for such outrages as well as severely punish all such public servants as are found guilty of wanton oppression and brutality.

—

When Brass-hats Speak Out

On October 14, some distinguished British soldiers with long Indian experience met at the East Indian Association, London, to discuss the military problems of India, and came to the almost foregone conclusion that they were insoluble, unless, of course, they were left entirely in the hands of the British authorities for them to tackle the questions at their leisure and in their own way. Every speaker came forward with his own original discovery regarding the difficulties of the task but they all converged on the broad and depthless ocean of Indian military imbecility. Racial feuds, communal feuds, martial races, non-martial races, Frontier defence, the Afghan bogey, want of military experience in Indians, lack of trained Indian officers, 3,200 British officers of the Indian Army, their threat to leave the army if the nigger was placed over their head—all these harrowing details were duly noted and dwelt upon. And if to a layman it might for a moment seem that there was a certain amount of staleness in this interminable Indo-military eloquence, it was more than compensated for by an extra loudness of emphasis

Now, it must not be thought for a moment, as Indians might naturally be tempted to believe, that these eminent brass-hats were trying to convert a lie into a truth by merely shouting it from the housetops. No, they are all honourable men. Only, they are so hopelessly muddle-headed.

That may sound rather extreme but it is literally true. To give one single, and not wholly uninteresting, example. In 1907 Captain Philip Dumas, Naval Attaché at Berlin wrote in a solemn secret and confidential despatch to the Foreign Office (he was only a naval captain to be sure, but I don't think the Navy would agree to be called the stupider of the two services) :

"Finally it is clear to the poorest observer that the martial or military spirit is passing from the mass of the [German] nation; and whereas, in earlier days, though unable to lead, he rather desired to be led, now he wants to be able to pursue his trade in peace,.....

"If this be allowed to develop (and the present great prosperity, the Social Democratic propaganda, and the desires for luxury provided by universal education is helping it forward by leaps and bounds), the Germans will not, I think, be found a nation to fear in twenty years' time."

This, exactly seven years and a half before the outbreak of the great war !

It wasn't for nothing that the wise but cynical Marquis of Salisbury wrote to Lord Lytton whose viceregal panic over the Russian bogey had caused him a good deal of amusement :

"You listen too much to the soldiers. No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by experience of life as that you should never trust experts. If you believe the doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the soldiers nothing is safe. They all require to have their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of common sense."

—

The Sorrows of "Mauser"

In the case of India this scepticism suggested by common sense must be doubled and redoubled. Wish is father to the thought. And there is no British official, military or civil, in India, who would not wish India's difficulties hundred times worse than they really are. There are, besides, this year's unexpected and almost unbelievable incidents to render the bitter pill bitterer. Who could have foreseen that after having pacified the frontier and made Pathan raids as much a thing of the past as the border raids across the Cheviot and the Tweed by years of hard fighting and patient administration, after having made the Indian believe that the Pathan was his natural enemy and the Pathan that the plain-dwelling Indian was his, by years of suave pursuasion, after all this,—oh ! the maddening exasperation of it all !—who

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could have believed that the whole frontier would become ablaze from one end to the other at what they believe a signal from the "scheming, cowardly Hindus who seek, at the bidding of their Soviet-inspired Brahmins, to take India from the British !!!"

These are the words of an [obviously distinguished] British military officer who contributes a highly edifying article on the frontier troubles to the London *Graphic* and condescends also to hide his English manhood under the German pseudonym of "Mauser." Why drag in the superannuated German ? His days of brag and sabre-rattling are over. The spirit of the times would have been less offended had this warrior journalist called himself "Lee-Enfield." But all this is irrelevant.

"The radical difference," writes this Lee-Enfield in Mauser's clothing, "in the outlook of the two points of view [that of the scheming, cowardly, word-mongering Hindu and the simple virile clansman of the N-W. Frontier] can never make them friends: but, for the moment, and through that same devilish Soviet cleverness which puzzles us even while it defeats us, the interests of manly Moslem and degenerate Hindu seem to jump together.

The breach which the Brahmins have driven in the defences of our morale has become the Pathan opportunity. The Hindu gives the signal: the tribes surge out from their crags and all but hold us to ransom. Oil and vinegar have mixed, at last, to the brewing of such a salad....

".. The Pathan is in all primitive essential a gentleman, and has no truck with the shoutings of Demos. For him the firm hand, the personal rule, and a clear level-eyed love for the strong man who rules him. 'Uplift' is not for him.

".. He may or, again, he may not prove to be the final and successful expression of the Soviet plot against India, and the royal catspaw of a baser hand. But of all the venomous and unforgettable things which I, for one, mark up against Soviet Russia is that it should have muddied the clear stream of border virility and set the frontier tribesman to be bedfellow with the Brahmin.

"For this single crime against human decency, if for nothing else, the Russian has earned the nethermost rung of the pit."

The English are known to be a strong, silent breed, reticent about their emotions. But when they *do* take it into their head to wear their hearts on their sleeves and let it go, they do it with such completeness and such self-forgetting gusto that even a Brahmin, for the sake of the entertainment provided, will not find it impossible in his heart to forgive the poor demented wretch his hysteria and his atrocious manners. And as for the pride of the twice-born let the man say what he may, for he bites against granite.

—

Amenities at the Round Table

Whatever one may think of the other aspects of the Round Table Conference, everybody will be agreed that the manners at the Round Table has changed a great deal since King Arthur's days. The latest instance is given in a Free Press Beam Service message, which was delayed by the Telegraph Department for some unexplained reason. It runs as follows:

Many of the delegates were invited to witness a special Air Force display at which the Imperial Conference delegates were also asked to be present.

The Indian delegates accepted the invitation and proceeded to Croydon, but on arrival at the aerodrome were relegated to a corner for two hours. They were kept apart, exposed to the cold and biting winds without any seating arrangements, while the representatives from the Dominions were accorded an official reception at which the Premier himself was present.

The Indian delegates strongly resented this discrimination in treatment and left the aerodrome in a body as a protest before the display even commenced.

More circumstantial details are given in a report of the *Hindu* of Madras:

For the Indians, there was no food, no rooms and no reception. Sandwiches were hastily procured and eaten "like crows on a roof" and, while so engaged, the Indians had a glorious glimpse of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who walked by noticing the Government's guests.

The climax of the treatment was provided by an official who asked Mr. Tambe if anyone spoke English !

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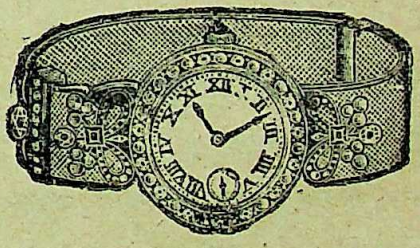
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विश्व कवि श्री रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुरका

बिलकुल नया उपन्यास

छप गया ! **'कुमुदिनी'** छप गया !!

खूब बढ़िया मोटे एन्टिक काग़ज़पर और सुन्दर टाइपमें छपी हुई "कुमुदिनी" की सुन्दर सुनहरी ज़िल्द जिस समय आप हाथमें लेंगे, उस वक्त सहसा आपके मुंहसे निकल पड़ेगा—"ओफ़्फोह !"—"बड़ी सुन्दर है !" उपन्यासके भीतरी भागकी तारीफ़ करना व्यर्थ हैं ! जिन्होंने एक बार भी रवीन्द्रनाथका कोई उपन्यास या कहानी पढ़ी होगी, उन्हें समझानेकी ज़रूरत नहीं कि 'इसमें क्या है।'

कविवरने स्वयं कहा है—

"इसमें मधुसूदन और कुमुदिनीका आध्यात्मिक असवर्ण विवाह हुआ है।" "कुमुदिनी" में दो भिन्न हृदय और भिन्न प्रकृतिके स्त्री-पुरुषोंका विवाह सम्बन्ध और उनका दाम्पत्य-जीवन प्रदर्शित किया गया है। अनुवादक, धन्यकुमार जैन पृष्ठ ४००। जिल्द सुन्दर और मजबूत। मूल्य ३) तीन रुपया।

'भेड़ियाधसान'

हास्यरसाचार्य परशुराम-रचित

अनुवादक—धन्यकुमार जैन

हिन्दीमें यह एक अनोखी पुस्तक है, जिसमें आप ऊँचे दर्जेका हास्यरस पायेंगे। हँसते-हँसते लोट-पोट हो जायँगे। बढ़िया एन्टिक काग़ज़पर सुन्दर टाइपमें छपी हुई, लगभग २०० पृष्ठ और ३५ व्यंग्य-चित्रोंसे सुसज्जित सुन्दर ज़िल्द !! मूल्य सिर्फ १॥) रु०, पो० ।)

'गल्पगुच्छ'

पहला भाग

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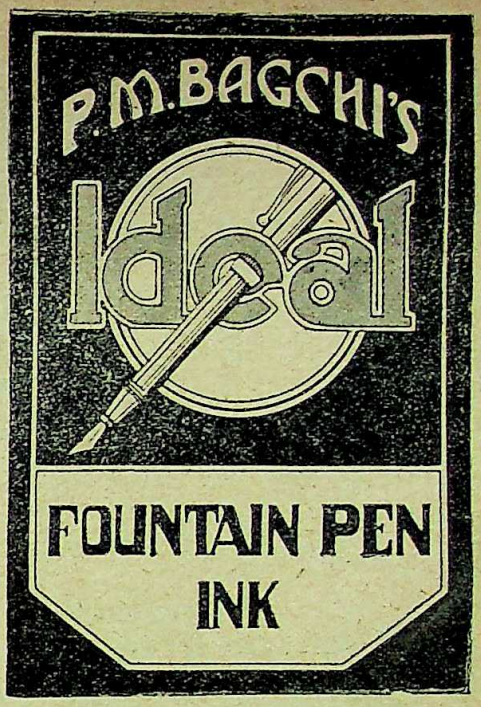
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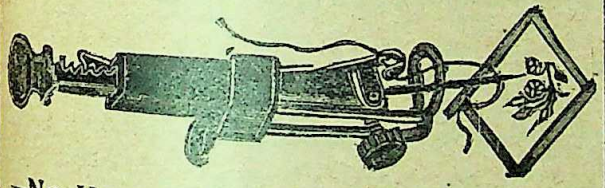
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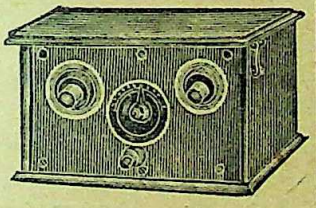
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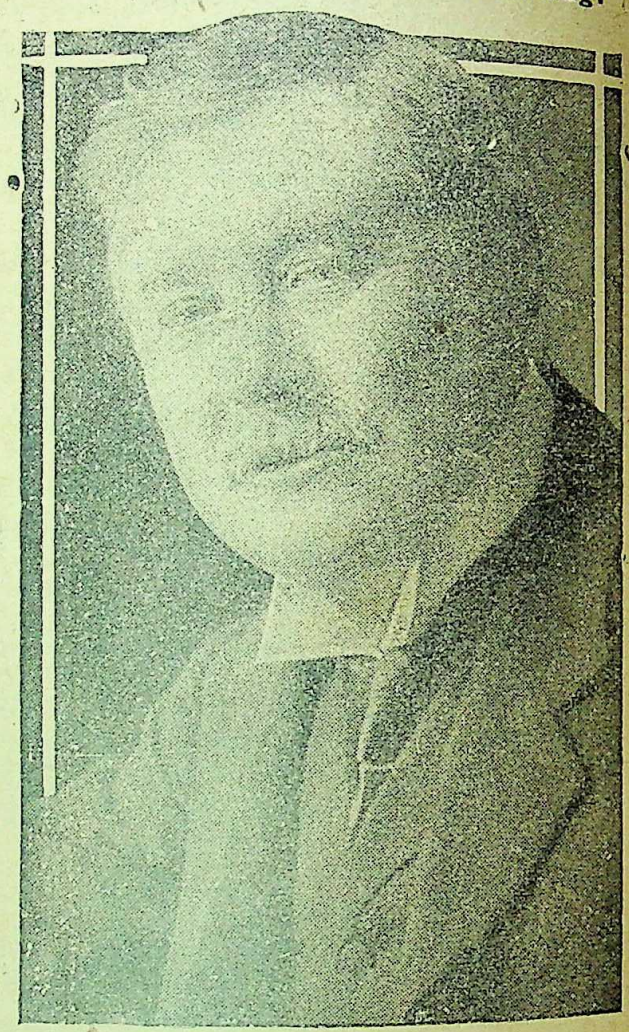
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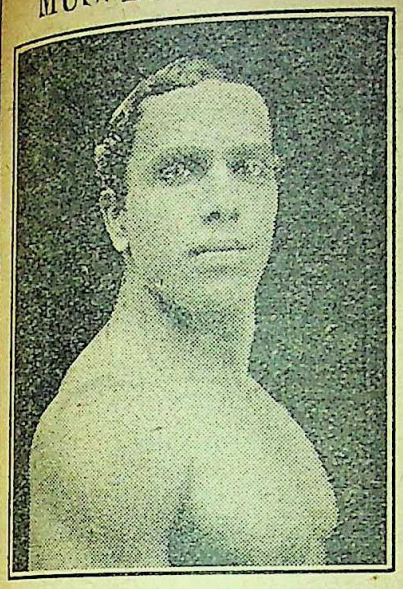
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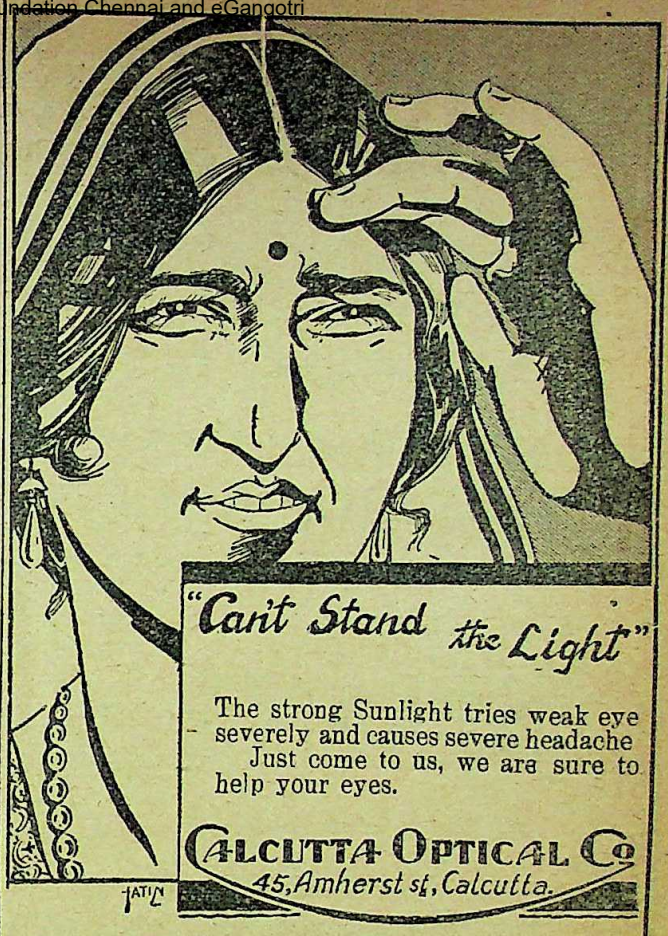
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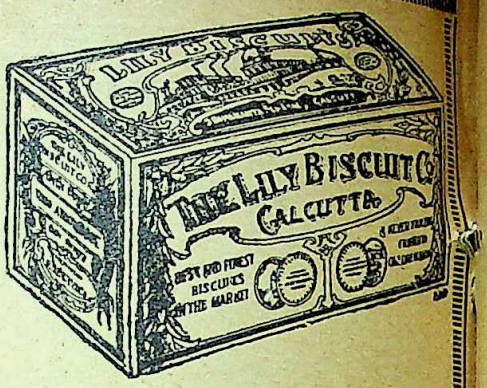


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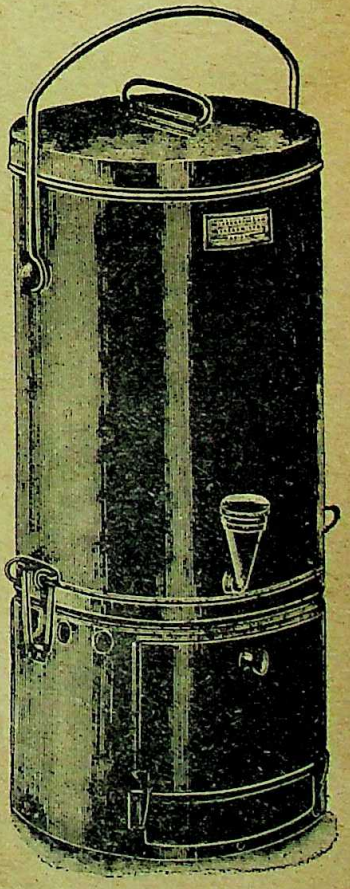
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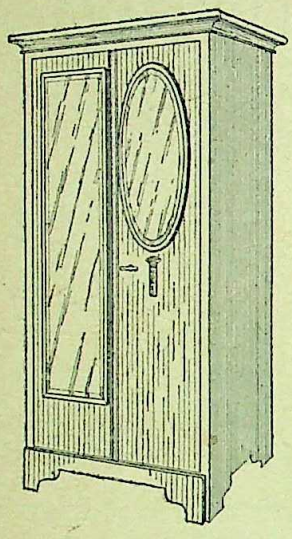
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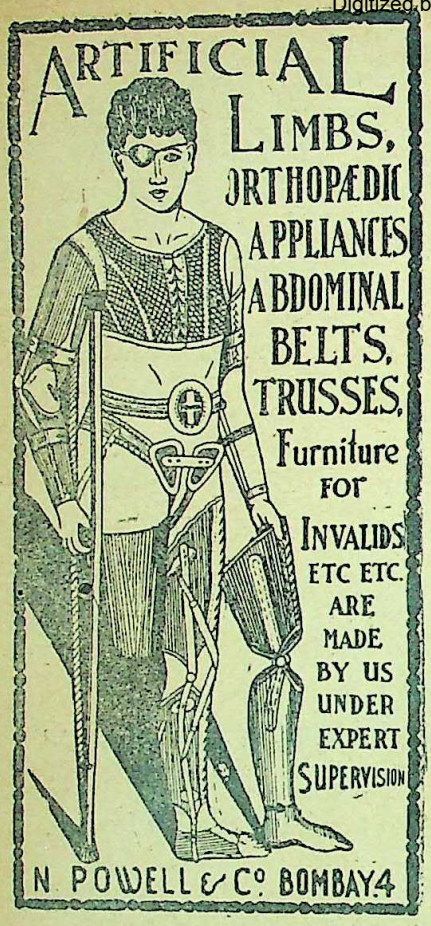
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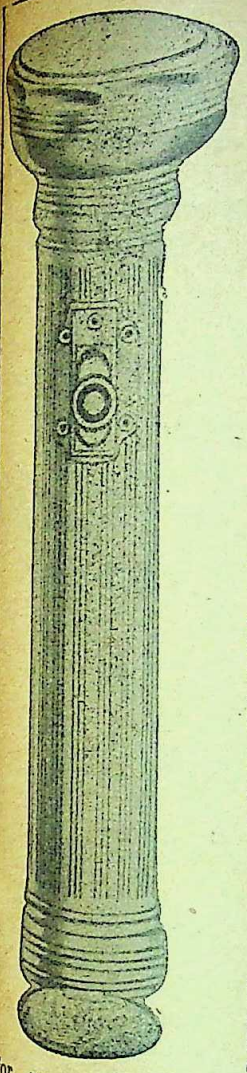
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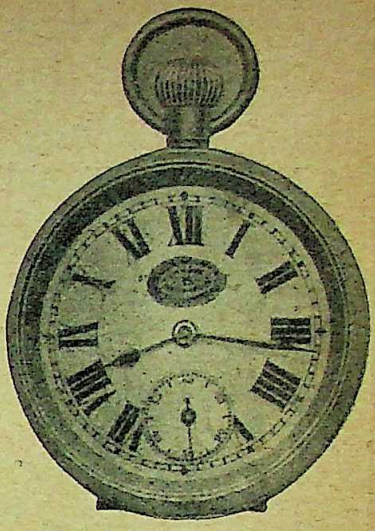
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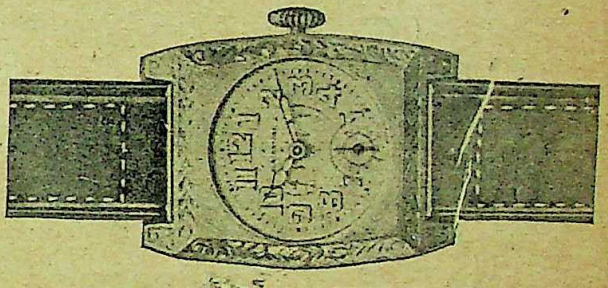
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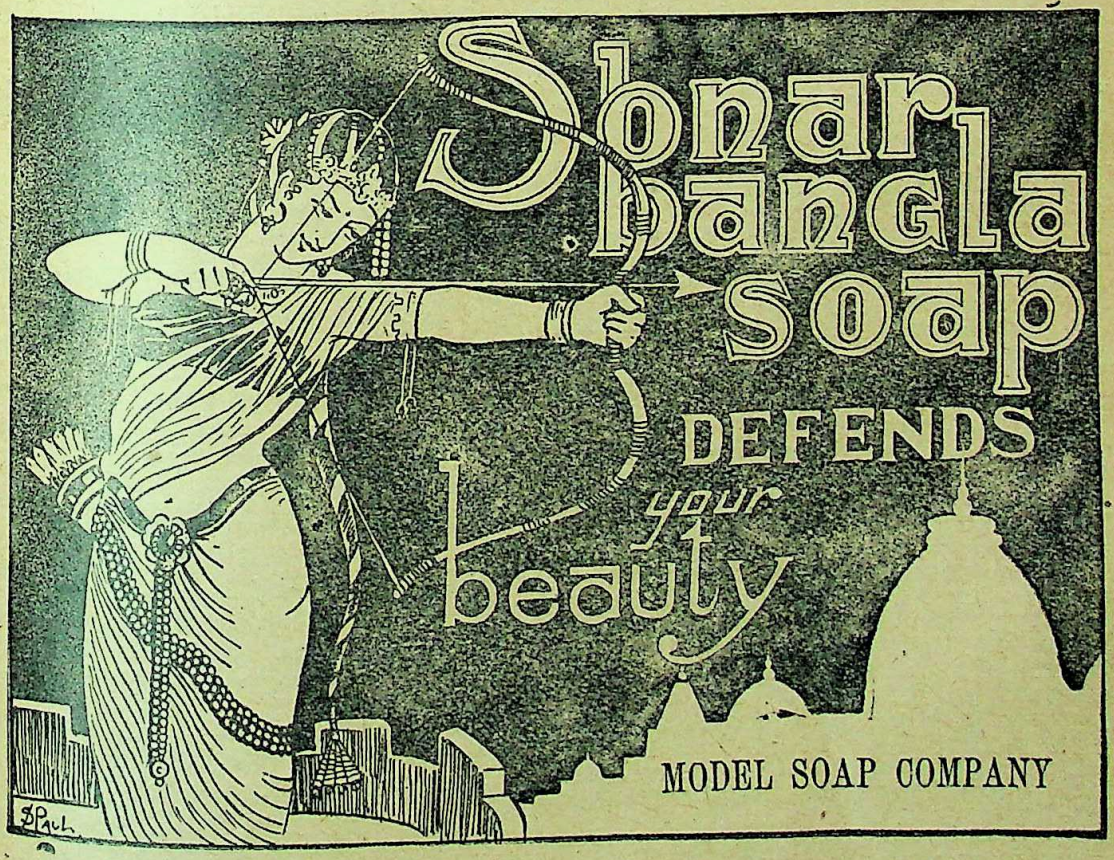
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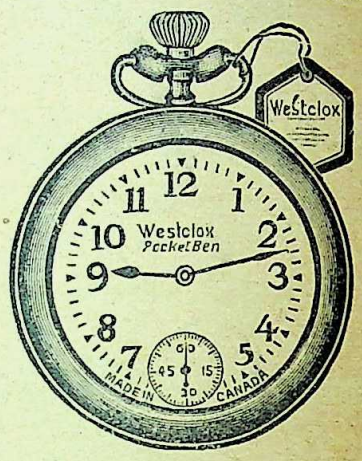
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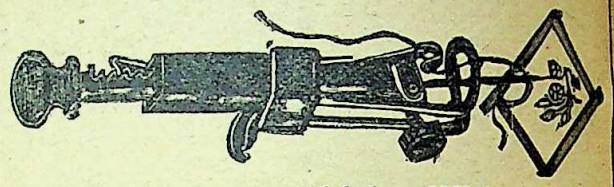
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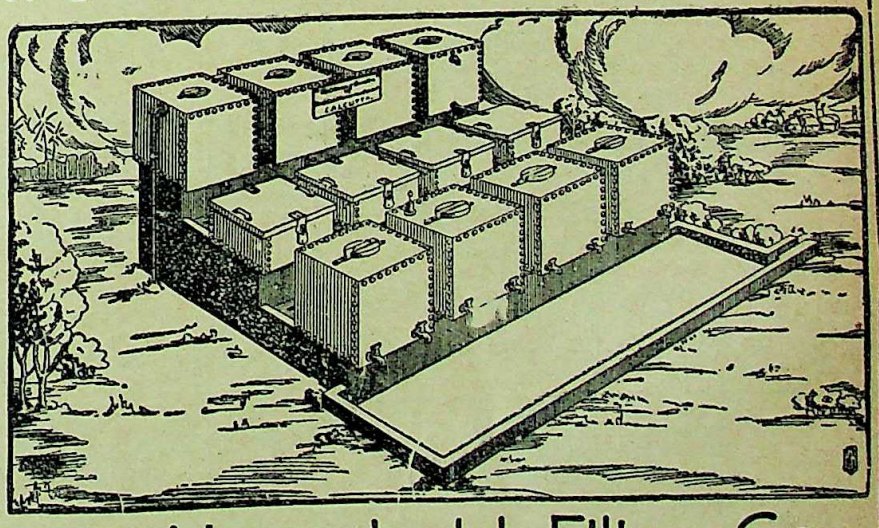
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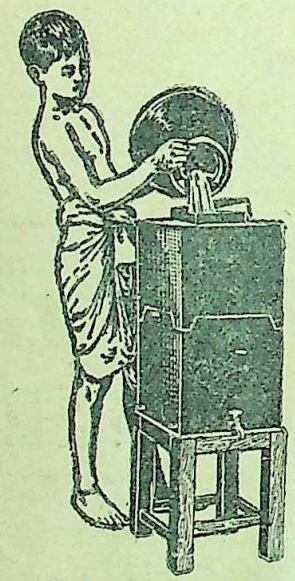
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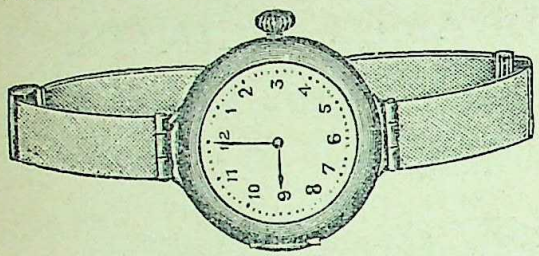
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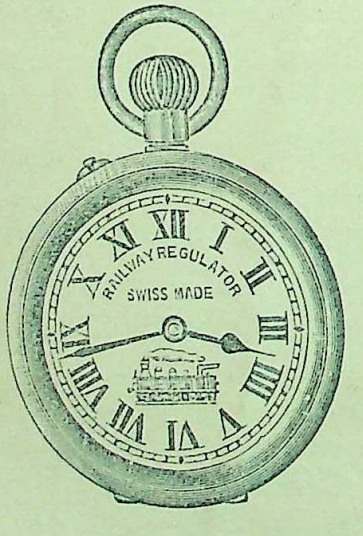
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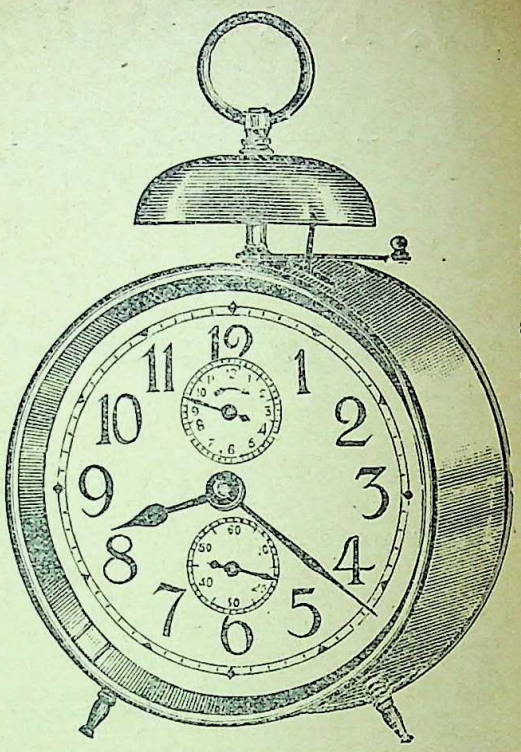
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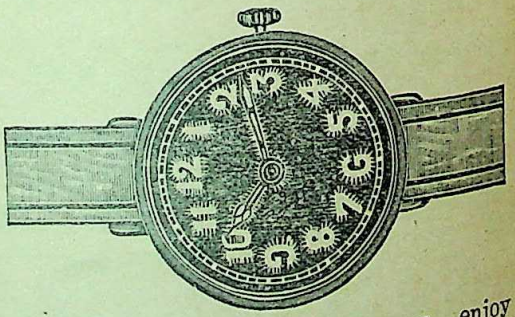


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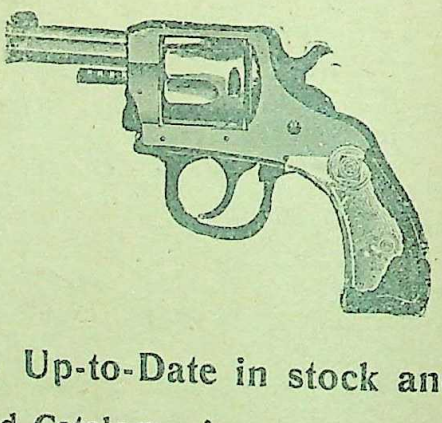
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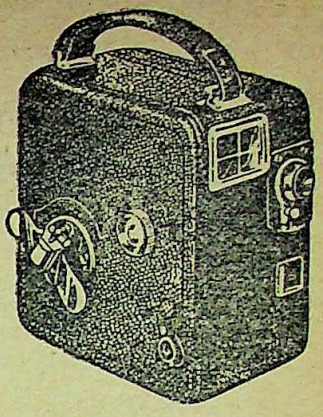
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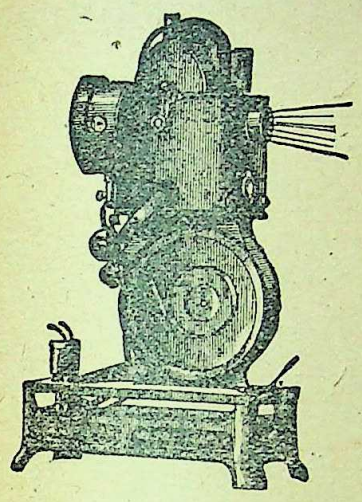
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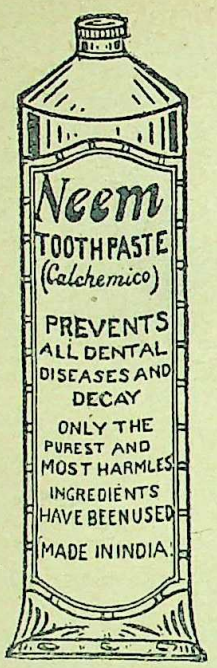
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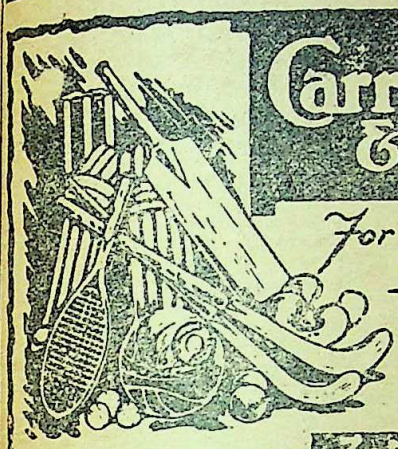
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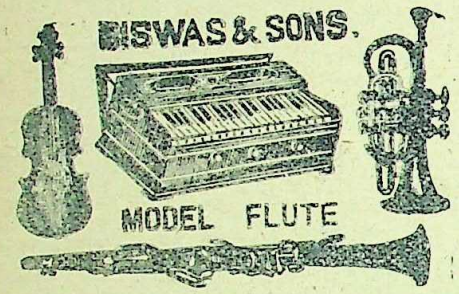
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII NO. 6 | DECEMBER, 1930 | WHOLE NO. 288

My Pictures

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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WHEN, at the age of five, I was compelled to learn and to repeat the lessons from my text-book I had the notion that literature had its mysterious manifestation on the printed pages, that it represented some supernatural tyranny of an immaculate perfection. Such a despairing feeling of awe was dissipated from my mind when by chance I discovered in my own person that verse making was not beyond the range of an untrained mind and tottering handwriting. Since then my sole medium of expression has been words, followed at sixteen by music, which also came to me as a surprise.

In the meanwhile the modern art movement following the line of the oriental tradition was started by my nephew Abanindranath. I watched his activities with an envious mood of self-diffidence, being thoroughly convinced that my fate had refused me passport across the strict boundaries of letters.

But one thing which is common to all arts is the principle of rhythm which transforms inert materials into living creations. My instinct for it and my training in its use led me to know that lines and colours in art are no carriers of information, they seek their rhythmic incarnation in pictures. Their ultimate purpose is not to illustrate or to copy some outer fact or inner vision, but to evolve a harmonious wholeness which finds its passage through our eyesight into our imagination. It neither questions our mind for meaning nor burdens it with unmeaningness, for it is, above all, meaning.

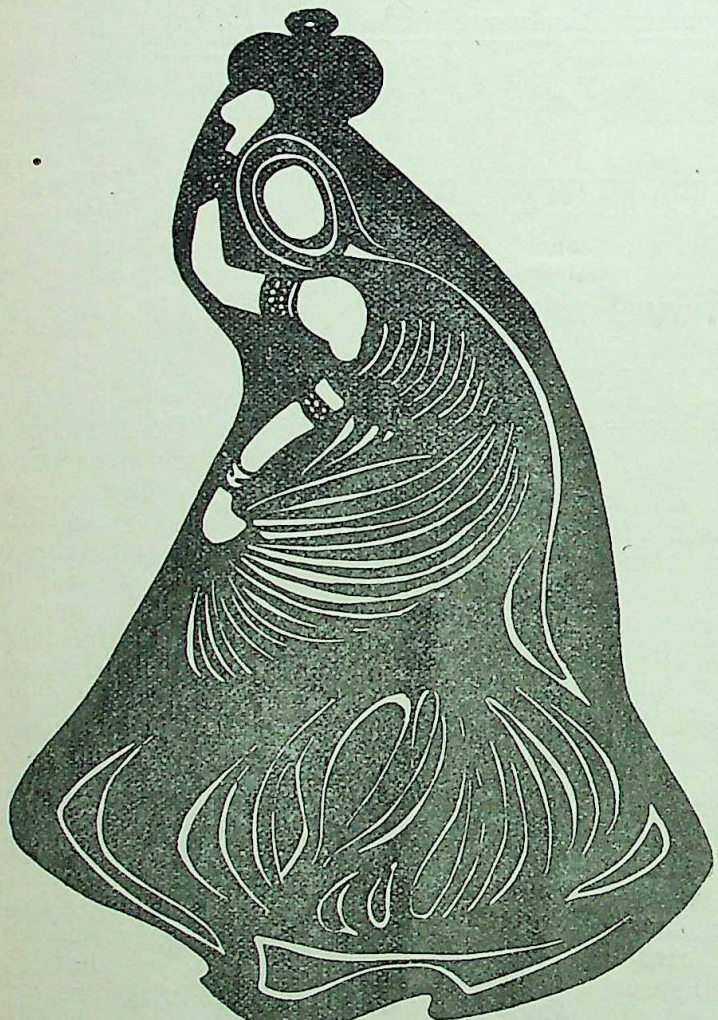
Desultory lines obstruct the freedom of our vision with the inertia of their irrelevance. They do not move with the great march of all things. They have no justification to exist and therefore they rouse up against them their surroundings, they perpetually disturb peace. For this reason the scattered scratches and corrections in my manuscripts cause me annoyance. They represent regrettable mischance, like a gapingly foolish crowd stuck in a wrong place undecided as to how or where to move on. But if the spirit of a dance is inspired in the heart of that crowd the unrelated many would find a perfect unity and be relieved of its hesitation between to be and not to be. I try to make my corrections dance, connect them in a rhythmic relationship and transform accumulation into adornment.

This has been my unconscious training in drawing. I find disinterested pleasure in this work of reclamation, often giving to it more time and care than to my immediate duty in literature that has the sole claim upon my attention, often aspiring to a

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permanent recognition from the world. It interests me deeply to watch how lines find their life and character as their connection with each other develops in varied cadences and how they begin to speak in gesticulations. I can imagine the universe to be a universe of lines which in their movements and combinations pass on their signals of existence along the interminable chain of moments. The rocks and clouds, the trees, the water-falls, the dance of the fiery orbs, the endless procession of life send up across silent eternity and limitless space a symphony of gestures with which mingles the dumb wail of lines that are widowed gypsies roaming about for a chance union of fulfilment.



One of the Earliest Drawings of Rabindranath Tagore

In the manuscript of creation there occur erring lines and erasures, solitary incongruities, standing against the world principle of beauty and balance, carrying perpetual condemnation. They offer problems and therefore material to the *Visvakarma*, the Great Artist, for they are the sinners whose obstreperous individualism has to be modulated into a new variation of universal concord.

And this was my experience with the casualties in my manuscripts, when the vagaries of the ostracized mistakes had their conversion into a rhythmic inter-relationship, giving birth to unique forms and characters. Some assumed the temperate exaggeration of a probable animal that had unaccountably missed its chance of existence, some a bird that only can soar in our dreams and find its nest in some hospitable lines that we may offer it in our canvas. Some lines showed anger, some placid benevolence, through some lines ran an essential laughter that refused to apply for its credential to the shape of a mouth which is a mere accident. These lines often expressed passions that were abstract, evolved characters that hung upon subtle suggestions. Though I did not know whether such unclassified apparitions of non-deliberate origin could claim their place in decent art they gave me intense satisfaction and very often made me neglect my important works. In connection with this came to my mind the analogy of music's declaration of independence. There can be no question that originally melody accompanied words giving interpretation to the sentiments contained in them. But music threw off this bond of subservience and represented moods abstracted from words, and characters that were indefinite. In fact, this liberated music does not acknowledge that feelings which can be expressed in words are essential for its purpose, though they may have their secondary place in musical structure. This right of independence has given music its greatness, and I suspect that evolution of pictorial and plastic art develops on this line, aiming to be freed from an absolute alliance with natural facts or incidents.

However, I need not formulate any doctrine of art but be contented by simply

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saying that in my case my pictures did not have their origin in trained discipline, in tradition and deliberate attempt at illustration, but in my instinct for rhythm, my pleasure in harmonious combination of lines and colours.

LONDON
JULY 2, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore in Russia

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September 11th, 1930

Dr Tagore arrived in Moscow accompanied by Mr. Ariam, Mr. A. C. Chakravarty, Dr. Harry Timbres, his grand-nephew Saumyendranath Tagore, Miss Margaret Einstein and Mr. Marianov.

The Poet was received at the White-Russian Baltic Station by representatives of the U.S.S.R.-Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (D. Novomirsky, Chief, Anglo-American Section; A. Eshukoff, Chief, Exhibition Department and M. Dobin, Chief, Foreign Reception Bureau), and by members of the Moscow Writers Association (the author Alexiev, the eminent constructivist poetess Vera Imer and others).

September 12th, 12 A. M.

Reception at VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations) by Prof. F. N. Petroff, President of Society.

MOSCOW
September 12, 1930. Morning.
VOKS-OFFICE.

Petroff: Please excuse me for my inability to speak your language. I am glad to welcome you to our country. It is a great inspiration to us that you take such interest in our new order of civilization in the Soviet Union.

Tagore: I thank you for your cordial welcome. I know you are making a tremendous experiment in this country—I am not in a position to give any considered opinion about it, but I cannot help expressing my admiration for your courage, for your keen enthusiasm to build up your social structure on an equitable basis of human freedom. It is wonderful to feel that you are concerned not merely with your national interests but with the good of humanity as a whole.

Petroff: This rebuilding of society on a basis of eqality is an inevitable consequence of the abundance of tribes and castes in Russia. We have had to deal with this baffling problem of differences all along in our history, and we have suffered vitally thereby. The attempt to realize the externality of our differences in the light of a common need, a common urge of civilization, imparts untold enthusiasm to all our workers, and we do believe we shall offer definite solutions to many of the contending problems which have troubled humanity all along.

Tagore: By offering education to vast multitudes of your people who were kept imprisoned in the darkness of ignorance, to those millions of human beings who never got any chance to realize their humanity, and had to yield to exploitation and oppression in order to preserve their precarious existence, you have made an invaluable contribution to human progress. You are creating a new world of humanity and, for the first time in history, acknowledging the dignity of man in your scheme of practical work.

Petroff: We believe, however, that the spread of mass education can only be possible under suitable economic conditions. It is because we could gain full control of the economic resources of Russia that we have been able to spend so much for education and for various forms of cultural work that have now been introduced for the first time to a vast agricultural public.

Tagore: Yes, no aspect of life is in reality deducted from another. Education is necessarily connected with economic problems.

Petroff: After we have gained economic control, we try first to educate children before they go to the school. We surround them from their very first days with a

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environment of a properly organized social atmosphere, and that itself is the basis and also the superstructure of all education. At the same time, we carry on education among the parents of the children—in this way we hope to develop a new race of men with free and independent personalities co-operating for the mutual good of society as a whole.

Tagore: Don't you believe that much of what you do to-day has behind it the cumulated forces of active reaction against the oppressive regime of the past government? It is wonderful that this reaction should have been translated into higher forms of activity and not been dissipated in mere retaliatory politics. You have, of course, as I am sure you will freely admit, made grievous mistakes at the time of your first accession to power, but the sense of responsibility that this power brought along with it has quickly given you a full sense of reality, and you seem to lose no opportunity now of merging your racial individualities into harmonious social existence. I, as an educationist, am concerned vitally with all the great movements you have initiated for the good of the peasant masses. As you know, our country, like yours, is an agricultural one, and we have amongst our peasantry all the obstacles of ignorance, of bigotry, of superstition that you have already overcome to a great extent with the help of your education. If we can learn from your experiences in this line, we can at once tackle our rural problems in an efficient manner.

Petroff: Our first educational weapon is to launch an intensive campaign in the villages directed to make the peasants conscious of their position, of their inherent rights, which they do not enjoy, of all the possibilities that lie open to them. We are not ashamed to be propagandists; and our propaganda is educative, it is scientific, it is human, it is moral, and carries all the fervour of social service that we are capable of igniting in our minds and hearts.

Whatever we attempt to organize to-day has always the welfare of the people as its direct inspiration. We do not want to enjoy any exclusive privileges at all, because that kind of enjoyment is anti-social and therefore non-human, perhaps even inhuman. All the store-houses of wisdom, of joy, of well-ordered social benefits are open to every one of us, because every one of us has equal human right to them.

Tagore: I have come to study your educational methods, to draw strength from the atmosphere of creative efforts which surrounds you. I have my educational colony in India which is linked up with the surrounding villages, and with meagre means, I and my colleagues there try our best to serve our neighbours, to invite them to our festivals, to supply them with medicine, to demonstrate to them the efficiency of up-to-date methods of agriculture. Whatever you can show me, therefore, of your educational work will be of very great use to me indeed. I wish I had more time and energy to study your work properly, but I shall do all that I can to utilize my visit to your country.

Petroff: Sir, your name is known and loved by the whole country of Russia. We have over twenty-five current editions of your books and a vast public reads them. We shall be only too happy and proud to show you whatever you want to see of our work, and we feel sure you will appreciate our educational activities.

September 12, 8 P. M.

Concert-Evening arranged by VOKS and the Moscow Association of Writers in honour of Rabindranath Tagore, at the Club of the Association.

Some 60 persons were invited to this Evening, it having an exclusive and intimate character. Among the guests were:—Prof. P. S. Kogan (President of the Academy of Arts); Prof. Pinkevitch (Director of the Second Moscow State University); Albert Rhys Williams, the writer, Madame Litvinova and a number of eminent Soviet writers—Ognyev (author of "Diary of Kostya, Ryaptseva," life of a Soviet school-boy, published in Europe and America), Vera Inber, Fedor Gladkov (who wrote the much-talked-of "Cement"); Eseev (poet, a former futurist and close adherent of Vladimir Mayakovsky) and others.

Prof. Petroff opened the Evening with a speech of welcome and was followed by Profs. Kogan and Pinkevitch and by the Soviet author Shaklar, the latter speaking on behalf of the Moscow Writers Association.

In the concert participated the following: Tsiganov, a young talented violinist, 26 years of age, who gave a recital of Gluck, Shubert and some Hungarian national folk-songs. The baritone, Sadomov, sang some Russian folk-songs and a piece from the new Soviet Opera "Son of the Sun." The famous Soviet

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Harp-player, Miss Erdely, who is Artist Emeritus of the Republic, gave a recital of the world-renowned Russian folk-song "Volga" and "Ario" from Faust. Barsova, Artist Emeritus of the Republic (Soprano) and a leading singer at the large Moscow Opera House, sang pieces from different operas. An Ensemble of Eastern singers and dancers exhibited the musical art of the Caucasian Republics. This Ensemble is famous throughout the Soviet Union for their excellent execution of the folk dancing and songs of the Daghestan Republic (the well-known "Lezginka").

Opening Speech of Petrov welcoming Rabindranath Tagore at the Federation of Soviet Writers

12th September, 1930.

Petrov. Representatives of Soviet public life, art and science see among them to-day Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest of living poets and thinkers.

Rabindranath Tagore is one of those men who have followed with the utmost attention and seriousness the great events developing during the last ten years in the history of humanity. It is obvious that one so gifted with spiritual and poetic insight could not have turned over unseeingly the most important page of human history, that page which bears the name of the Great October Revolution.

We, who have taken part in the October Revolution and assisted at the construction of new forms of human culture, extend a warm welcome to one who has come amongst us, as a profound thinker, to study our culture, to study our strivings for the renewal of human society and thus of human personality itself.

Rabindranath Tagore is an active worker on the front of popular education, as well as a poet and a thinker. He is endeavouring, in the pedagogical institution founded by himself in Shantiniketan (near Calcutta), to solve problems regarding the formation of human personality. This branch of work occupies an important place in his activities and makes great demands upon his energy and strength Now he wishes to learn of the endeavours of our country, to understand how in new and revolutionary conditions, the human personality, destined to advance human progress in economic, in social and in cultural conditions which are all new, expands and formulates. Rabindranath Tagore wishes to understand how the human personality can in the conditions of socialist reconstruction, perfect itself and become a veritable creator in the spheres of art, science, and in human progress of every description.

We welcome the visits of friends who come with an open heart and a pure soul to our country to study our structure, to try and understand the aspirations of the masses towards a new human life, a new and free system for the perfection of human nature.

Many are the lies which have been spoken and written about us, and monstrous are the rumours industriously spread abroad. There are those who say that culture is retrogressive in our country, and others that culture has perished already; in Soviet Russia it is also said that the Bolsheviks, after accomplishing the greatest revolution in the world and advancing new ideals, have been unable to cope with the problems thence arising, and have been unable to substitute that which they have destroyed with something else of equal value.

We have only one answer to all this: come and see for yourself, and meditate upon what we are doing, try to understand our aspirations, study our achievements not only in the spheres of economics, or construction, of industry and agriculture—but our achievements in the solution of the most subtle problems of human creation in the spheres of pedagogics, of art, of poetry and of the science of social life.

Realize the special feature introduced into this creative work when the collective, the masses, the emancipated people came forward to replace the isolated aspirations of the individual, with the whole collective force of goodwill of their national creative powers.

Our Soviet culture is of interest at the present stage of revolutionary creation inasmuch as, emancipating both materially and spiritually the many races inhabiting the U.S.S.R. it has enabled the million-strong masses of the backward peoples, as well as the toilers of Russian extraction, to apply their powers and their energy to the progress of all humanity, and these backward peoples are now taking the most active part in that historical movement which we, in our country, call socialistic construction. Anyone who has seen the Usbek theatre and heard Turkmen music, anyone acquainted with the creative manifestations of our Caucasian peoples, and

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with the achievements in art and science in the Ukraine, must realize that the problems of mass culture are solved in our country, not by one, but by many nationalities, by the numerous races in the U.S.S.R. who are progressing, in their own national forms, towards common aims, towards the creation of an international, free proletarian culture. This in itself is bound to make an impression upon all peoples aspiring towards liberation. All the peoples and races beyond the territory of the U.S.S.R. are following with profound attention and interest the way in which the U.S.S.R. peoples, liberated from the Tsarist regime and the yoke of a religious police system, and proceeding towards free creative work in new, in socialist economic conditions, are living and carrying out their affairs.

We believe that our friend, Rabindranath Tagore, who has come to visit us, will approach our intellectual processes and endeavour to understand what is going on in our country, with that serious thoughtfulness which he has shown in all his creative work. We rejoice when a great personality of the contemporary historical moment, such as Tagore, comes to us in true fellowship and speaks with perfect frankness of what he has seen and felt in our Union.

Permit me, in the name of voks, which aims at nothing but demonstrating to the whole world, as impartially, vividly and fairly as possible, all that is going on in our Union, to welcome you; permit me, as a member of the representatives of science and in the name of the representatives of the artistic circles grouped around our Society, to welcome you as a close friend, and to hope that you will understand us and express in fairness and justice your opinion of our construction to the whole world.

Rabindranath Tagore's Reply

Tagore: I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to your country and also to this feast, this evening, when I have the opportunity of meeting with some of the greatest representatives of intellectual life in your country. Unfortunately, I do not understand your language, and the language in which I am speaking is neither yours nor mine. I will therefore be brief. I will not inflict upon you a long speech.

I have come to this country to learn. I want to know how you are solving in your country the great problem, the world problem of civilization. Civilization to-day has taken man far away from his normal humanity. It has torn individual personality away from society. Modern civilization has given birth to an extraordinarily artificial life, it has created disease, evoked specific sufferings, created many anomalies. I do not know what ought to be done to cure modern civilization of its ills. I do not know if the path you have chosen in this country for the solution of this problem is the right one. History will judge the extent to which you have been right. I do not wish to criticize you. I am filled with enthusiasm for the way in which you have, for the first time, afforded to all, opportunities of acquiring education. For this, I would applaud you. I am myself profoundly interested in problems of education. My idea, my dream has been to create free human beings who should be surrounded by an environment of creative work. Under modern civilization the human personality seems to exist in a kind of cage, cut off from the rest of society. In your country you have put an end to this evil. I have heard from many and am beginning myself to be convinced, that your ideas are very much like my own dream, my dream for a full life for the individual, for complete education. In your country you are not only giving the individual scientific education, you are making of him a creative personality. In this way you are realizing the greatest, the highest dream of humanity. For the first time in history you are giving the hidden wealth of the human mind a chance to express itself. I thank you for this from my heart.

I myself have been working in my own way in my own institution, and my idea of education is that it should be in contact with life itself; it should be a part of life. By living a true life one can have proper education and not through the detachment from it which you so often see in the colleges and schools in the civilized world—the brick-built prisons in which children are denied the true goods of life. Through a full normal life only we can have our proper education.

Since I have come to this place I have been able to realize that your ideal of education is very similar to mine, that the people are living a complete life through which their mind is properly prepared to receive their education in all its different aspects, and not merely scientific instructions and informations.

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You have been stimulating the people's minds for creative work, which is the highest privilege of man. I feel thankful for this, because this has ever been my dream. But as an individual it has not been possible for me to give effect to this idea in adequate manner in my own institutions. In this country you have been able to give it a proper form and energy and velocity, and I realize that it will be an immortal gift to humanity from your country—this idea of education for all people.

I can only thank you in these few brief words, and I am still waiting to see in detail something of the work of the education which you are carrying out in your various institutions. Unfortunately, I have very little time to spare and also I cannot forget the fact, every day I am reminded of this fact, that I am no longer young and that I am not strong enough to go through this task which requires a great amount of energy and freshness of mind. Yet I believe I shall be able to see something which I can carry back to my own land in my memory and which will help me in my own work. I offer you my heartiest thanks for giving me this great opportunity to learn from you about your pioneer work in the field of people's education. I know that you will be successful in your effort, that in this lies your immortal service to humanity.

Moscow
September 14th, 1930. 7-30 P. M.

Tagore and his party visited the first Pioneer Commune, Isigansky Ploschad, Chistischsky Pereulok, No. 25, Moscow.

On entering the staircase of the Commune building the Poet was greeted by pioneer songs, the boys and girls standing in line on both sides of the steps joining in the chorus. Amidst joyous exclamations the Poet took his seat in the central hall, and a young Pioneer girl of fourteen addressed to the Poet a message of welcome in English. The children grouped round the Poet, eager to hear from him about his school in India, and to tell him about their own vivid experiences in the Pioneer Commune, which they felt proud to be able to manage and direct entirely by their own efforts.

Dr. Tagore, in answer to their address, said:—

"My friends,

I am deeply touched by the warm welcome you have accorded to me. As I look at your bright young faces full of hope and a glorious future, I feel stirred to my depths and know that the purpose of my visit to Russia is realized. For, believe me. I have come here, not so much to see what you have done and are doing now, which is great, but to visualize the future which you are creating with such fervour for the welfare of the whole of humanity. In every country I visit I want to come in close touch with the young who have the great privilege of looking ahead and of building up with their lives the basis of a new order of civilization. You know I am a poet, and my work is to give expression to living impulses and youthful hopes, and so I can be one with you to-day in your dreams of the future.

Besides this, I can come close to you because I have spent a great part of my life with children. I have my school in Bengal where I live with them, and where I try to bring them up in an atmosphere of complete life. My idea is to provide them with all possible opportunities for the development of a creative life, and I trust them in their free initiative to make the best use of them.

I believe in freedom, in that freedom which naturally takes upon itself responsibilities in order to express adequately the deeper human impulses of love and service. I have given this freedom to the children of my school, and I am interested to know how you young pioneers are using the freedom you possess for the good of your Community and what methods you follow to give expression to the ideals of the new age which you have realized in your country. I hope this evening to know some details about your work and your way of life.

I thank you warmly for your reception, and I assure you that I feel very happy indeed to be here with you this evening."

As soon as the Poet finished, a chorus of voices rose up, several students wanting at once to answer some of the questions raised by the Poet's speech.

One boy: Yes, we believe in the good of the Community, we are Communists, the bourgeoisie want their individual profit but we want that all people should have equal chance to prosper and here in this school we want to live in that spirit.

One girl: Our freedom is in our own hands, not in the hands of elders, therefore we can consult each other and find out what are the best things all of us want to have.

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Another boy: I will explain it this way. We pioneers try to show in this school in a small way how the whole country can prosper by not listening to the powerful and the few autocrats at the top, but by following their own friendly wishes. Here we can make mistakes and then if we want we can ask for help and advice of those who are older than us, but we try first to do everything ourselves. The younger boys and girls amongst us can consult, if they like, the older boys and girls, and they in their turn can approach those of a higher group and so on, till we reach the teachers. Our country has a similar ideal, and we are pioneers to prove the efficiency of this method, which we naturally work out very satisfactorily here, because we are real pioneers of a Commune.

Girl X: We have no punishments because we punish ourselves and then punishment becomes something else—nobody minds it.

Tagore: I want to know more in detail about it. Supposing some one of you has done something wrong, what do you do to make him understand the nature of his offence, and to check his making a similar offence in future. Do you call a special meeting to try the offender, and do you appoint judges from amongst yourselves to conduct the trial? If you find the person guilty of the offence attributed to him, do you inflict any punishment upon him?

Several students rose up at the same time to answer the question. They were each given a chance one after another to express their opinions.

Girl A: We have no punishment. The trial itself is the punishment. And if the person is found innocent, why he has no punishment at all.

Boy B: That is to say, he is sorry and and we are sorry that all his trial was for nothing—but that cannot be helped!

Tagore: But does it never happen that the person accused challenges the powers of judgment of the judges themselves—what opportunity does he possess to appeal to a higher authority if he is not pleased with the trial?

Boy B: If there is a difficulty in coming to a favourable decision we have to raise votes and the person accused has to abide by the conclusions of the majority.

Tagore: What if the person accused happens to differ from the findings of the majority?

The students are puzzled for a time, then one girl gets up and says: Perhaps then we can ask the teacher about it all, but that is really not necessary. The truth is, such a case never has happened here at all!

Boy B: I shall answer it thus: we do not commit wrongs, because we are chosen pioneers and we have to know beforehand what is right for us to do and what we should avoid.

The Interpreter: The pioneers are chosen from orphanages, they have to show special gifts in order to be a member of the Pioneers' Commune at all.

Tagore: I understand what you mean. The atmosphere of your Community is itself a good check on possibilities of wrong-doing on the part of its members, and it is this moral atmosphere again which makes the members realize in their own minds the wrongness of any offence made against the spirit of the Community life.

Now I want to know from you something about the work you are doing here.

Several boys and girls get up to answer.

One of them—a boy: We are unlike the bourgeois scouts they have here and in other countries. The scouts want reward, they want military honours, they want everything for themselves individually, not for the good of every one. We pioneers want nothing ourselves, because whatever good we do for all becomes the good of all of us. We go to the villages to teach people how to live in a clean manner, we show them the right way of doing things, we go and live with them at times, we perform plays and we tell them all about the conditions of our country, how they were before, how they are now, and what will be the future if we work properly.

Girl B: We shall show you how we sometimes give the play and the talk together to make it all both interesting and helpful to the people. We shall act a living newspaper for you. We pioneers have to learn much information so that we can know things ourselves and can therefore also make others know about them. It is only when all of us know facts truly and think upon them that we can do some real work.

Boy X: We know all this from books, from our teachers, and we have to discuss first with each other what we have learnt before we are allowed to go out and tell people about them.

Tagore: You will be interested to know

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that we have in our school *Brati-balakas* and *Brati-balikas*, two organizations for boys and girls whi h are like yours. I do not believe in Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations, because they have to take all kinds of oaths and then, as you say, there are amongst those organizations some wrong notions of a military kind. Our boys and girls go out to serve the villages, to put out fire when fire breaks out in the neighbourhood ; they distribute medicine, they show the villagers how to live properly and well. I am very happy indeed to know that you enjoy doing service of this kind ; because you say, by helping the village people you are helping yourselves, you are saving the whole country.

I would like to know now something about your daily life inside the school.

Bits of information were supplied by several boys and girls. Their daily routine seems to be as follows :

Get up from bed	7 A.M.
Exercise	7.15 „
Breakfast	7.30 „
Classes begin	
„ continue till 3 P.M. with a break at 1 o'clock for lunch.	

Subjects taught—History, Geography, Mathematics, Elementary Physics, Elementary Chemistry, Elementary Biology, Mechanics, Politics, Sociology, Literature, Manual training, Carpentry. Book-binding, handling modern agricultural implements, etc.

No Sundays—every fifth day is a holiday.

After 3 P.M. the pioneers go out to visit factories, hospitals, business centres, villages, according to programme.

Excursion tours in the countryside are arranged for. Plays are acted occasionally and visits to theatres and cinemas organized.

In the evening there are story-reading, story-telling, discussion circles, literary and scientific meetings. On holidays the pioneers have to attend to their own laundry, (bedsheets, etc. sent to the Cleaning Stores), tidy up their rooms, attend to the cleanliness of the house and compound, and do extra reading or go out on long walks to the villages.

Age of admittance 7, sometimes 8, but this rule is not strictly observed. Students leave at the age of sixteen or even earlier. Co-education followed throughout, boys and girls share the same dorm tories.

The Pioneers then acted a play called "The Living Newspaper"—it was about the 5 years' plan, depicting graphically the different social and economic stages through which the Soviet Union has recently passed, the effects year by year of the introduction of machinery, the rapid benefits of industrialization, the results of collective control and distribution of goods to the Community.

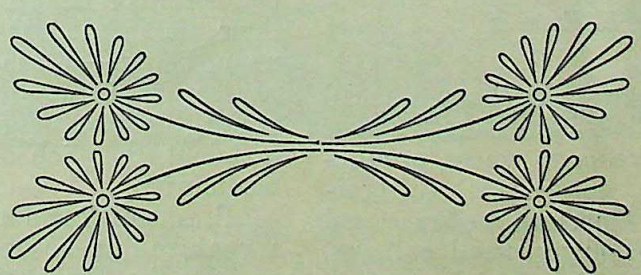
The Pioneers said they take up different subjects for their performance of the "Living Newspaper"—sometimes even about other countries like China, India, Germany, etc., and their purpose is to supply to the public accurate information about everyday life in an interesting manner.

After the performance the young Pioneers gathered round the Poet and entreated him to recite some of his Bengali verses, and he gave them the national song he had written years ago—*jana gana mana*, etc. One of their young poets then recited a poem he had composed specially for this evening in the Russian language.

After some light refreshment served to the party, Dr. Tagore thanked the young Pioneers again for their warm hospitality and expressed his genuine appreciation of the true atmosphere of Community life which he found in the Pioneers' Commune, and he wished them a future of greater fulfilment.

As the Poet came down the steps to his car the whole Commune sang together two pioneer songs and requested him to come to them again on his next visit to Russia.

(To be continued)



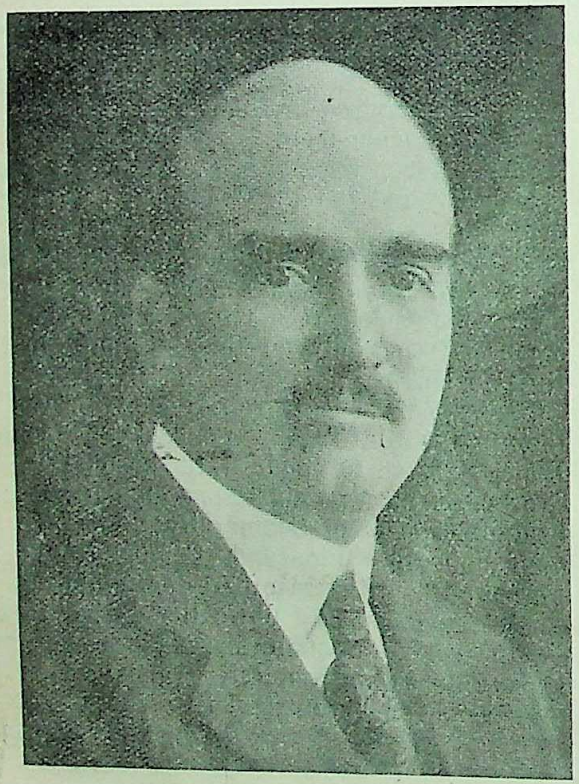
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An American Woman's College

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE, Ph.D.

MUCH is written in the Indian Press about the larger American universities which teach from five to twenty thousand students and spend from a million to five million dollars a year. Mass production is a characteristic not only of the mammoth industrial plants, but also of the huge educational institutions in the United States. It should be noted, however, that there are in this country many small colleges which live and thrive beside the big university.



President John L. Roemer

They have their advantages and their special charms. They appeal to an increasing number of students who are averse to mass production as an educational enterprise. A significant phase of the American educational system is that there are many small colleges, scattered through the country, which compete successfully against the big universities. Moreover, the size of a college does not seem to affect the effectiveness of its teaching.

One of the most progressive smaller colleges for women which I have come to know through several visits is Lindenwood college. It is located at St. Charles, a short distance from the city of St. Louis.

Lindenwood is a standard four-year college which grants the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, and Bachelor of Music. It does not admit more than five hundred students a year. But it maintains a high educational standard. Its work is on a par with that of the best universities and colleges of the nation.

Lindenwood College is old, as years go in the New World. The institution was started in 1827 on a beautiful site overlooking the stately Missouri river. The forest of linden trees which shaded the college suggested the sylvan name Lindenwood. The closing of the first century of its history was fittingly celebrated in 1927. The college has now entered upon the second century of its existence.

It is always a treat to talk with Dr. John L. Roemer, President of Lindenwood College. He is entitled to wear after his name B.A., B.D., D.D., and LL.D. But he is not half so formidable as these array of letters would indicate. He is a wise administrator, a sound educator, and a completely human man. He radiates optimism and good fellowship. It has been said of a well-known character in *Pilgrim's Progress*: "Hopeful was just like a cork in the water, always coming to the surface and would not be kept down." President Roemer is a prototype of John Bunyan's Hopeful. Students coming in contact with Dr. Roemer learn to love him as their father and their comrade. He knows—none better—all the inspiring and wearing phases of drilling common sense into raw youth, the task of giving the right direction to talent, the job of making something of mediocrity.

President Roemer regards his college as a venture in co-operation. "Bear in mind," he tells the students, "that the administrators and teaching staff and all associated in

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1. Roemer Hall, Lindenwood College
2, 3, 5 May Day Festivities. 4. Mrs. Roemer, Dean of Students

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conducting the college are here to serve your best interests. Set your ideals high and stick to them. A girl, like a nail, is of little use when she does not use her head. You affiliate with us, not as dumb-driven cattle, but as members of a great co-operative educational institution. Treat the campus and college buildings as you would your own home. This is one test of real college spirit."

Lindenwood College is fortunate in having at the head of the educational work a man of Dr. Roemer's eminence. Associated with him are men and women in the teaching faculty whose ideals and educational ability are distinctly of the superior kind. They believe the college to be a laboratory of citizenship. They realize that the hope of American democracy depends on the diffusion of the light of knowledge not only among men, but also among women. The cry is therefore: Light more light.

The relation between the professor and the student does not end at the threshold of the classroom Students are made to feel that their teachers are their friends who are anxious to know them. All memb rs of the teaching staff have regular office hours. Frequently I have seen students make social calls on their professors. Lindenwood girls are not afraid to visit their teachers They know that the professors, no matter how busy they may be, are always glad to see the students. This is mainly the reason why there is a happy personal relation between the faculty and the students outside of the classroom.

It has been said that Lindenwood students come from well-to-do families. I do not know how true that is. There is nothing of the flashy extravagance and swagger which usually go with the rich. The girls seem to be modest and are pretty to look at. Their dresses show good taste and their manners, both in and outside the class, betoken delicacy, refinement, and charm. On the whole, these young students are as mild, genteel and ladylike as the most straitlaced citizen could wish. Obviously all students are not rich. And so far as a visitor can make out, the rich and the poor have equal standing at Lindenwood.

The fact is that Lindenwood is democratic. There the father's money or social position makes no difference. There religion, parentage, and family mean nothing. There the daughter of a Jew or a gentile have equal opportunity. The only thing that counts at Lindenwood is merit, ability, industry, and good character.

It is the wish of the college authorities that students should keep their expenses down to the minimum of necessities. They do not want parents to be too liberal in giving "spending money" to their daughters. The college has established a private bank for the convenience of the students. They are urged to deposit their money at the College Bank to ensure safety and economy.

Excepting those whose homes are in St. Charles, all out of town students are required to stay in college hostels known in America as dormitories. The college takes the place of the home while the student is in residence, and great care is taken to foster the spirit of the home.

Each dormitory is under the care of a House Mother, who is there not so much for the purpose of discipline as to encourage the spirit of co-operation and family fellowship. Life in each dormitory is organized under a student president for work and play. The girls live a very pleasant, wholesome life because they behave like human beings and not machines.

Each student takes care of her own room. Neatness in housekeeping is expected of all students. Prizes in each dormitory, of which there are five, are awarded to those having the best records for neatness at the end of the year.

Here are some of the "don'ts" which the residents of the dormitories are gently urged to observe:

Don't go in your neighbour's room when she is away. Something might be missing.

Don't use your room-mate's belongings without asking for them.

Don't forget to write home often. Your letters are watched for, and time does not pass so rapidly for those who are at home.

Don't play with one girl exclusively. There are 500 in college.

Don't forget gymnasium.

Don't bring a dozen trunks to college. A few simple, becoming dresses are all you will need.

Send a note to someone who is sick. She will appreciate it and remember it long after you have forgotten the incident.

Don't borrow your friend's clothes. Keep your own individuality.

Lindenwood College is very careful in looking after the health of the student body.

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The sanitary regulations of the college are all well-directed. Upon arrival for registration the college physician passes upon the physical fitness of the applicant. Records of each student are filed away for future reference.

In case of sickness, students are placed in the care of the college physician and a trained nurse, who have charge of a well-equipped infirmary. Students are provided there with all the convenience of an up-to-date hospital. Office consultation of the college physician during his office hours is free to students. Only a nominal charge is made by the physician for other service,

Physical exercise, several times a week, is prescribed. The grounds, with tennis courts, golf links, and an athletic field, furnish facilities for outdoor recreation.

Next to President Roemer, Mrs. Roemer is the best beloved person on the campus. She holds the position of the Dean of Students. To her there is no such thing as a student body. She looks upon each student as an individual, as a personality. She counsels each on matters pertaining to her varied interests and problems. With an ever-ready smile on her lips, she is a real friend to the college girls who greet her affectionately as "Mother Roemer."

An interesting feature of Lindenwood College is the Student Self-Government Association, which outlines and enforces the rules and regulations of student government. Each student, upon entrance to the college, automatically becomes a member of the Association. Its President has wide powers. She may, upon recommendation of the Discipline Committee, dismiss at any time any student who may be exerting a harmful influence, or who may be found to be entirely out of sympathy with the tone and standard of the college. This tends to keep the governance of the institution measurably within the control of the students themselves.

The founders of Lindenwood College early expressed the desire that provision be made for the education of young women which should fit them for life's duties, as women were fitted for their lives' work. At present the work of the college falls under these three general heads :

College of Arts and Science, which grants B. A. degrees.

School of Vocations, which confers the degrees of B. S. in Home Economics (Bachelor of Science in Home Economics), and the degrees of B. S. in Education (Bachelor of Science in Education).

School of Music and Art, which gives the degrees of B. M. (Bachelor of Music), and issues diplomas in Art.

In the current discussion of educational problems there are two opposing views concerning the education of women : on the one hand it is maintained that education of women should be determined chiefly by their function in perpetuating the life of the race, and on the other, that as the laws of mind are identical for the two sexes the education of women should be the same as that of men. There is possibly some truth in both of these views.

Lindenwood takes a modern, scientific view. Dr. Alice E. Gipson, Dean of Instruction in Lindenwood College, explained to me that in so far as the social and economic arrangements of society allot to men and women different tasks, so far must the educational machinery be developed differently for the two sexes. The ideal to be sought in education, Miss Gipson holds, is that both man and woman should be treated according to sound psychological principles, while each is given the opportunity for being trained for such social tasks as await the well-equipped member of a modern democratic community. A girl should be advised to take a course for which she is best fitted and in which she is most interested.

Psychological tests are given to each new pupil at Lindenwood in order that there may be revealed by this means, special aptitude, native ability which does not always appear on the surface. This is particularly valuable in the case of the somewhat shy girl who takes a longer period of time to discover herself.

Dean Gipson, who won her degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Yale University has the immediate oversight of the instructional staff of the entire college. In applying her educational philosophy to Lindenwood she said : "Here each girl is an entity not submerged in numbers, as so often happens in colleges and universities of great size. She receives classroom instruction in comparatively small classes with personal aid from instructors. She has unusual opportunities to show her ability in scholarship and in athletics. She is instructed in the best methods of adjusting herself to college life. And when she graduates, she is advised as to the work for which she is best qualified."

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Dean Gipson is the originator of a course entitled, "Organization Lectures." All freshmen students are required to take this course. It includes lectures on how to study, personal hygiene, the use of the library, and the outstanding vocations for women. Supplementary to these lectures there is a course on "American Contemporary Civilization," which is also compulsory for all freshmen. It is a survey of the economic, political, and social background of the current American scene.

Lindenwood may be regarded as a synonym for education in the best sense of the word. It helps its young women to realize through their college experience the best that is in them, intellectually, socially, and physically. More, it is eager to fit them in the best possible way to meet their duties and responsibilities. It is not the fault of Lindenwood College if in some cases, its graduates are not educated, cultured, or efficient. An institution like this is a national asset.

Indian Nationalism and Christianity*

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

AT the head of the Indian national movement is a man without sin, without blame, without passion or possessions, without any ambition save that of compassing the liberty of his people and the freedom of the world. His heart is filled with a great love for all humanity without distinction of colour and creed, he has submitted without complaint to humiliation, violence and suffering, and through it all he has won in an ever increasing measure the reverence of his countrymen and the high esteem of all good people in the world. Devout and high-minded Christians, including some dignitaries of the Church, have beheld in him a striking resemblance to Christ; in his own country it has been recognized that no man after Buddha was held in such high honour. It is inconceivable to associate such a man with any movement of violence.

Mahatma Gandhi's movement is a white clad, white souled, perfect organization, disciplined to suffer but on no account to inflict suffering, yet none the less determined to achieve its object. There is no faltering, no turning back, no faint heart. Every face is set towards the promised land, no murmurings are heard nor any regrets for the flesh pots of Egypt, even if flavoured with the bitter sauce of bondage. The beginning that has been made in India may one day overspread the whole world and violence may everywhere be conquered by non-violence.

It was a singular vision that came to St. John the divine in the Book of Revelation :—"I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands .... And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, what are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." For centuries this passage has been read throughout Christendom, but it has conveyed no message to the readers or to the nations. And now it is being fulfilled in the letter and the spirit by a nation which is not Christian in its profession of faith and dogma, but which is led by a man admitted to be more Christ-like than any other seer since the Ascension of Christ. What tribulation can be greater than that through which India is passing at the present time? Why is the present movement in India being regarded with awe and reverence by ministers of the Christian church in distant countries in Europe and America? Because the tribulation of India is in reality the tribulation of all the nations on earth, and if India comes

* An address delivered at a meeting of the Nationalist Christian Party, Bombay.

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out of it with her faith unshaken she will have shown the way to the rest of the world to deliverance and peace.

For the domination of an alien rule is not the only evil from which a nation may suffer. All the nations of Europe are living under a perpetual menace of war, war which threatens their very existence. The League of Nations is the outcome of a sense of overwhelming fear. The lesson of the last world war is that victory may be as disastrous as defeat, and Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, knew what he was saying when he declared, after the victory of Asculum, "Another such victory and we are lost." Such a war as the world witnessed a little over a decade ago may involve the extinction of whole nations. Still there is no sense of security, no guarantee that war will not break out again as soon as the exhausted nations have recouped themselves to some extent. The defeated nations are carefully cherishing dreams of revenge, the victorious ones have the single thought of maintaining their supremacy. The League of Nations has no authority beyond what it derives from the willing co-operation of the nations. If war were to be declared between two nations which are members of the League the latter has no means for compelling the cessation of hostilities. Diplomatic representations may succeed or fail, and the ultimate issue would rest with the belligerents themselves. The weary nations of Europe would gratefully welcome a prospect of prolonged peace, but their rulers are amibitious and suspicious. The people are free merely in the sense that they are not under a foreign rule, but they are powerles to prevent their countries from being plunged into war at the discretion of the rulers. There can be no real freedom while the nations are yet lashed to the chariot wheels of war.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister of England during the greater part of the world war. He elbowed out Mr. Asquith, afterwards the Earl of Oxford, and assumed control of the Coalition Cabinet. Now he is a spent force and the Liberal party is very near extinction. In July, 1930, speaking at a banquet of the International Congregational Council at Bournemouth he said :—"I live in a quiet place in Surrey, far away from any towns, and I went there for quietness. Yet every day I can hear the rattle of machine-guns in one camp, the hoarse roar of guns in another camp, and now and then I can hear the boom of the naval artillery down in the direction of Portsmouth and the new bombing aeroplanes. What for ? To slaughter men. And this is going on now in every land on earth—I beg your pardon, in every civilized land on earth. It is really time the Churches took this in hand." This is the irreproachable sentiment of a pacifist, but what is Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards India ? The present Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, is a well-known pacifist, but can he put an end to this endless preparation for war ? It would have made no difference if Mr. Lloyd George himself were Prime Minister to-day. The rattling of machine-guns, the thunder of artillery and the drone of bombing planes would be heard on the Surrey coast as usual, only the protesting voice of Mr. Lloyd George would be silent. To appeal to the Churches to take the matter in hand is a grim jest. Is the Church represented at the League of Nations ? Have the Churches any voice in the outbreak of war ? Of the courtesy shown to the Church the world has recently witnessed a striking instance. Nearly a hundred and fifty American clergymen sent a cable to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald requesting him to come to an amicable understanding with Mahatma Gandhi and they were answered by a contemptuous silence. They would have received no better treatment from Mr. Lloyd George. Church dignitaries may be invited to bless regimental colours, but they can never obtain a hearing if they appeal for peace. In opposition any politician will hand round the pipe of peace ; in office he thinks of the preparedness for war.

Still Mr. Lloyd George's words are full of significance. There at Geneva, within sight of the beautiful and peaceful lakes and mountains of Switzerland, sits the League of Nations deliberating about the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of war, and all around in the countries of Europe is heard the thunder of the engines of war, the grim preparations for the slaughter of men. The atmosphere reeks with the fumes of projectiles and bursting shells, the earth trembles under the impact of heavy machinery and the air quivers owing to repeated explosions. Mr. Lloyd George was perfectly right when he said that these preparations for war are going on in every civilized land on earth. European civilization is based on the readiness for war ; the higher the state of civilization, the more complete the equipment for war.

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War in Europe now means the mobilization of practically the entire male population, from the young lads at school and college to the veterans who should lay aside their armours. Whole nations are flung into the roaring, raging hell-fire called war. Compared to the human toll taken in modern wars the human sacrifice offered to the Phoenician god Moloch was moderation itself. In the last war the generalissimos commanded millions, while the most famous captains in history numbered their armies by the thousand only, and yet, no historian or war correspondent has ever suggested that this most frightful of wars produced a commander with the genius of an Alexander, a Caesar or a Napoleon.

What is wrong with the nations of Europe? Why should not they be content with living at peace with one another and with the world? The answer is that Europe has inherited and is still dominated by the traditions of conquest and annexation of pagan Greece and Rome. Nominally the whole of Europe is Christian, but the teachings of Christ have not influenced the ruling powers of Europe. Christ is exalted and worshipped in the churches, but he has no place in the senate and the oligarchies that control the affairs of the nations. When Satan tempted Jesus he offered him dominion over all the kingdoms of earth. "The devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou wilt fall down and worship me all shall be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." The temptation that Christ rejected without the slightest hesitation has proved irresistible to the rulers of Europe, who profess to be the followers of Christ. The worship and service of God are not rewarded by kingdoms. To those that believed in him and followed him Christ promised a place in the kingdom of heaven, but never spoke of a kingdom on earth. It is only those who fall down and worship Satan that can obtain the kingdoms of the world for he has promised these rewards to his worshippers. War is his weapon, slaughter is the price and the seizure of territory is the prize. Napoleon invaded Egypt as the first step towards the ultimate conquest of India. He conferred with Alexander I of Russia to divide the world between them. The Tsars of Russia always dreamed of an Asiatic Empire that would extend to India. William II of Germany when he reached the dizzy height of power fancied the world was within his grasp and he had only to stretch forth his hand to seize it. Satan had taken him up to the exceeding high mountain and was whispering in his ears, tempting him to his utter ruin. All these monarchs and adventurers were supposed to be the followers of Christ, but they were lying prostrate at the feet of Satan and worshipping him all the time. They realized too late that the kingdoms promised by the devil are nothing but Dead Sea fruit that are fair to look upon but crumble into ashes at a touch.

Over the heart of Europe broods a great terror. Who will help to lift it? The first and highest advantage of national liberty is a sense of security, the right to live at peace with the world. The nations of Europe are free, but they are in perpetual fear of the invasion of their territory and their liberty by neighbouring nations. Among the divine commandments that proceeded out of God's mouth and which all Christians are bound in all devoutness to honour is, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house', but the history of Europe, ever since it became a Christian continent, has been a continuous breach of this commandment. While the Crusaders vainly tried, time after time, to wrest the Holy Land from the possession of the Saracens, the Christian nations of Europe were constantly at war among themselves and were coveting the houses of their neighbours. The centuries that have rolled by since Christ taught and suffered have not helped the promotion of Christian forbearance and Christian neighbourliness, but have progressively increased the passion of covetousness and have witnessed the breach of another commandment on a lavish scale, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Europe is under the terror of recurrent wars; the Aramageddon of the Apocalypse stalked across Europe as a living scourge from 1914 to 1918, and its burning and devastating breath was felt in all the continents of the globe. And it may rise again out of the bowels of hell and the bitterness of human hearts, and like Frankenstein destroy utterly the proud

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civilization that has called it into being. Against this great dread the League of Nations affords no reliable safe-guard for the very nations composing it are busy with the activities of which Mr. Lloyd George speaks, and never allow their infernal instruments of war to fall into desuetude. Every detonation and every echo of the engines of war are a reminder that greater perfection is being attained for the more complete wholesale slaughter of men. The torpedo or the heavy shell discharged at a dummy ship is intended to insure the greater accuracy of these weapons when launched against a ship full of living men. The rattle and thud of rifle and machine-gun bullets against the steel targets at the butts remind the hearers that the shooters are improving their aim so that they may give a good account of themselves when slaughtering men. Where is the promise of peace that will bring safety and security to Europe?

As the commandments are violated so are the teachings of Christ set at naught by Christian Governments and there is no peace and goodwill among men. Long before Christ, at the eastern end of Asia a great Chinese sage conjured up a vision of lasting peace and the abolition of war. In a book called Shuo Yuan, "Pack of Narratives," Yan Yuan, who lived before Confucius, says he wishes to be minister to a wise king or sage ruler and he describes what he would do in that office. "I should cause there to be no reason to repair the city walls, the moats and ditches to be crossed by no foeman, and the swords and spears to be melted into tools of agriculture. I should cause the whole world to have no calamity of warfare anywhere for thousands of years." Confucius agreed with this view. Europe sees no escape from this calamity of warfare. Liberty is a God-given gift to every creature that has the breath of life, and it is taken away and won back again by the use of force. In force are empires begotten and by force they perish. This, however, is not true in the case of India. It has been well observed that in India there is a struggle between the soul and the sword, and the soul, as Srikrishna says in the Bhagavadgita, neither slays nor is slain. The soul triumphs through suffering and tribulation, and India is having a full measure of them. Is it any wonder that the Churches in Europe and America are watching this struggle with awe and reverence? This multitude in white raiment, patient but persistent, is reminiscent of the Book of Revelation and the sufferings of the early Christians. Here is a remarkable blending of nationalism and religion. If men and women belong to different faiths they are children of the same soil, this ancient land that they all salute as the Motherland. In an appeal sent out by a number of highly cultured Anglican churchmen engaged in educational work in India the following significant sentence is to be found:—"We recognize that if a revolution is to be carried out at all Mahatma Gandhi's method is at least as Christian as any that has been tried in the history of the world." There is no revolution at all in the sense in which the word is understood, but only an assertion of the supremacy of the soul over physical force.

This is what has constrained the reverent attention of the world. If India can win through why should not Europe use the same means to put an end to the perpetual menace of war and extinction, and break up the factories in which the implements of war are manufactured? Can anyone have any doubt that all these elaborate preparations for cold-blooded and blind slaughter are the work of Anti-Christ? Behind the League of Nations is a deep-rooted distrust between the nations themselves. Switzerland was selected for its location because it is an insignificant neutral country. Agreement would have been impossible if the choice had rested upon any major country. Germany would have objected to England and France. Italy would have objected to the broken up fragments of Austria-Hungary. Turkey would not have agreed to Russia. The League of Nations will never effect the salvation of Europe, nor obtain it immunity from war. That is for the nations themselves to accomplish. All that is necessary to ensure the permanence of peace is to be found in the teachings of Christ and it is because those teachings have been disregarded by those who control the affairs of Europe that war has been sucking the life-blood of the nations of that continent like a vampire.

Mr. Lloyd George has declared that the Churches should take in hand the measures for putting a stop to the unceasing preparations for the slaughter of men. In the last war that raged from 1914 to 1918 it was found that the casualties were not confined to the combatants on the field, but occurred even far behind the battle zone through

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torpedoes from submarines, aerial raids and long range guns, and neutrals, peaceful civilians and even women and children were not spared. Every instinct of humanity revolts against this indiscriminate and blind massacre, this running amuck among an unarmed and unoffending population. Surely it is the first duty of the Churches to intervene and make it impossible for such ghastly and fiendish scenes to be re-enacted. When churchmen make a movement for peace they should refuse to submit to the humiliation of being flouted as the American clergymen were ignored by the British Prime Minister. It is not a struggle between the Church and the State, but between humanity and inhumanity. How can the servants of Christ and ministers ordained by the Church look on unmoved while every civilized country is resounding with the ominous preparations for slaughter and yet more slaughter? If the Governments are deaf to their appeals it is for them to rouse the conscience of the people and save them from the disastrous consequences of war. Pacifists and conscientious objectors have been treated with disdain or have been punished for their refusal to bear arms in times of war, but under the guidance of the Church the nations can put an end to the horrors of war and save themselves from extinction. A League of the Churches may successfully accomplish what the League of Nations may never compass. Let war be banned by the Church, let the nations of Europe turn out of office any Government engaged in incessant preparations for war. All that the civilized nations want for permanent peace is the cessation of war and the renunciation of territorial aggrandizement. Neighbours are to be treated as neighbours and the slayer must be deprived of his murderous weapons. The Churches owe it to the creed that they follow to hold up the cross before the eyes of the rulers of Europe. When the spirit of war is laid like an evil spirit that is exorcised the ancient prophecy will be fulfilled and Satan will be bound and cast into the bottomless pit for a thousand years. The angel from heaven will "shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled." Let us not look upon this as a past prophecy but one to be fulfilled over and over again whenever the likeness of Christ is seen upon earth. Quite recently an eminent and eloquent minister of the Church, the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, with a Gandhi cap on his head, addressed from the pulpit his congregation in these solemn words:—"Why talk ye about God and the son of God and His resurrection on this earth when He is here?" Not as a distant dream but as a plain palpable fact is the presence of one like Christ being again realized upon earth. As he appeared two thousand years ago so another like him has appeared again, and now as then the path through life of this other man is not strewn with flowers but planted thick with thorns, and pain and suffering and shame are being measured out to him with prodigal hands. The Redeemer and the Liberator can never escape the passion and the agony that are their portion on earth.

And now let us endeavour, in the new light that has dawned upon the world, to understand the vision that rose before the eyes of John the Divine. To the few that were pure in spirit in Sardis was sent this message:—"They shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels." He that overcometh—what? Evil, not by resistance but by non-resistance. Resist not evil, but suffer it and so overcome it. And thus become worthy and walk with Christ in white. The repeated insistence on white garments refers to the purity of the spirit. There is no suggestion anywhere of a white skin. Jesus of Nazareth did not come of a white-complexioned race. Even in the account of his transfiguration mention is made of his white raiment. When he was transfigured "his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." It was the reflection of the effulgence within, the spirit that lighted up his countenance and the clothing on his body. What was the vision that John beheld when he was in the spirit on the Lord's day? "A great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds, and people, and tongues, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands." Is not such a multitude, the precursor of yet greater multitudes from all nations of the world, before our eyes this very day? In this white garmented throng will be found the followers of all the principal faiths of the world—the Aryan Hindu and the Zoroastrian, the Buddhist and the Jain, the Jew and the Christian, the faithful adherents of Islam,

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They speak many tongues and they call the Creator and Sustainer of the universe by different names, but they have only one Mother, the land that shelters and nourishes them. They are pilgrims leading the pilgrims of all the nations of the world to the Temple of Peace. The multitude that John saw in his vision had palms in their hands, borne in token of rejoicing and victory. Palms do not grow in Europe, they are found in the East, in India and the Pacific islands. This is the fulfilment of the prophecy and the vision that were vouchsafed unto John. The multitude came from the East with palm leaves in their hands. And they came out of great tribulation and they had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. The Lamb is the Lamb of God, the Son of man, who appeared to John in his vision as a white-headed figure : "his head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow." The blood of the Lamb is the milk of purity and innocence and makes white whatever it touches. The throne before which the assembled multitudes stand is the throne of eternal and divine justice.

The present movement in India has two objects, one conscious and the other unconscious. The conscious object is the attainment of freedom, the elementary right of every people and every nation. Once the free soul is awakened it never rests till it sets the body free. The heart and core of the movement is free from every thought of violence. Sacrifice and suffering alone are demanded. This is the peace offering at the alter of liberty, and sacrifice is greater than empire.

What are empires but the bright bubbles that rise and burst on the silent and swift waters of time ? Where are the empires of Europe that were so full of arrogant life only a score of years ago—Where are the Empires of Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans ? Where are the traces of Assyria ? Where are the glittering spires and the gilded sin of Babylon ? Where are the overwhelming might and the ruthlessness of the Medes and Persians ? Vanished is the splendour of Egypt, the hundred-gated Thebes is a legend, the halls of the Pharaohs have disappeared in the bowels of the earth. Where shall we look for the glory that was Greece, the pomp and pride that was Rome ?

The most pronounced imperialist of English poets, who has been designated the Laureate of Empire, had a vivid, if momentary, vision of the fleetingness and nothingness of empire :—

Far called our navies melt away,
On dune and headland sinks the fire,
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre.

The belief in the potency of weapons of war indicates a heathen heart and not a Christian faith :

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard ;
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding, calls not thee to guard ;
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord.

War and its concomitants vanish, only humility and penitence are enduring :—

The tumult and the shouting dies ;
The captains and the kings depart ;
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.

India witnessed the procession of empires from the white-crowned heights of the eternal Himalayas, she saw them pass by like phantoms of the night through the valley of shadows into the darkness beyond. And India still endures ; she has bowed her head before the blast and she has heard the legions thunder past; she has been bereft of her liberty, she is beset with many evils of her own making, yet has she retained through it all that which makes for length of national life—her treasure of thought and tradition. Through all the centuries of humiliation and bondage she has held fast her priceless heritage, the wisdom that has come down the ages, the catholicity of large tolerance, the broad and gentle outlook on life, the simplicity that is the salt of life. In the dim and remote past India did not build on dust, neither did she put her trust in reeking tube and iron shard. As she built in the past so will she build in the future on the rock of humility and faith.

This explains the incredible and inexhaustible vitality of India. She has had to bow her neck to the yoke but there is no decadence of the kind that has led to the complete disappearance of so many great nations. Her profound religiousness has buoyed her up on the waters of oblivion while other nations have sunk down the depths. This is also the reason why in spite of the weight of years and the loss of freedom there is no sterility of intellect and spirit in India. Sages and saints have

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appeared at all times, great religious teachers have compelled the admiring homage of the West, the fame of an Indian poet has engirdled the world, and a prophet has appeared who is being likened to Buddha and Christ in every part of the world. He has made it possible to unite the most passionate patriotism with complete abstention from violence. The result is the upheaval, without parallel or precedent, that is being seen among the manhood, womanhood and childhood of India. The will of India is declaring itself with unmistakable emphasis.

Quite unconsciously and altogether unwittingly the Indian movement of non-violence has had a direct bearing upon the larger and graver problem that is distracting Europe and the nations of the West. The future of India may be her own concern but the abolition of violence and the elimination of war from national activities concern the whole world. The doctrine of non-resistance is not a new one ; upon this sure foundation is based the marvellous and lofty teaching of Jesus Christ. The only error in the appreciation of this teaching has been that it has been regarded as a guide of individual conduct and not a course of concerted action. What the world is witnessing today is the application of an old precept on a large scale. The full significance of the struggle in India is being realized by thoughtful people in the West. The discipline required is far more stringent than in the army. Self-restraint, self-denial, self-suffering alone are permissible. It has been well observed by an American writer that freedom's battle in India is being fought on the basis of the New Testament. Following this method why should not the nations of Europe set themselves free, once for all, from the nightmare and horror of war and endless slaughter ? Herod the Tetrach with his men of war set Jesus at naught and mocked him. Are the ministers of the church and the servants of Christ to be set at naught and mocked by the present rulers of Europe and their men of war ? This can be ended by non-violent resistance. The blood of the martyrs is not only the seed of the church but it is also the way to real freedom, the freedom in which the nations do not covet the possessions of their neighbours, the factories of the munitions of war are converted into centres of peaceful industry, the thunder of cannon is no longer heard and there is a surcease of the perpetual preparations for slaughter. This is the unspoken message that is going forth from anguished India and if it is heard and accepted India will be content. It is not by the deliberations of the League of Nations but by the practical application of the doctrine of non-violence that the safety of Europe can be ensured. Peace is possible only if war is made impossible and the issue rests not with the Governments but the nations of Europe.

As the years recede and a perspective is created with the passing of time history will contemplate with wonder and admiration the new movement initiated in this ancient land for the emancipation of the human race from the thraldom to force. What is potential today will become real tomorrow and the suffering of India may prove a blessing for humanity.

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Mahatma Gandhi as Mr. Edward Thompson Sees Him

By PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A.

MR. Edward Thompson has made a name for himself in India by his attempts (how far earnest, time alone must judge) to look at the problem of India through dispassionate eyes; he has also won reputation in the midst of those who know Bengali only through English language and who have learnt much from him about Rabindranath, one of the greatest minds in modern times. But—"Oh, that bubble reputation!"—His knowledge of Bengali language and consequently more or less of literature has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, it remains now to be seen how far his sympathy with the Indian point of view, or rather the human point of view, has enabled him to get the correct perspective. The editor of the *Modern Review* has already in the October issue given a foretaste of his performance. Without attempting to encroach on his grounds, I wish to deal with his pen-portrait of Mahatmaji and hope that it will serve as a specimen. Failure to understand Mahatmaji would mean ignorance, total and absolute, and dangerous too; dangerous, because any practical scheme, or discussion worth the name, for the "Reconstruction of India" (the ambitious title of Mr. Thompson's book) would break to pieces if it left out the *man* of the times. One is tempted to think that even Mr. Thompson was aware of this and so his chapter headed "The Significance of M. K. Gandhi."

Evidently, Mr. Thompson is dissatisfied with the attention and publicity that "M. K. Gandhi" has received in India, South Africa and the United States (last in the list, but not the least, for this last straw has proved too much for the camel's back, which, again, is the *raison d'etre* of this book—the American audience is clearly implied). "Too much attention has been focussed on his personality." (*Reconstruction of India*, p. 130). People in India might think, however, that there could never be too much of attention paid to their Mahatmaji. The author pictures Mr. Gandhi (let us hope, playfully) giving a demonstration, before American lady visitors, of the oriental use of toes in picking up objects! "He will.... presently pick up an object with his toes, observing: 'You in the West do not know the proper way to use your toes.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 131). Is this a photograph or meant as such, or a caricature?

Speaking of Mr. Gandhi, the author cannot ignore the Indian revolutionary's hunger-strike, nor his outcry while in prison for the "accustomed comforts." He complains that a considerable portion of the men who have joined the movement have a low standard of martyrdom and there have been lamentations in the Indian Press that "food was plain and beds not too downy." (P. 133) If anybody has any doubt about the truth of Mr. Edward Thompson's strictures, let him read the report on the subject given by Maulana Shaukat Ali, "Mr. Gandhi's famous Moslem associate" (alas! how fallen), whom the author quotes with delight and approval (pp. 133-34). But one would ask, is not modern civilization partly to blame, for not *making* the condition of the political prisoners sufficiently rigorous?

Mr. Gandhi himself has no low sense of martyrdom; of that the author is satisfied. He was so tenacious, so heroically patient, perfect, except in four important crises where he failed and failed ignominously. What were these occasions,—these faults of omission?—

(1) His launching of Non-co-operation;
(2) The support that he gave to the Khilafat Movement, "acting politician-fashion";
(3) "When he let himself be carried away at the last Lahore Congress, and became the tool and mouthpiece of the men who desire no settlement."
(4) His failure to visit Great Britain in recent years—for it seems to Mr. Thompson that not to have seen England argues yourself "indecent", at least, not experienced enough of the largeness of human heart. England would have received Mr. Gandhi so generously that he "would have gained a new perception of the 'decency' that is in man." (P. 135)

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But there is no getting over Mr. Gandhi. He "has set in action emotions and hopes" in India as no other man has done—and for the first time the people are conscious of a unity, however dimly. What is the secret of of this power? He is, so thinks Mr. Thompson, "not a great thinker," as you can judge from his "defence (?) of caste" and his "paeans to the cow." Mr. Thompson's observing mind disposes of the Hindu reverence for the cow in a summary fashion. "India is cursed with a superfluity of worthless and positively harmful cows, and even those that still do something besides devour the all-too-scanty fodder, are depressingly meagre and inadequate animals." (P.136) But he is a superb judge of men and his humanity is profound; these probably explain his influence.

There is much food for the reader, who has a sense of humour, in the two chapters that follow as they narrate the incidents in the two phases of the campaign—non-co-operation and civil disobedience. But I trust enough has been said to serve as a specimen and it is dangerous to talk of recent events.

The chapter (X) on "the significance of M. K. Gandhi" is a brief one, only seven pages and two digressions. But what wonderful knowledge!

"Damning with faint praise, assenting with civil leer"—Atticus has undergone a transformation (a "sea-change" ?), and the improved ways of journalism are certainly an indication of progress. Who could doubt it after this ?

The Jute Slump—What is the Remedy?

By S. K. SEN, B. A.

THE unprecedented economic depression all over the world resulting in fall in exports of jute, raw as well as manufactured, coupled with a plentiful crop has resulted in a severe slump in Bengal.

The agriculturists find that the prices not only do not pay the cost of production but the demand does not justify their harvesting the crop.

For years in succession Dame Nature has been merciful. Rain has been copious and timely. Bumper crops have been registered. Profits, year after year, after a boom year when jute prices rose to record figures, though showing a fall, have yet been good. Compared to rice, jute paid better and year after year more tillage was accorded to jute, till this year, the area sown has been the largest since 1926 and the crop extraordinarily good. But sales are dull and practically non-existent.

Faced with this situation everybody has to think of a solution as it affects everybody in Bengal. The zemindar who has to pay his revenue to the Government cannot collect his rent. The farmer faced with ruin and starvation cannot pay his rent. The Mahajans, Marwari money-lenders, the Co-operative Banks and Co-operative Jute Societies are all affected. Every trade is affected, as, if the agriculturer has no money (and 70 per cent of the people of Bengal are agriculturists), trade cannot thrive. The Government is faced with loss of much revenue, indirectly, as with decreased railway and postal earnings owing to less traffic their earnings are also affected.

Suggestions have been made from many sources. The Government of India, faced with political trouble, loss of revenue and a civil disobedience movement, have definitely refused to come to the rescue. The Government of Bengal will probably make a small advance in the shape of *Takavi* loans to farmers but neither the zemindar who would like to have some concession shown as regards the revenues nor the agriculturists will be satisfied. The middlemen or money-lenders will probably gain a little if the farmer gets a loan but the amount is so small that it will not go very far and will have a negligible effect.

Suggestions seem to be mainly about (a) financing the crop and storing it up, (b) restrictions of crops for the next year, and (c) general remission of revenue by the

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Government and of rent by zemindars in equal proportions.

The suggestions however valuable, are alleviatives but they are not remedies. Given a good monsoon with rice never paying, our agriculturists are bound to go on sowing and whatever the restrictions, a large crop will still be grown. Statistics show that practically the present stock will last another year and will cover the full requirements of the following year if the whole crop is harvested. Restrictions have in some cases succeeded as a remedy. The examples of coffee, tea, rubber, camphor, nitrates and Hennequen are before us. Though jute is a monopoly of India its conditions may not be compared with tea or rubber conditions entirely, yet, even with monopoly articles, restriction in production has always adversely affected a monopolist country. Nor can such restrictions be imposed amongst a large number of illiterate farmers who live from hand to mouth and whose only source of income is cultivating the land. It is not as if large limited liability companies or big private capitalists were handling the cultivation of jute and could afford to live on their capital for a year or two till conditions got settled. Restriction of crops is a temporary relief, if practicable. It is neither practicable nor a remedy in the case of jute.

Remission of revenue or rent again are also temporary measures of relief and are not remedies.

What then is the remedy for these conditions? There will be booms in jute followed by larger sowing,—more production if the monsoon is favourable—and similar conditions in future. Are we always to live in a state of fluctuation—of large profits followed by ruin?

Henry Ford is stated to have promulgated a theory that one could end booms and if a boom could be ended a slump would not come either. His theory was to co-ordinate statistics so that one could gauge exactly what the needs of a nation will be and to manufacture or produce according to the needs of the day. Such a statistical feat, if possible, may easily be upset by other parts of the world butting in—but even if a country was self-supporting it is doubtful if such a theory will work in practice. It would also contradict the very apt expression "mass production" which, when restricted, could no longer remain mass production but will be a restricted output.

It behoves us therefore to think out a remedy for this chronic state of over-production to which we are tending not only as regards agricultural produce and raw material but also as to manufactured commodities.

The way to remedy mass production without restricting output, which has been found to be unsuccessful is to create mass distribution and mass sales Continually must one think of new uses for the raw material, new articles to be made and new devices by which the public can be made to use the article more largely. We produce jute largely, we consume jute sparingly. We export raw jute and manufactured jute. But we do not try to find out new outlets for jute or for manufacturing various articles out of jute. Our slogan today should be "Use more jute." Bengal and all India should be plastered with this slogan. People must be set on to think of new uses for jute. To give an idea of what is wanted, I can suggest the following uses :

1. Jute is used largely for making Tussorette. Alternate jute and silk threads produce excellent suitings.
2. Some quantities of what is termed Russian crash are jute mixtures.
3. Carpets and mats can be much more largely made from jute.
4. Sataranchis can be made from coloured jute threads.
5. Jute waste is now used instead of rags for cleaning cars. They can be used for rag dolls, cores of cricket balls and everywhere where padding is required.
6. In Germany jute of a fine texture with striped and coloured threads was used largely at one time instead of wall-paper.
7. Soles of shoes can much more largely be made from jute instead of leather. Our slippers can be from jute soles.
8. Where tape is used, jute can be substituted.
9. Where canvas and specially *imported* canvas is used, jute of a thick texture can be substituted.
10. Jute of a thick texture plastered and whitewashed will make good substitute for partition walls.
11. Jute bags with coloured threads will substitute canvas and imported leather bags or children's school satchels.
12. Waterproofed jute will probably make nice mackintoshes and tarpaulins.
13. Winter clothing can be made of jute

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threads. For a mild climate it will take the place of light woollens and tweeds.

14. Tennis, badminton and fishing nets can be produced with jute threads if tarred.

15. Curtains and casement cloth can be made of jute.

16. Bed-spreads can be made of jute. It can also be used to cover table-cloths instead of baize if nice coloured patterns can be evolved.

17. Tennis screens, shamianas, tents, kanats, etc. can also be exclusively made of jute for the consumers of Bengal.

18. There are numerous uses of the kinds of cloth called "Khero" and "Tikin" in Bengal; specially for bedding and upholstery. A fine quality coloured and striped jute cloth can be used for these purposes.

Each one of us can think of some more uses of jute and encourage and support more jute products. The only way to find an effective remedy to our jute over-productions is to find an outlet and sale for the produce. Neither restriction nor temporary measures of relief in the shape of financial assistance will be the panacea. The Government communique suggesting propaganda to restrict next year's sowing explains the difficulties of successfully working up such a scheme. There is another thing that may help to establish a stronger position for jute and to revolutionize the methods of production. This is to carry on research in the various ways for getting the fibres out without "retting" or "steeping." Flax in Ireland was at one time "retted." Machinery has now been invented to separate the fibres without retting. If jute fibres can be separated by a machinery without retting it will not only make the farmers' lot better and make for their long life and improved health but will also cheapen the product, thus increasing its sales and consumption and establishing the monopoly of this product for India for good.

A Treatise on Hindu Astronomy

A Review*

By JOGES CHANDRA RAY

The name of Mr. V.B. Ketkar as an astronomer is well known to our countrymen who take interest in the reform of our almanac. He is perhaps more famous as the persistent and practised advocate of the view that the zero-point of the Indian ecliptic is exactly opposite to the star, Chitrā. The determination of this point has been the fundamental problem in the way of any practicable correction of our almanac, and has naturally been the subject of endless controversy. Mr. Ketkar was the first to suggest the solution, and for nearly half a century has been fighting for it.

The present is a complete book for computing an almanac. It is an enlarged and revised edition of the author's *Grahaganitam* published thirty years ago. It belongs to the class of astronomical handbooks, called Karana. But it is much more, and gives formulæ for every kind of calculation that may be necessary in preparing an almanac, including the height of moon's cusps, the transit of Venus across the sun, and even the places of the new planets, Varuna (Uranus) and Indra (Neptune). The rules are short and clear and are illustrated by examples worked out. Excepting one or two cases which are rarely calculated, the formulæ do not require more knowledge than that of the four rules of arithmetic and decimal fractions. There are also tables for shortening labour. I was under the impression that Ganesa, the celebrated author of *Grahalāghava*, was the first to do away with trigonometrical functions; but the commentator of this book quotes *Siddhanta-sekhara* by Sripati to show that the latter had anticipated Ganesa four centuries earlier. It seems Ganesa was not aware of his predecessor's work.*

There is no space for noticing the many improvements made by the author nor his arguments in favour of Chitrā. He has discovered a new method of finding the values of sines of angles which, as stated in the book, worried him long. But his

* Grahaganitam.—*With illustrative examples by Venkatesa Ketkar and commentary by his son Dattarai Ketkar, 1930. Price Rs. 5. To be had of D. V. Ketkar, B.A., B.T., Bijapur.*

* Hardly anything is known of Sripati except his *Ratnamālā*, a favourite of astrologers. His *Siddhanta-sekhara* was thought to have been lost. From many quotations from this book by the commentator it appears to be original in many points and deserves publication.

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greatest achievement consists in his successfully putting the formulae of modern astronomy into the old groove of a Karana. The heliocentric places of the star-planets are first computed and then reduced to the geo-centric. The evection and variation of the moon, the great inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn have been all taken into account.

If the work is a remarkable contribution to our future Astronomy which is bound to come, the commentary appears to me more remarkable. It is a masterly exposition in easy Sanskrit of the principles underlying the rules, and this has necessitated the writing of almost a complete treatise of mathematical astronomy with its Kepler's and Newton's Laws. The treatment requires of course knowledge of higher mathematics. Indeed the commentary is the Siddhanta on which the Karana is based. The book may well be prescribed for those students of our universities who besides Sanskrit take up honours course of Mathematics for their B. A. degree. Herein they will find practical application of the principles of Astronomy they study, and will be immensely interested in the calculations which they find embodied in their almanac. At present they do not know even what the *Tithis* and *Nakshatras* are, and what they learn remains outside their daily life. This may be said of many other branches of knowledge taught in our colleges.

There are, however, some errors of omission and commission in the book. As to the latter, it is to be regretted that the commentator has felt the need of using the letters of the English alphabet in the figures, English and Greek in the equations, and the English names of trigonometrical functions. The integers, fractions, and indices are all given in Nagri while the symbols, in English or Greek. This mixture is very confusing. Sudhākar Dvivedi did not feel the necessity of using foreign types in his treatises on higher Mathematics. The printing-presses in the provinces where Nagri is the common script possess various founts out of which a selection of types to be used as symbols might be made, or types from Gujarati or even Bengali founts might be borrowed with their names given for the benefit of those who are not acquainted with them. These letters would not interrupt the reading of Sanskrit. It is true those who attempt to read and understand the commentary are at present well acquainted with English and Greek letters; but that is no reason why the printing should be barbarous.*

Now to an error of omission. Neither the author nor the commentator has thought it necessary to compare the results of calculation according to the rules of this book with those obtained from the British *Nautical Almanac*. Of course everyone knows that Karana rules are purposely made inexact in order to shorten labour and cannot therefore give results accurate to a minute. But simplification of rules may be carried too far, and though one may rely on Mr. Ketkar's judgment one would like to see the degree of accuracy attained. He has computed the ephemerides of the planets for a given date, and the times of lunar and solar eclipses with their circumstances which occurred some years ago. It would not have given him much trouble to show the results in a page side by side with those obtained from the *Nautical Almanac*. This would have been the best and most convincing way of popularizing his book. Similarly, the constants employed in the book and those adopted in European Astronomy might have been shown together. The book is primarily intended for those provinces which follow the lunar calendar. Its usefulness would have been considerably increased had the author given rules for computing the solar calendar. It is true three-fourths of India are still content with counting days by nights and months by the moon as our Aryan forefathers did in days of yore It is also true that a lunar month is a reality, while a solar an abstraction. But since the primary object of the original calendar was to ascertain the seasons for agriculture, and the sun is the lord of the year of seasons, the moon was yoked to the sun. Unhappily they refuse to move harmoniously, and astronomers had to devise contrivances to effect their union. This has resulted to a complicated lunar calendar which acknowledges the superiority of the solar yet refuses to believe in it. Mr. Ketkar who is rightly impatient of tedious labour has in his book gone on finding the number of days elapsed since its epoch (Saka 1800) by counting the number of solar months, intercalary months, lunar months *tithis* and lost *tithis*, while a glance at a table of solar days per year and per solar month would give the desired result in no time. He has himself shown elsewhere that there was a solar calendar in use since 1193 B. C., and he knows that it is still in use in the Eastern provinces. It is true that usage varies as to the opening day of a solar month. But one need not take this difference into account in finding the number of days elapsed.

* This reminds me of an experiment of an exactly opposite nature carried out in Bengal under the instruction of an educational expert. He thought that the boys of primary schools ought to be familiar with the English forms of the numerals, and the best way of accomplishing the object would be to write all numbers in English, the rest of course in Bengali. Books on arithmetic were accordingly printed for the use of the boys. They read them as if they were Bengali script. They could not, however, forget the Bengali signs, and would often mistake one for the other of the two sets. It so happens that English 8 is exactly Bengali 4, English 9 resembles Bengali 7. This attempt at making learning easy appears to me ludicrous.

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Dove is Now Night Bird of War

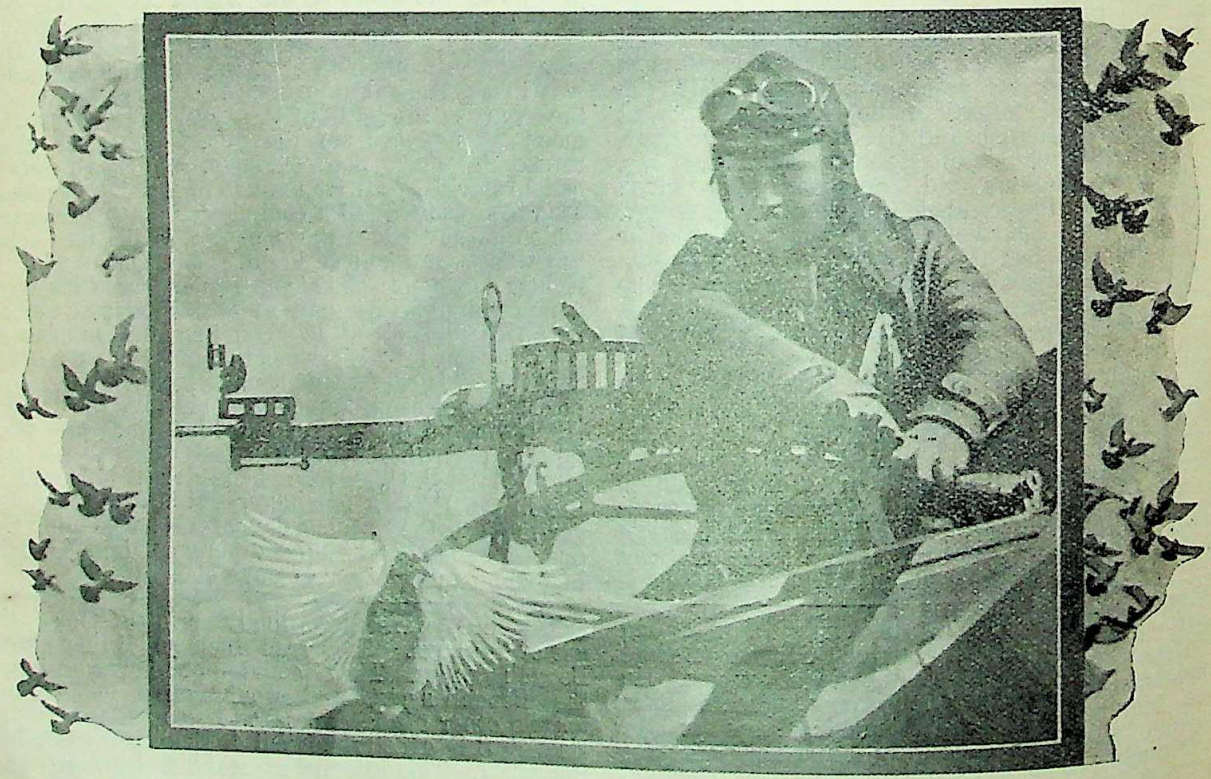
Night flying homing pigeons, something brand-new in the bird world, have been developed by experts of the United States Army Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth, N. J., where most of the carrier pigeons for the Army are bred and trained.

In rearing and teaching these birds, the Government pigeoneers have accomplished a feat which for centuries was considered impossible. From time immemorial, it has been an axiom of pigeon breeding and racing that homers, no matter how fast and faithful, do not fly after nightfall.

After several years of failure and discouragement, they finally have succeeded.

Now there are six pigeons at Fort Monmouth that have been liberated repeatedly thirteen miles from the special night-flyers' loft after dark and have homed consistently. Only one of them, however, has made the flight regularly in the minimum time of twenty minutes.

Many of the night flying birds bred at the Jersey fort in recent months have been shipped to Army posts in Panama, the Philippine Islands, and Hawai, where they have made much better



Borne into the sky in a plane, the carrier pigeon is released to wing its way back to its loft, where the message, written by the observation pilot, w e read. This is part of a bird's regular military training.

World War experience showed Army officials that a night flying species of bird would be vastly superior to the ordinary carrier pigeon both in war and peace time. Immediately following the armistice, the Signal Corps began its breeding experiments,

records. For example, at Honolulu there are six pigeons bred at Fort Monmouth that have consistently flown at night a distance of fourteen miles in eighteen minutes. On occasion, the same birds have flown thirty-five miles in fast time.

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Around the leg of the carrier bird is fastened a small capsule in which the message is placed.

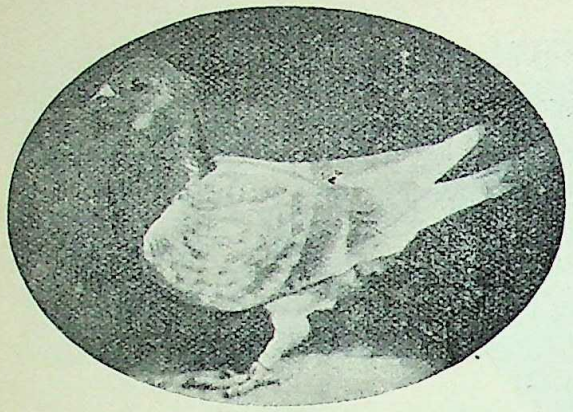
Above, "Uncle Sam" is relieved of a message which it has carried to the shore from an Army transport at sea. At right, Cher Ami, who saved the Lost Battalion in the World War.

It was on a recent visit to the fort that I learned of this interesting new development in pigeon breeding. I had gone to New Jersey to see the country's only real training school for military pigeons and the famous hero birds which still are housed there—the pigeons that saw service with the Signal Corps in France and delivered important messages through the smoke and din of battle, some of them wounded or partly blinded by shrapnel. Symbolical of peace, the survivors of that gallant flock now make their home in the same loft occupied by a pair of feathered German war prisoners. Twelve years after the armistice, these birds, I found, continue to attract hundreds of visitors to Fort Monmouth. Though the Army pigeoneers treat them with the respect due to valiant veterans of a past conflict, they naturally concentrate their attention upon the winged soldiers of the future, and especially on the night flyers.

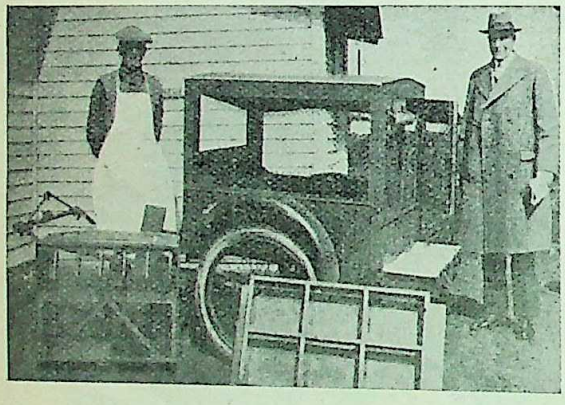
How did the Army go about the difficult job

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"Lele," the Signal Corps' night flying record holder. It was bred in the loft at Fort Monmouth and darkness has no terror for it



This pigeon loft, mounted on wheels, was designed by thomas H. Ross, right, for the use of the Signal Corps pigeoneers working at Fort Monmouth, N. J.

of breeding the night flying pigeons? The Signal Corps, Ross told me, began by studying the records of its numerous birds with a view to ascertaining which pigeons had persistently flown home in the late evening or early darkness. Then test flights were conducted, in which these birds and their offspring were used. In this way, a carefully selected strain was isolated for breeding purposes.

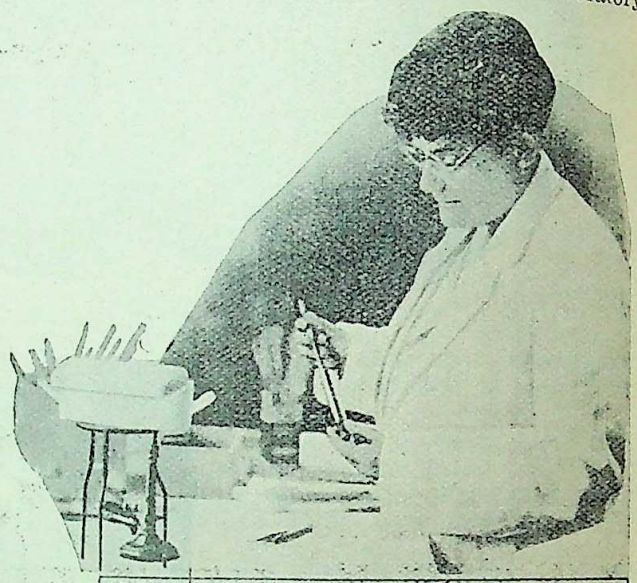
A twilight flying tendency, however, was not the only characteristic considered in the selection of these birds for parent stock. It was also deemed necessary for them to have previously bred one generation of reliable message-carrying homing pigeons. The young birds thus obtained possessed the twilight flying propensities and the homing instinct of their parents. Besides, they were sufficiently strong physically to be trained to fly distances up to 100 miles, the minimum required by the Army of each bird that is to become part of its communication system.

(Popular Science Monthly)

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First Pictures of Pasteur Institute

Each day 8,000 tubes of vaccine and 12,000 tubes of serum leave one of the greatest centres of preventive medicine in the world—the Pasteur Institute, in Paris. It was founded by a national subscription nearly fifty years ago as a laboratory



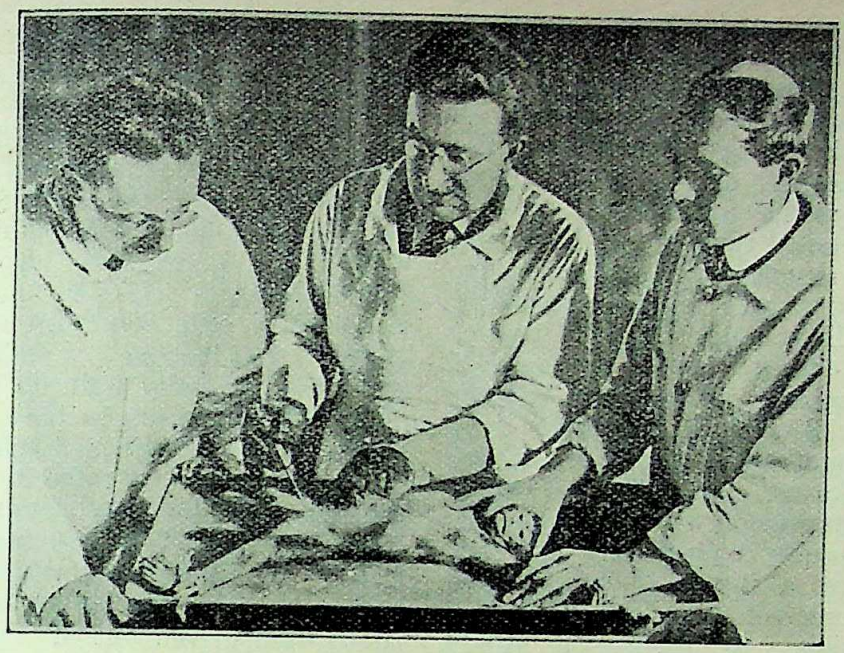


Dr. R. E. Hoffstadt, of the University of Washington, is a research worker at the Pasteur Institute, at present seeking a new serum against anthrax.

This officer is believed to have been bitten by a mad dog and is receiving the Pasteur treatment for hydrophobia. The serum used is from a mad rabbit.

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This monkey is helping in the fight on yellow fever. Here it is being inoculated to test a new serum known as "antiamaril." Amaril is a poison that is believed to be secreted by a tiny disease germ and to be the cause of yellow fever.

for the great French chemist, Louis Pasteur, father of bacteriology. Now it is carrying on the work of this pioneer in preventive inoculation against disease, who died in 1895. The striking photographs of its activities which *Popular Science Monthly* presents here are the first ever permitted for publication.

While internationally famous doctors seek new cures for diseases in its research laboratories, an up-to-date factory makes tried and proved serums and vaccines.

(*Popular Science Monthly*)

Saivism as an Influence in the Pacific Lands

THE myth of "the splendid isolation" of Indian life and Indian culture within the barriers of the mountains and the ocean has long been given up. The Greater India beyond the seas was a discovery which we owe primarily to European scholars. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim's monograph on the *Indian Influences in the Lands of the Pacific* (Koninklijk Bataviasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen) is one more penetrating study of the nature of the Indian influences in the Archipelago, specially in Java and Sumatra. It marks, however, a departure in this that, like most other eminent scholars, Dr. Stutterheim does not concentrate all his attention on a study of the Buddhistic forces which worked there. He estimates the influence of Hindu Saivism—a living force even today. The story of the spread of Buddhism reads much like that of the spead of Christianity—zealous monks and daring seafarers planting the banner of peace on foreign shores. But, however indelible the stamp, "inwardly things will have remained as they are." Here, according to the author, Christianity followed a deeper channel. And, Saivism followed almost the same path, as its potency as an influence in the Pacific lands shows.

Although its sphere of influence was more limited than that of Buddhism, Saivism was of longer duration and certainly exerted a more penetrating influence on the soul of the people. Both Further India and Indonesia have known Saivism, be it in a form which India has never recognized as the

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official form ; China and Japan remained outside the sphere of influence of this religion, although they came in contact with it through the many Sivaistic elements which crept into the later day Mahayana. The difference in the action of the two religions is immediately visible. Whilst we possess numerous and detailed reports of the arrival of Buddhism, its propaganda and expansion, there is absolutely nothing known regarding that of Saivism. How could it be otherwise ? Every world citizen could become a Buddhist at any minute of the day but one had to be born a Sivaist in the same way as one is an Israelite if born of Jewish parents. One looks for missions and propaganda in vain ; expansion of the territory other than by conquest is practically excluded. One could only be a Sivaist if one belonged to the chosen people of the Hindus and it was only possible to become a Hindu through the *upanayana*, the investiture with the caste chain, and the *upanayana* was only desired if one was "of caste," in other words born of Hindu parents. A circulus from which there was no escape. Here, however, we encounter a problem which was brought to my attention by Paul Pelliot and which, however simple it may be, has remained unobserved, even by the keen-eyed Kern. If, so the problem is set, the Hindus of the highest castes at the beginning of our era made up their minds to colonize the Archipelago (the oldest traces of such a Hindu settlement date back to the 4th century A. D.), then they were guilty of a serious offence, *i.e.*, travelling over sea. Secondly, how is it possible that Hinduism flourished on those islands for a thousand years when it has been proved that the bearers of this culture were not Hindus but Javanese. In other words, how did these Javanese succeed in becoming Hindus when, as we have seen above, only a born Hindu is entitled to this privilege ? It might be argued that the Javanese were apparently included in the fourth caste, that of the conquered and non-Hindus ; this is, however, in conflict with reality which has shown us that the Javanese belonged to the higher castes.

That the Saivism of Java is much more distant from the Saivism of the Hindus than the majority of people imagine, is probably due to the district from which this religion came to Indonesia. But in this respect also opinion is divided. On the authority of a guess by Kern, Southern India has been accepted as the country of its origin ; this guess has, however, never been able to justify itself. The writing used on the oldest documents in Indonesia is the same as that usually used in Southern and Western India, especially that of the latter district. There are plenty of points of contact with Gujarat to be found which are also laid down in traditions while this district must also be regarded as very important to the Buddhism of the Archipelago. Finally, the dynasty which we generally indicate with the name of the Sakas appears to have been established in the West of India and the ruler "Saka" is the person who is referred to in the old Javanese traditions as having brought the Hindu culture. What is more, the earliest traces of Hinduism in the Archipelago correspond with the period in which the Saka rulers were driven out of their country by Chandragupta Vikramaditya. Does not then the possibility arise that it was these rulers, surrounded by their courtiers and priests, who bore a kind of Saivism which was not the genuine Saivism (the Sakas were foreigners) and scattered themselves, among other places, in the Archipelago, seeking the help of the small Hindu trading colonies in Indonesia, where they soon regained their old power and glory ? It is a hypothesis for which there is more to be said than I can explain in these few lines and which is certainly worthy of consideration.

In any case, it is a fact that after the first action of the Hindus, a strong Hinduization of the social order of Indonesia and particularly of Java, is noticeable. One is naturally inclined to imagine that this influence was at its strongest in the initial stages and that it gradually became weaker, but nothing is less true. In the inscriptions which we have found in Java, it is shown that the lower classes of the Indonesian society were practically unaffected by the foreign element and it is not until after 1000 A. D. that there is any indication of a deeper penetration of Hindu elements, although at that time the contact with the Hindus was on the decline. In the older times old native names were used for various officials such as that of the court astrologers Pangku, Tawan, Tirip. The king also assumed his Indonesian title : Rakai Panangkaran, in which "rakai" implies prince, duke or baron, but when he issued a decree in *nagari* characters and in Sanskrit he called himself Kariyana Panang-

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karana and his officials Pangkura, Tawana and Tiripa! In the same way as Huig de Groot calls himself Hugo Grotius.

On the other hand, in later times and in East Java (Majapahit), preference was given to the use of the correct Sanskrit terms and titles and the people took delight in giving their ruler the appearance of a full-blooded Hindu, while in reality he will barely have had any Hindu blood in his veins. It is also necessary to explain the fact why in the oldest period of the Hinduization, (that of Mid Java coincides with the temples of Barabudur, Mendoet and Prambanan about 700—900 A. D.) the typical Javanese features such as the gamelan, batik, wayang etc. are placed so much in the background that they do not appear in the reliefs and are hardly mentioned in the literature. Yet we may not assume that they did not exist, for we know that these features belonged to the old native cultural assets before the arrival of the Hindus. But their accommodation to Hindu elements,—which in the case of wayang mean the use of Hindu heroes such as Arjuna, Krishna etc., and in the case of batik, the use of Hindu ornaments—raised them from the lower classes to the Hindu courts, whereby they entered on a new period of life. The names of persons which, at first, were almost all of them purely Indonesian in form and often indicated the name of a place, were, in the second period from 1000 to the fall of Majapahit about 1500 A. D., and in East Java, often substituted by high-sounding Sanskrit names. Majapahit, the last great Hindu empire, which was actually Javanese through and through, was known as Vilvatikta and the place Ka-uripan, derived from the Indonesian urip-life, was known as Jivana from the Sanskrit root "jiv" which also has the same meaning. Much prominence is given to Sanskrit in the literature and this tendency is noticeable even up to the present day.

All this, however, has had still another result which I have already referred to; the real, primitive Javanese which previously took a back seat and which was anything but "hoffahig," looms up in the foreground in the East Javanese period. This is noticeable in the temples and especially in their reliefs. At Barabudur and Prambanan we find a world pictured in the reliefs which might just as well be Hindu as Indonesian and in which the heroes are shown as we have grown to know them in the Indian temple reliefs; in East Java, in temples such as that of Panataran, these same heroes have become unrecognizable figures and lean more towards the wayang type, which portrays old-native art types in a high degree and wherein numerous Indonesian elements, which are also to be found in the Eastern islands, are encountered. In the stories "magic" plays a prominent part, *i. e.*, supernatural and magic forces are given such a large place as was never encountered in Indian literature and in every possible manner attempts are made to describe and paint them. Flame patterns and magic spirals show the magic-laden atmosphere of the East Javanese temple reliefs in which supernaturally powerful heroes perform their magic deeds. In short, the social standards, art traditions and similar features brought by the Hindus are used more and more in the course of the Hinduization of Indonesia (the same thing happened in Further India), not to give expression to the Hindu values but to provide the old native autochthonous forms with new ideas. What is even stronger is that the old Indian temple has, owing to the penetration of the Indonesian ancestral service, become a monument to the dead.

Buddhism, however, never attained so much; in Indonesia it soon disappeared as an individual quantity and was absorbed in Saivism as a sect—a sect, it is true, of high order and of exceptional significance but without any contact with the masses. Saivism, however, still lives today in the Javanese philosophy, not as a copy of what India presented to Indonesia but as a new mantle for the old national soul.

In the meantime, we must not overlook the social changes in the old Javanese society, in so far as they are due to Indian influence. It may be taken as definite that the old native social order was one in which the *desa* (village) was autonomic and in which the *desa* headman was the highest authority. Now, it is not certain whether this state of affairs still ruled in Java when the Hindus instituted their principality. It is probable that there were headmen over larger communities bearing the old native title of Raka. There seems to be every possibility that these Rakas later devolved into kings who developed their authority, which had probably been greatly limited by the old native *adat* (customary law), on the lines of the Indian rulers. As soon as one of these, by means

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of an aggressive policy (here again the Indian rulers probably served as model), succeeded in extending his sphere of authority to the surrounding raka-districts he called himself Maharaja, a title which originally, and also later on, indicated that the bearer of the title possessed the hegemony over a certain part of Java. This, however, must have happened long after the real Hindus were in authority here and we can only assert this with any certainty for the period after the 7th century A. D. It was the beginning of an ever-increasing penetration of Hinduism which ended with a Javanese state, Majapahit, wholly laid out on Indian lines and described in the well-known panegyric, the Nagarakritagama, following again the Indian model. From this state Hinduism penetrated still further to the coasts of the Eastern islands even as far as the Philippines. It was a second hand Indian influence but the exercisers were much more active in spreading it than the real Hindus would ever have been. The absolutism of the Javanese and Balinese rulers of modern day, is the result thereof.

In the 4th and 5th centuries there existed probably already for several centuries, small Hindu kingdoms in Champa, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo (Koetei). As regards the religion of these countries little is known; their significance is undoubtedly due to the fact that they were situated on the trade route from the West (India) to the East (China). Some developed into mighty kingdoms, others disappeared without leaving many traces behind. Under the latter category is, among others, the Tarumanagara kingdom situated in West Java, the name of which has been retained in that of the River Tji Taroem. A number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and a type of letter which coincides with that encountered in Western and Southern India, lead us to conclude that this was an actual settlement of Hindus as outlined above. Now all traces have disappeared; the Hindu influence was apparently so superficial that the people were unaffected. In the first category, however, is included the empire in Sumatra which developed around Palembang into a mighty trading state, Srivijaya, which for years was a dangerous rival of Java and which was feared even in India itself. From a Pacific point of view, this state, which was Buddhist through and through and which possessed a Buddhist university, is of the greatest significance; it was situated close to the passage through the Straits of Malacca and was therefore able to control practically all the trade. It is, however, difficult to say how long the Hindu element therein remained unadulterated and how quickly the native element gained the upper hand; one thing is certain and that is that it would be safer to call a state of this kind "international."

Java, which was situated slightly off the trade route, was nevertheless of importance as transit harbour for goods from the Moluccas. It was for this reason that repeated attempts were made to obtain a larger share in the trade of the Straits of Malacca than Srivijaya was willing to allow. The latest investigations make it likely that Java, and especially old Mataram (700—900; temples of Kalasan, Barabudur, Prambanan) for a time succeeded in silencing Srivijaya, even for more than one period (7th century and in the 8—9th centuries.) The older opinion is, however, just the reverse, *i.e.*, that Srivijaya dominated Mataram for some time.

The conflict which was carried on during the coming centuries between Java and Sumatra until Malacca developed into an independent trade harbour and especially until the arrival of the Portuguese, must be regarded as a natural attempt on both sides to become and remain master in the Straits of Malacca, the source of immeasurable riches. In the 14th century Java again won the issue but shortly after, the picture changed completely owing to the action of the Europeans; the hegemony of Java has passed into the hands of the Europeans. In the meantime, much still remains of the spiritual goods of the Hindus and the purest picture is to be found in that jewel of the Archipelago—Bali.

There in the evening they sing from the books of the Indian Mahabharata, be it with the addition of the translations of unknown Sanskrit terms. There Siva, Brahma, Vishnu and Indra live with all their satellites in the midst of the inhabitants of the peaceful *dessas*. There the Balinese raises his eyes frankly to the Gunung Agung, where he knows the gods are assembled—the gods with whom he is as familiar as the Italian peasant with the Madonna. They are his gods, not those of India. He knows them from his youth until his death, when the fire of the funeral pyre closes over his body withdrawing it from the sight of his relations who rejoice at his salvation. There, when walking along the roads

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and fields, one can see every minute what India has meant to Indonesia and what it would mean to Java and the other islands at the present day if the Islam had not come between. Yet in the Javanese interior, the Javanese home there still remains much more of that old time than one would imagine. The daily life, the feasts and ceremonies are still full of old Indian features even though they have been given Arabian names. In the same way as the Christmas feast in the North, although tied by many bonds to Christianity, goes back in reality to the old German times, so we find here, under the surface, old Indian splendour and colour. They are driven away again and again but they return, because they are born out of the syncretism of the most noble features of the cultures of India and Indonesia.

Three Bas-reliefs From Thaton (Burma)

By NIHAR RANJAN RAY, M. A.

THE small archaeological museum at Rangoon shelters in the *débris* of finds long ago made, three bas-reliefs discovered at, and brought down from Thaton or ancient Ramnnadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Talaings. Two of these reliefs are in excellent state of preservation, but the third has miserably suffered at the hands probably of the bearers or coolies. The Archaeological Department of Burma possesses photographs of these images in their unimpaired state, and it is certain that damages were done to them later on. Even now, they, along with other valuable finds, are lying in a neglected state jammed and jumbled together on the dirty floor of a dark cell of a huge building. This is a pity; it is all the more so in view of the fact that the artistic and historical interest of the three reliefs are far greater than we can possibly imagine, and they are by far the most interesting specimens which bring out in more prominent relief the relation of a particular school of the colonial art of Burma with a contemporary Indian school on this side of the Bay of Bengal. As no particular notice has yet been taken of them, I propose to make a survey of them, I hope, probably for the first time.

Iconography

Of the three reliefs two are Vishnuite, and the third is Saiva. Figure 1 is a rectangular slab measuring 3½ ft. by 1 ft. 10 inches and rounded at the top. It represents at the bottom the reposing or the *sayana murti* of Vishnu. His legs are crossed and his four hands hold their respective attributes. The two upper hands which lie flat and reach up to the shoulder seem to hold the *chakra* (discus) and *samkha* (conch-shell) respectively. The

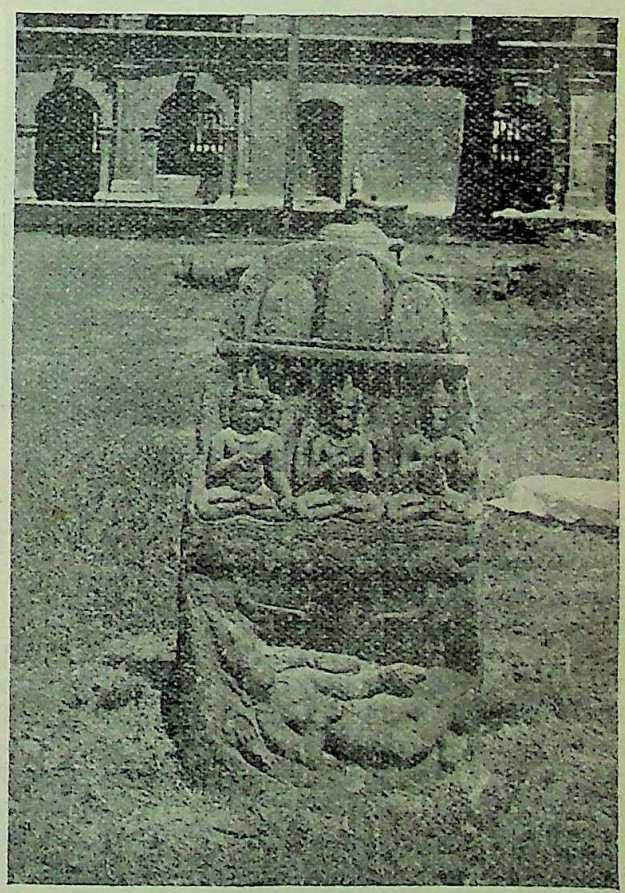


Fig. 1

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lower right placed upon the lower chest hold a round object, probably the *vilva* or *mutulinga* fruit; while the lower left, placed alongside the thigh, holds something that is hardly recognizable. His clothes reach up to the knee and he wears round the wrists, ankles, waist and neck, ornaments that are frankly Indian. The head-dress which consists of triangular lobes pointing upwards is not exclusively Burmese, but is particularly



Fig. 2

characteristic in late mediaeval sculptures of the Eastern School. The three lotus stalks that are supposed to have sprung from the navel of the god are actually carved on the stele itself and are represented as having risen from the back of the lying figure. Upon the full-blown petals of three lotus stalks are seated in *padmasana* the three divinities, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Brahma seated to the right is represented with three heads and his ornaments and clothes that reach up almost to the anklet. His right hand is raised up to the chest, and the left rests upon his left knee. Siva, seated to the left, holds in his right hand, raised up to the chest, probably the *mutulinga* fruit, and in his left raised up to the shoulder the *trisul* or trident. Vishnu who occupies the privileged position in the middle holds in his upper right the *chakra*, and in his upper left the *samkha*. The right lower seems to be in the *jnana-mudra* pose, and the left lower is unfortunately mutilated. The description thus detailed would at once warrant us to conclude that it is a representation of the well-known *Ananta-sayya* episode of Vishnu. But, we are for once put into doubt to miss the coils of the serpent, Ananta, on which Vishnu is supposed to lie. There is not even the suggestion of them. The whole slab is in perfect state of preservation, the details are elaborately shown, and had the coils of the serpent been actually represented, we would have had no reason to miss them. It seems that the artist probably satisfied himself only by scratching down on the slab, the outlines of the five heads of the serpent which are seen at the top of the head-dress as an ornamental aureole.

Almost exactly of the same iconographic peculiarities is the larger Vishnuite sculpture represented in figure 2. The slab measures 4½ ft. by 3 ft. and represents the same episode, the *Ananta-sayya* of Vishnu. Here, too, Vishnu is seen in a reposing attitude with his legs crossed, and his upper two hands holding the *samkha* and the *padma* respectively. The whole slab is very badly damaged and the details are difficult to be made out. Yet the coils of the serpent seem here to have been represented, and the five hoods above the head-dress are more prominently shown. There is also an attempt at realism in the representation of water which is suggested by crowded lotus leaves, lotus stems and buds. The same realistic attitude of the artist is also seen in the representation of the main lotus-stalk which is here shown to have really sprung from the navel. It winds upwards to a point where it becomes three stalks with three full-blown lotuses on which again are seated Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The stele at the back of Vishnu is higher and more prominent than those of Brahma and Siva, signifying, no doubt, the superior position of Vishnu in the Brahmanical Trinity.

The third relief measuring 4 ft. by 2 ft. 4 inches (Fig. 3) belongs stylistically to exactly the same class as the two Vishnuite reliefs just described. It represents a god seated in *lilasana* on a lotus pedestal

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with a goddess seated between two arms on his left. In size and proportion she occupies a minor position in the slab which is almost wholly occupied by the god himself. That she is his consort admits of no doubt; the position of the figure and the attitude of the whole body noticeable particularly in the intimate clasping and embrace of the left arm of the god are sufficient guarantee for it. Her face is roughly weathered, but her richly embroidered dress and her heavy ornaments are quite clear. The dress of the god is equally rich, and he too is profusely decorated with ornaments. He wears a crown from which emerges out a *jatamukuta*, a head-dress characteristic of Saivite deities. A halo adds dignity to the divine crown. He holds in his two upper hands raised upwards the trident and what we may describe as the *vajra* respectively. In his two lower hands resting on his respective thighs are the *aksamala* (rosary) and the *mutulinga* fruit. The form of the *vajra* is indeed interesting inasmuch as it differs from all known forms of the particular attribute. But, whether we call it a *vajra* or not, it is certain that the relief represents Siva and his consort Parvati or Durga. The identification finds further support from the fact that the snake which is so intimately associated with Siva is seen hanging downwards from the shoulder of the god; and still further by a representation of the bull Nandi shown under the right foot of the god, and of the Mahishasura or the buffalo-demon on the left corner of the slab under the seat of Parvati who is supposed to have killed it It may moreover be noted that the position and attitude of the two figures have a suggestive similarity with those of the famous Siva-Parvati relief at Ellora.

The three reliefs belong stylistically to one and the same group. They, along witha fourth, which has not yet been traced, must have originally formed part of the Shwezayan pagoda of Thaton. The pagoda is furnished with four large niches at the four cardinal sides, and their size and measurements are such as exactly to accommodate the large stone slabs referred to here. These niches which had long been empty have now been used to shelter slender standing figures of modern Burmese Buddhas. They seem incoherent and out of place in the large spacious niches wherein they have found their place. But even the Shwezayan is not the original abode of these gods; and it is pretty certain that there must have once existed at Thaton Hindu temples dedicated to the worship of these gods—Vishnu and Siva—and that when these temples were ruined or wilfully destroyed the images were carried over and installed at the Shwezayan to decorate its walls and niches. For, even a casual observation is sufficient to convince one that they do not serve anything but a decorative purpose and have nothing to do with the cult for which the Shwezayan stands.

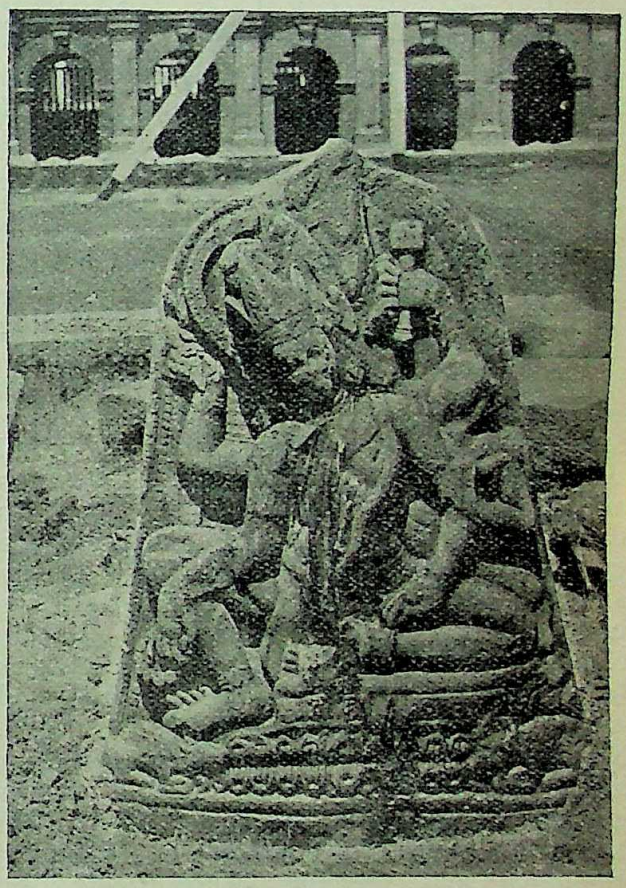


Fig. 3

Art and Historical Background

The three sculptures are all worked out in bold relief on comparatively hard reddish sandstone, and are frankly works of Indian colonial artists. In form and spirit, and features and ornaments they are decidedly Indian. Their composition shows high technical efficiency and brings out prominently its affinity with the early mediaeval sculptures from Orissa lately discovered by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur of the Indian Museum. They have attained different

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standards of artistic excellence, and it is most likely that they were executed by different artists. But it seems certain that they can roughly be ascribed to the same school of art and to the same period of artistic activity, *i. e.*, 9th and 10th centuries A D. In the two Vishnuite reliefs, the subject-matter is the same, and their iconographic representation is practically of the same kind ; but there is considerable difference in their artistic treatment. The larger relief is very badly corroded, yet it is easy to ascertain that the modelling of the individual figures of both the reliefs is of the same quality ; the treatment of the volume by a schematic arrangement of the figures as well as the linear composition of the reliefs also differ very little. But it is in the treatment of the surface that the main difference lies. The smaller slab is divided into three, strictly speaking four, distinct parallel surfaces schematically arranged and each carved individually almost on the same plane and in comparatively less bold relief, with the result that there is scarcely any scope for the display of light and shade. It is the treatment of the volume that sets apart each individual surface, not a skilful distribution of light and shade. There is very little scope for contrast in the carvings of the different planes of the relief, and the eyes glide from one surface to another slowly and smoothly. But the larger relief at once convinces of the more technical artistic efficiency of the artist. His sure chisel has been able to carve in different planes and each plane in comparatively bolder relief. No opportunity has he missed to distribute his larger surfaces on the different planes into as many smaller ones as he could. He has used his subject-matter in a most intelligent and therefore more artistic form by introducing elements which he could well leave out. This is evident in the representation of water suggested by lilies and lotuses carved on a lower plane of the relief which on the smaller slab has been left bare. A comparison of the surface treatment of the two reliefs is still better seen in the representation of the lotus-seats ; on one, *i. e.*, on the smaller slab the petals are arranged in one surface and are indicated almost in outlines, while on the larger slab they are arranged on a double surface, and indicated in separate boldly carved petals. The attitude of the two artists is best seen in the comparative treatment of the uppermost portion of the smaller relief and the lowermost portion (*i. e.*, the pedestal) of the larger relief. On the former the volume of the stone has been distributed in three low carved steles left bare. Such a treatment the artist of the larger relief would never have tolerated ; this is evident from the fact that he has not even suffered to leave bare the lowermost portion of his large slab of stone, a portion unclaimed by his subject-matter. But artistic consideration has necessitated a carving not only in deep square panels displaying a nice systematic contrast of light and shade, but also in parallel lines. This difference in the treatment of the surface alone is responsible for the world of difference in the artistic effect of the two reliefs, namely, that, one is neat but schematic, lifeless and mechanical, and is therefore a mere translation of its subject-matter ; while the other is more lively, more animated and more pleasing, and is therefore a creation.

But the most artistic of the three reliefs and one of the best examples of mediæval relief sculptures in India and Burma is the third relief that represents Siva and Parvati. The whole stele is occupied by the god alone and Uma plays a minor part throwing herself into the background. But how well-planned, though complex, is the composition in which she merges in the linear arrangement of the two left hands and the left leg of her lord. Her hand and left hand with a portion of her body are carved on the same plane as that of the body and hands of Siva ; but the remainder of her whole person shifts itself on a deeper plane in a position that is in rhythmic response with the left side of the body of the god. The linear composition of the relief is effected mainly by the portion of the four hands and the two legs ; and this linear movement regulates the mass that is distributed in three bold surfaces, one at the top comprising the two upper hands, and the h ad ; one at the right comprising the two right hands, the right leg and the right side of the body ; and a third at the left comprising the left hand, the left leg, the left portion of the body of the god and finally the whole person of the *devi*. There is another surface that comprises the pedestal containing the two lotus designs and the bull and buffalo. These four surfaces, we have already observed, have been carved in different planes, all in bold and round reliefs. But most remarkable is the complex linear composition referred to above. The two upper hands are raised upwards in angular

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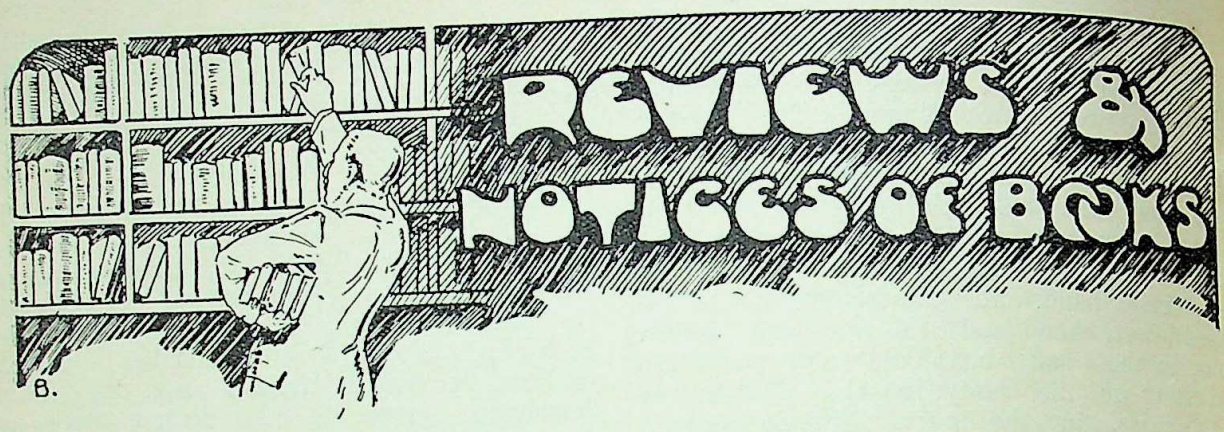
urves, and we find their happy response in e two hands lowered down in delightful es and soft curves ending in the supple vement of their fingers The surface mprising the head with its halo and *mukuta* mes down to rest on the body up to the aist-zone and then, dividing itself into two, kes a linear movement in two directions, the ght one in a sympathetic response with the ised right hand, and the left one with the ised lower hand and the pedestal below. us, in the soft but bold and masculine odelling of the body, in the distribution f the mass, in the very difficult surface eatment in different complex planes resulting a rich display of light and shade, and nally in the complex linear composition of e whole relief, this piece of sculpture shows e artistic efficiency of the colonial artist his very best.

We have already remarked that these three eliefs have a very close affinity with those tely discovered by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda ahadur in Orissa. In fact, so remarkable s the affinity that one who is not told of e findspot and the story of the discovery is ikely at a first study of the Siva-Parvati stele o style it as Orissan of the 9th—10th enturies A.D. Moreover, this particular relief as also a considerable iconographic affinity ith a Siva-Parvati relief (Indian Museum xhibit No. 33 N. S. 2222) discovered along ith the images and reliefs just referred to. n form and appearance, in modelling and omposition, and in their general treatment nd execution, these reliefs, at least the Siva-arvati and the larger Vishnuite reliefs, have a striking similarity with the Orissan sculptures here referred to ; and it is difficult to discard our assumption that these are works of artists who had migrated from Orissa, then rich in art tradition and culture.

This is a finding not at all to be surprised at. The ancient name attributed to old Prome in Lower Burma is Srikeshetra, so often mentioned in Mon records as *Sikshet* or *Srikshet*, and by the Chinese pilgrims as *Si-li-cha-ta-lo*; and Srikshetra is the holy land of Puri, the ancient Kalinga coast. The name Srikshetra given to old Prome may be apocryphal, but the attribution itself is significant, however late it may be. The old name for Pegu is *Ussa* which is but a form of Odra or Orissa. It is difficult to disbelieve that Pegu was colonized from Orissa or was once dominated over by a people who had migrated from Orissa. Indeed these classical names are but survivals of actual colonization from the original countries inhabited by the colonists themselves. The later authorities who attributed these names did not answer according to their whims, but from their recollection of actual historical facts that constantly harked back to their origins. Lower Burma is the land of a people who are still called "Talaings." The term used as early as 1107 A.D. in Mon records is but a derivation of "Telingana" or "Trikalinga"—a name used to mean almost the whole of Andhra-Kalinga zone. These are facts sufficient to testify to the existence of a very intimate intercourse between the Andhra-Kalinga country and Lower Burma.

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[*Books in the following languages will be noticed* : *Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

MIRROR OF INDIAN ART : *By G. Venkatachalam. Crown 8vo., pp. 254, limp boards, Price Rs. 2. Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore, and to be had from Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay.*

This is a collection of papers on various aspects of art in India which have already appeared in some of the well-known periodicals. A glance at the list of the various subjects discussed will indicate the wide range of the author's interests in the domain of the beautiful in Indian life and culture : (1) Folk Art in Gujarat. The Garba Songs and Dance, Ras Leela and Rangoli ; (2) Wood Carving; (3) Indian Textiles—on Palamposes or printed cloths, Patolas, Cashmere shawls and Benares Kinkhwabs; (3) Studies in Rajput Painting ; (4) Stage and Screen in India ; (5) Women and Art : (4) A National Dress for India ; (5) Delhi Decorations ; (6) The Madras School of Arts and (7) Hellenism in Indian Art, together with appreciations of Dilip Kumar Roy, the exponent of Indian Music, Mukul Chandra Dey the painter and etcher and Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri, the sculptor. Most of these articles are slight things, not going deep enough into the subject and at times the note they strike is one of superficiality.

They, however, serve to indicate the writer's sympathetic and appreciative spirit which is ever ready to respond to all the new movements and experiments that are manifesting themselves in the artistic life of modern India. The get-up of the work in its printing and binding is quite attractive, but unfortunately inconsistent and incorrect spellings of Indian and other proper names and terms often mar the effect (*e. g., Garbha*, pp. 4 ff, beside *Gurba*, p. 166, for *garba* ; *Kukuzo Okkakura* for *Kakuzo Okakura*, p. 18 : *Kathekalli*, p. 19 for *Kathakali* : *Timrud* for *Timurid* Kings, p. 120; *Gobileuw* for *Goloubew*, p. 112 ; *Himanusa Rai* for *Himansu Rai*, p. 135 ; *Badhuri* for *Bhaduri*, p. 153 ; *Cohen* for *Cohn*, *Takshila* for *Taxila* and a few more).

NOVIAL LEXIKE—INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY : *By Otto Jespersen, London, 1930. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 251: Paper bound, Price 3s. 6d.*

Dr. Otto Jespersen of Copenhagen is one of the living masters of Linguistics, and an authority on English Philology. The problem of an artificial international language has attracted his attention, not merely as an academical problem but also as a practical one ; and after Volapuk, Esperanto, Idiom neutral, Ido and Occidental, which have failed to obtain a place beside the great living international languages like English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani or Malay (although Esperanto enthusiasts have worked hard and obtained some sort of recognition for it in some seats of learning), Dr. Jespersen comes forward with his creation—the *Novial*. If anybody ever had the right to propose a new artificial language for international purposes and to invent one it is certainly Dr. Jespersen. He is one of leading authorities in the Science of Linguistics at the present day, and he has intimate knowledge of a great many languages, some of which he speaks equally well with his own mother tongue. When he gives us something, we can expect it will be sound in its theory, and will have the fullest reference to practical side also. The failures of the other artificial languages have guided him against certain dangers to which they are liable. His is the newest experiment and consequently the best and simplest, when compared with the others. He bases his creation on the common elements in English, French and German, the three most important culture languages of international significance. This new speech *Novial* he has described in its doctrine and its application, in its principles and its grammar, in a little book, *An International Language*, published by the same firm as the present work. *Novial Lexike* is a pendant to the previous work, giving the suggested vocabulary or speech commodity of this proposed language. Dr. Jespersen's work in this connexion has been highly praised by the scholarly world and the

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press. A little knowledge of French, less knowledge of German, and some knowledge of English, besides a philological student's acquaintance with the grammar of a few more, have enabled me to follow with tolerable ease texts in *Novial*. Compromise languages of this type however have an appeal to specialists and linguists rather than to the average man, and one can reasonably be sceptical about the success of such artificial compromise languages. To acquire a new language is to acquire a new soul. Given the choice between a living language like Persian or English on the one hand and say Esperanto on the other, I know what most people will choose. Of course if all or most cultured people agreed to adopt an artificial language for international purposes, the question could then be said to enter the practical field. But agreement in a matter like this is hardly possible, and there is no finality in a language, which must go on changing. Personally, I think that one of the natural languages as actually employed should become the International Language. And English is undoubtedly arriving at that position : and I think we should all help English in this matter. Bernard Shaw's remark about artificial languages is about all that we can say in that connexion. "These new languages are very interesting." Very interesting indeed,—that is all. Nevertheless, as an intellectual exercise, the new speech framed by Dr. Jespersen is well worth a study by those who feel drawn to this topic which has its fascinations.

S. K. Chatterji

—

Rhetoric and Prosody. *By V. C. Bardhan. Ramkrishna Asram, Entaly, Calcutta.*

The preface states :—"In order to have a command over a foreign tongue one must acquire a knowledge in rhetoric. It is indispensable for success as a writer in prose or verse." A book which professes to teach English to others ought to contain correct English : "knowledge of," "essential or indispensable to," "writer of prose." We regret to find the following offences against English in the foreword : "helpful and valuable for students" [to] ; "sitting for the examination," [the correct forms are sitting for a degree, sitting at an examination]. ; "I do not find the least utility in teaching these subjects" [we say the utility of a thing, of teaching a thing, is of the least utility (to)] : "the book is a satisfactory product" [say "production" which means literary work ; see Oxford English Dictionary if the commercial word 'product' must be used figuratively, say of which thing the book is a product, as "the book is a satisfactory product of his labours."

The book is full of errors from the first page to the last, and we have to state with regret that pitiable grammatical blunders and shocking misquotations from Byron and Shakespeare offend the eye :—"ten thousands ships" [thousand : fleets]; "the life is most jolly" [this].

We are told on page 26 that "Bird thou never wert" (Shelley) is a solecism or grammatical error. Dr. Bardhan has probably taken his cue from some London professor-critic unacquainted with grammatical technicalities. Shelley is perfectly right, because "wast" and "wert" are both past indicative, though "wert" has the additional power of serving as the past subjunctive : see Hiley's grammar written nearly a hundred years ago, and the Oxford English Dictionary (the word 'Be') published in our own times. If Mr. Bardhan thinks that Shelley ought to have written 'art,' we must tell him that Shelley's sense is "you never seemed to me a bird but I always considered you a sprite."

The book copiously treats of figures of speech but two very important "figures" have been passed over, "Syncope" and "Dieresis" under which contraction and expansion of syllables take place, with which two processes men daily come into contact, most not knowing the cause of the deviation :—Fasci(ci)sm, quini(ni)sation, narci(ci)sm, lecture(r)ship, psych(o)analysis, symbolo(lo)gy, &c. and zoology (expanded pronunciation zo-o-logy under figure "dieresis"), oosphere, oosperm, (compare "co-operation.")

Critic

—

Lowson's Text-Book of Botany ; *(Indian edition) revised and adapted by Dr. B Sahni. Fourth edition revised by L. C. Fox, M.A., 1930, University Tutorial Press Ltd., Burlington House, Cambridge, England. pp. 655.*

Lowson's *Text-Book of Botany* has been a standard text-book for many years ; the Indian edition is used largely by medical students and Intermediate and B. A., B.Sc. pass course students of many of our Indian Universities. It meets well the requirements of elementary students, and occasional reference to recent topics of research has kept it fairly up to date.

To be more useful to Indian students may I suggest that the examples of descriptive morphology of vegetative and flowering parts of plants should be chosen mostly from commonly occurring *Indian* plants and that these names should be inserted immediately after the description of each morphological term as far as possible ? For instance, Holly and Endive (names of English plants) at page 146 would carry no impression on our boys as examples of spiny and crisped margin of a leaf.

Further, I think that the statement at page 117 that "there *is no* phloem-paranchyma" in the phloem of Monocot stem requires some modification ; I believe there are some Monocot stems (*e.g.*, Palms) transverse sections of which do show phloem-paranchyma besides sieve-tubes and companion cells within the phloem region. Subject to these few remarks I should not yet hesitate to recommend strongly this new edition (4th edition) to the attention of our Indian students.

S. R. Bose

—

The Religion of Peace : *By I. H. Quareshi, M.A. With a foreword by Khwaja Hasan Nizami and published by him at Delhi. Price Rs. 3.*

The book has been written because of the unrest in the world, of internecine quarrels and hatred in India and especially to "induce Muslims to act more in the spirit of their religion." We can very easily understand why our Musalman fellow countrymen have got nervous over the matter. When the deadbody of a murderer is hailed by ten thousand people with many notable and respectable persons in the crowd, the suspicion naturally arises whether the creed itself is not at fault. Will the suspicion be removed by the Quranic

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verses, profusely quoted by the learned author and which can, I presume, be placed side by side with the best quotation of the best scriptures of any religion of the world, on peace and toleration? The Hindus will quote verses from their higher scriptures which do not sanction idolatry but those who practise idolatry will quote chapter and verse in their support. It is not the Quranic authorities but the conduct of those who profess to be the followers of the Great Prophet of Arabia that can arrest the progress of the unrest. No amount of proclaiming from the house-top that Islam is the religion of peace will produce any effect on the minds of the sufferers.

The book contains, except publisher's note, foreword, and preface, the following chapters—1. Introductory, 2. The Basis of all Toleration, 3. The Doctrine of a Chosen People, 4. Compulsion in Religion, 5. Misunderstandings about Jihad, 6. The Ethics of Force, 7. Jihad in Theory, 8. Jihad in Practice, 9. Relations with Non-Muslims, 10. Islam—The Religion of Peace. Jihad comes in thrice.

We commend the book to the notice of all readers, Musalman and non-Musalman—to read it and profit by it.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

—

SWARAJ—CULTURAL AND POLITICAL: *By Pramatha Nath Bose, B. Sc. (Lond). Published by W. Newman and Co., Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street, Calcutta. 1929. Price Rs. 4.*

The book under review contains the following chapters:—(1) India Hitherto a Nation; (2) India's Cultural Swaraj; (3) Decline of India's Cultural Swaraj; (4) The Destruction of Village Self-Government; (5) Passing of Communal Concord; (6) Decay of Indigenous Industry; Is Imitation Political Swaraj Desirable; (8) Is Political Swaraj Possible; (9) Revival of Cultural Swaraj: Difficulties; (10) Revival of Cultural Swaraj: Possibilities.

In the first chapter, the author under the influence of the writings of Sister Nivedita, Coomarswamy and Vincent Smith, perpetrates the paradox of saying that "India has hitherto been a nation which is now being disintegrated." India may be considered to be geographical and historical unit from the cultural point of view, but that is hardly any justification for the above statement in the ordinary accepted sense of the term "nation" in the face of cruel historical realities.

The author next frames a new phrase "cultural swaraj" which is nowhere clearly defined. We are familiar with the phrase "cultural nationalism" as a desirable thing in contradistinction from "political nationalism" which is so much under the shade in the estimation of the world's best thinkers at the present day. We are also familiar with "swaraj" as a political concept in current Indian politics and perhaps in Sivaji's time in the past, and as spiritual concept in Vedic times. We have the recent preposterous proposal of founding *Varnashram Swarajya* in the political sense by the the Brahmin Sabha of Bengal and the All-India Varnashram Swarajya Sangha of Benares. But "cultural swaraj" in the non-political sense as something more desirable than "political swaraj" is no doubt new, but difficult to understand, as many of the activities which the learned author recommends in that behalf are undoubtedly political in their complexion and are being pursued as such by present-day Indians. To say that political swaraj (for India presumably) is not desirable and even if it were desirable, is not practicable whether by violent or by non-violent methods and that the formation of a central organization under the name of a Society for the Propagation of Cultural Swaraj "will rescue humanity from the morass of militarism, malevolence, greed, selfishness, destitution, disease and vice" smacks too much of obscurantism. If India is entitled to establish her "cultural swaraj," the rest of the world will also do so and then there is the inevitable conflict of cultures leading to all the evils of political conflicts inspired by narrow, exclusive and aggressive nationalism that had its culmination in the Great War. The author is a well-known writer and much that he writes will be found to be thought-stimulating. But in the present treatise he seems to have made such a curious jumble of political and non-political ideas that he has actually advised us to give up the pursuit of political swaraj and establish cultural swaraj evidently under the *aegis* of British rule. Such obscurantism seems to be the result of extreme reaction in the minds of some people once thoroughly westernized and de-nationalized.

ASWINI K. GHOSE

—

A STUDY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS: BEING AN ESSAY TOWARDS POLITICAL RATIONALIZATION. *By George E. G. Catlin, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Politics in Cornell University. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1930.*

This is a big volume of over 450 pages, beautifully printed on good paper and nicely bound. The name of the book leads one to form large expectations, and the innumerable foot-notes from standard works, ancient, mediæval and modern and even magazine and newspaper articles, makes a display of learning which ought to be adequate to a proper treatment of the subject. The present reviewer is bound to say, however, that the impression left on his mind by a perusal of the volume is distinctly disappointing. The author's style cannot be said to be very happy, and the attempt at condensation sometimes gives an air of abstruseness to ideas which, on analysis, appear to be nothing but commonplace. Certain theories, to which the dignified name of 'law' is given by their propounders, are discussed in this volume. Historical events which are sometimes met with in sequence lead to the formulation of these high sounding 'laws,' *e. g.*, 'Law of the Pendulum' 'Laws of Balance,' 'Law of self-assertion,' so-and-so's 'first law,' 'fifth law' &c. If this sort of generalization is what is meant by the 'rationalization' of politics, it differs from the lucubrations of the older school of political theorists very little except in name. For these so-called 'laws' represent nothing more than certain common psychological facts and results which follow from the action and reaction of men in organized society, not always and invariably, but sometimes, and among certain groups of men at a certain stage of culture and civilization and political development. The author tries to be fair to both sides of a social and political problem, but his treatment is often rambling and scrappy and leads nowhere in particular. Yet he is not wanting in cocksureness.

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Herbert Spencer is an "erratic and once overrated genius." Oswald Spengler is admitted to be a popular writer, but the author should have added that his popularity is confined to thinking men who can appreciate his "immense historical erudition and brilliant historical imagination" to quote the London *Nation*. His book, *The Decline of the West*, is a truly epoch-making production, and it is books like these which constitute creative landmarks in the usually barren field of historical and political literature, though one need not agree with all the conclusions associated with the name of the learned German historian. In the opinion of our author, "philosophical romances, however, such as that of Oswald Spengler, although they may stimulate the imagination and capture interest in the problems of human destiny, can only be regarded as following a thoroughly discredited method when they endeavour to lay down laws for the development or history of the human race, or of particular civilizations or of nations at large. These literary productions must be judged by the historians on their own merits. At least beyond remarking their existence they are of no further concern to political scientists..."

The author carefully segregates political science from ethics, and at the very outset sets forth the point of difference thus: "From Ethics the statesman may learn which courses among several are desirable; from political science he may learn which among several may be feasible." Though he goes on to say that it will be his (the statesman's) duty to select that course which fulfils not one but both conditions," he repeats elsewhere that the basic principle of political science is what an individual or group actually does or aspires to do *in fact*, not what it *should* do or aspire to do, which is the concern of the Ethical philosopher and of the educationalist. But the author does not seem to be sufficiently alive to the bankruptcy of civilization due to this divorce of politics from Ethics, and even speaks mockingly of "an Eden of cowlike innocence," though the appalling tragedy of the materialistic and mechanistic civilization of the west compels him to observe: "No danger is graver than that of subordinating the ends of civilization which are human happiness and the development of the nobility of the human spirit, to the mere instruments and institutions of civilization..." How cynical this materialism had become will appear from a few extracts from the foot-notes to this book. Lord Wolseley writes in the *Soldiers' Pocket Book*: "We will keep hammering along with the conviction that honesty is the best policy, and that truth always wins in the long run. These pretty little sentences do well enough for a child's copy-book, but the man who acts upon them in war had better sheathe his sword for ever." Again, von Treitschke: "No courts of arbitration will ever succeed in banishing war from the world." Von Moltke: "Perpetual peace is a dream and not even a beautiful dream." The Latin maxim, *homo hominis lupus* and the Greek dictum, 'it is by force that force is forced back' are on a par with these doctrines and the much-advertised League of Nations is regarded, by the weaker nations even of the West, as a combination of the powerful nations of the world to keep down those who are less powerful.

The author defines politics as a study of the act of human or social control. Politics is the relation of men and men, not as bodies, but as wills. The author is careful to add that by control he does not mean domination, for "more things are wrought by co-operation than ever by a domineering display of the will-to-power," though "the desire for control, sufficient to give assurance of security, exists."

The author cites, with evident approval, Prof. Giddings' 'law' of social development, which is that there can be no social progress, and therefore no development of personality, except at the price of an absolute increase of suffering to some individuals. The resentment against the so-called Americanization of civilization is in the author's opinion, largely due to "mere mental indolence and nervous debility which finds it irksome and resents the need for keeping to the pace of the times."

Znaniecki's 'fifth law' is nothing more nor less than what is the common lesson of history all the world over, and nowhere more so than in the India of the present, *viz.*, that "social repression produces psychological revolt...even though the original action be discontinued, repression never leads to suppression." "The history of revolutions teaches how the most impotent and miserable human beings will at last avenge themselves on too contemptuous masters, if they can but find leaders." And of all leaders, he who, instead of aspiring to command by self-assertion, chooses the path of self-renunciation, is the most powerful. The last expression of the will-to-power is the ascetic will which refuses to admit that anything is too difficult and which courts hardship. It will conquer the world by not understanding defeat." India, alone among the countries of the world, is fortunate in possessing at this moment a leader of this unique type. If, as the author truly says, "the whole practical value of political science is to enable the human race to treat with more conscious and rational purpose the problems of society," then that science must be indebted for the most fruitful practical development in the art of rational government without going through the moral degradation of war to the great ascetic of Sabarmati and his doctrine of soul-force.

The race question, according to our author, practically resolves itself into the problem of the negro race, for "such races as those generally called the Nordic, Mediterranean and Alpine are to-day too much mixed, too much a matter for dispute among anthropologists themselves, too little distinguishable to the casual observer," and "the ancient culture of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindu peoples makes the claim untenable that they are intellectually or emotionally incapable of making any contribution to civilization which the recently civilized peoples of Europe cannot make also and better. However violent the difference of culture between the Eastern parts of Asia and the Western parts of Europe and North America, the difference is comparable to that of nationality and not one of patently superior and inferior civilizations. It is uncertain that the lamp of enlightenment would be extinguished if all the Whites died in a generation without children and if the yellow peoples were left to carry on civilization."

Human beings will always maintain widely

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different and even conflicting ideals and "logic when working with austere rigidity from inadequate premises in experience, becomes the mother of fanatical cruelty and the grandmother of insanity." The report of the Simon Commission is all for logic in the government of Empires, and leaves no scope for the play of emotion or idealism, though it is based on utterly inadequate experience. No wonder its recommendations are such as sometimes to border on insanity, unless the facts are taken to have been consciously selected to fit in the frame-work of those recommendations. For, the author truly observes that "great movements only come when the few stirred by the imaginative prick of an entirely ideal indignation, are joined by the many who have a concrete ground of grievance which unremittingly irritates them from inactivity into action. The determination of will which, under the influence of an inner ambition or ideal, leads to painful or laborious action being taken unnecessarily is rare; men capable of such determination are, if they have the requisite ability, the natural rulers and are freely permitted to rule, since no one else has a vexed or imaginative enough soul to desire to undertake the trouble." Sir John Simon if he had sufficient political insight, could have seen that India has found such leaders, and the great movement which they have initiated should have been foreshadowed and provided for in his report, if it was to occupy a permanent place in political literature.

India is fully prepared for the travail it is passing through, for it knows that "the mother of political action is pain, not pleasure." "Rebellion," according to the author, "arises when the dominant part of society is asking too much in the name of authority and giving too little." H. J. S. Laski, in his *Grammar of Politics*, which is frequently quoted from in the book under review, rightly defines liberty as "the exercise of initiative by each man in the attempt to secure the fulfilment of his best self." "Conflict," as the author says, "is the minor key of all social development." Order, of course, is fundamental and a primary function of the State, but it is not its "highest moral function," and "those who may never resent, never choose and have no autonomy of will, can never grow to mental adult-hood."

As regards the conflict between majorities and minorities in a State, "the more determined and cohesive minority" may render it in the interest of "the less determined majority" to agree with it as our Mahomedan fellow countrymen know all too well. As a matter of fact, however, "the issue is, indeed, not as a rule between active majority and active minority, but between two active groups, both numerical minorities. That group has a claim, in the interests of social stability, to give the law and settle the convention which is able to sway the passive majority." It is important, in the interests of social stability, that we in India should lay this to heart.

The author speaks of "the relatively trivial rôle played in modern life by the churches and by the great clerical profession," and from a foot-note at page 358 we learn that "on the average a minister of religion in England receives between £250 and £300 per annum, whereas a fairly successful London prostitute can make three or more times as much." We make a present of this fact to Miss Mayo for any use that she may like to make of it.

As regards the argument that the whole physical constitution and the correlated emotional life is differentiated between the sexes according as they perform the one or the other function of bearing or begetting and that nature demands more time and labour of the woman in the act of bearing than of the man in the act of begetting, and since nursing and rearing occupy still further time, every woman has allotted to her by sex a natural vocation, the author's opinion is that the function of motherhood demands part of the energies of women for seven or eight years of life only, so that the demands of maternity are comparable to compulsory military service which does not require lifetime work, and in both cases the social order should be so organized as to arrange for their efficient and due fulfilment.

The Nation or State is a permanent unit of cultural life, and the danger it suffers from is intolerance, as the history of religious movements shows. "A striking protest against government by a national culture group which declines to recognize the autonomy of another culture group in the same civil organization is made by Rabindranath Tagore (*Nationalism*)."

The worship of wealth is soul-killing, but reducing all to the same dead level of uniformity by equal distribution of wealth is worse still. "From a sheepish, sentimental mass of mankind, who are born, are nourished, marry, bear, nourish others, are kept in old age and die, men of high courage, determination, and creative gifts shoot up like keen, white mountains from dreary valleys. To them is due all that history has to tell about. If anything is primal to civilization, it is the encouragement of these few in their creative energy...Competition is to be encouraged to stir men by its very harshness to effort. And competition, effort, energy, will only be encouraged by giving to the victor the spoils and to the winner the rewards of life. Nor is injustice thereby done, for those who seek a little comfort with little effort will have their little human satisfactions..." The aristocratic system, such as that of pre-war Germany [and of ancient India], appears to be the best, where public honours are reserved for those by whose services the community is benefited, in which wealth, by itself alone, would have no place or claim. But here status must be not by birth, but by profession and ability, otherwise it would be deadening and society would stagnate for want of emulation, as it has actually done in India. It should be noted however that the culture of ancient Greece flourished on helotry, of ancient India on the Sudra caste, and there is something in Treitschke's dictum, "there would be no culture without kitchen maids." Dean Inge, we know, favours the aristocratic conception of society in order that culture, and with its civilization, may not perish in a wild attempt to establish universal state socialism, division of labour not only horizontally but vertically is essential to society. The labour movement in India is heading for the same goal as in Western countries, and it is a question whether, along with effecting much-needed reforms on the economic and humanistic sides of mass-life, it will not tend to eliminate such higher culture as exists in our midst and which gives promise of our once more becoming the torch-bearers of the civilization of a reconstructed world.

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The author is against premature political compromises. "It may be taken as a political maxim that moderation is only advisible for a strong party. A weak party's best assets are its own discomforts and the discomforts it causes its opponents." On this point it is useful to recall John Morley's classical passage in his well-known book *On Compromise*, having regard to the present political situation in India where the question has arisen in an acute form. "A small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second. In such a case as this, and our legislature presents instances of the kind, the small reform, if it be not made with reference to some progressive principle and with a view to further extension of its scope, makes it all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction when improvement is again demanded.···In a different way the second possible evil of a small reform may be equally mischievous—where the small reform is represented as settling the question. The mischief here is not that it takes us out of the progressive course,··· but that it sets men's minds in a posture of contentment, which is not justified by the amount of what has been done, and which makes it all the harder to arouse them to new effort when the inevitable time arrives.···The important thing is that throughout the process neither of them [the wise conservative and the wise innovator] should lose sight of his ultimate ideal; nor fail to look at the defect from the point of view of the whole, nor allow the near particular to bulk so unduly large as to obscure the general and the distant."

The system of party government, with its checks and balances, in spite of its obvious evils, has its uses. "Indeed, two of the uses of a party in opposition are to provide the electorate with an alternative Government with alternative political goods and to enable the Government to gauge the state of demand in the country."

No political institution is sacrosant, no constitution unalterable, no legislation incapable of modification like the laws of the Medes and Persians. In the words of Jefferson: "Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them, like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I know that age well; I belonged to it and laboured with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present but without experience of the present···Laws and constitutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind."

The clumsy hit-or-miss methods of the past must therefore be replaced by the rationalization of politics, for reliance upon the old principles of psychology and social organization are no more suited to this age than would reliance upon the industrial principles of the age of the bullock-cart be suitable in the age of the aeroplane—so says the author, and we may add that ideas which in former ages took a generation and more to spread among the masses now take a much smaller time to circulate and potentize the hitherto inert multitude, and disturb their placid contentment. The art of Government has thus become a much more difficult task than formerly, and the traditions of ruling a subject race which prevailed when Spain wielded the sceptre across the Atlantic and the steel frame of the Indian Civil Service held autocratic sway across the Indian Ocean, have become hopelessly out of date in these days of democracy and self-determination, and the sooner our Government realizes this the better for all concerned.

POLITICUS

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EVERYMAN'S DIARY: *1931—M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Annas 12.*

We have received a copy of Everyman's Diary published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons. This diary is of a very convenient size and contains a large amount of useful information. The paper, printing, and get-up are excellent.

GHOSH'S DIARIES: *1931—By J. N. Ghosh. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.*

We have also received a set of Ghosh's diaries of various sizes; these neat productions are in keeping with Mr. Ghosh's reputation as a producer of excellent diaries. The paper, printing, get-up etc., besides the useful information contained in them, provide a very high return for the prices. These are also published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar & Sons.

K. N. C.

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SANSKRIT

GITANJALIH: *A Selection of Poems by Rabindranath Tagore, translated into Sanskrit verse by Pandit Amarendra Mohana Tarkatirtha, Professor of Nyaya Philosophy in the Holkar Sanskrit College, Indore, and formerly Professor of Sanskrit at the Visvabharati. Published by S. K. Majumdar, the Emporium, 155-A, Russa Road, Calcutta. Pp. 113, paper cover, Price Re. 1-8, cloth Rs. 2.*

I suppose Rabindranath Tagore has been translated into almost all the civilized languages of the world, and that is more than can be said of many a great writer, living or dead. The classic speech of India was so long an exception. Rendering a popular work into Sanskrit is even now something more than a mere literary and linguistic exercise: for still there is a wide group of Sanskrit scholars—their number is decreasing every year, no doubt—who can be best approached through Sanskrit; for they would seldom care to read any other language; and for emotional or intellectual pleasure, Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone has an undisputed sway over their hearts and minds. The Christian missionaries had to translate the Bible—portions of it at least—into Sanskrit for propaganda among them, besides some tracts and pamphlets. Present-day polemical literature in Sanskrit on topics connected with Hindu philosophy or social reform presents a considerable volume. So it is no wonder that Rabindranath's genuis will be sought to be introduced to our Sanskrit scholars in the garb of the language of the Gods. The wonder is that this did not happen earlier—at least publicly, as in the little work under review.

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In the present volume twenty-five poems (these do not correspond to the English *Gitanjali*) have been translated, including some of the poet's finest things, which have not yet been rendered into English. Eminent Sanskrit scholars of Bengal and Benares like Mahamahopadhyayas Phanibhushana Tarkavagisa, Pramathanatha Tarkabhushana, Vamacharana Nyayacharya, Lakshmana Sastri Dravida, and others, have praised this effort on the part of Pandit Amarendra Mohana. I cannot pretend to give an opinion on the quality of the Sanskrit verse, and I am content to take the views of the above eminent scholars. But from what I have read of these translations I have found that the verses run smooth and read well. I have compared some of the poems with the original Bengali. On the whole they are faithful enough renderings, although through the exigencies of the metre a little condensation here and a little expansion there have become at times unavoidable. The metres employed are mostly the usual classical metres, and in one or two cases an imitation of the metre of the original has been attempted as an innovation in Sanskrit. The result has been to my mind quite pleasing (*e. g.*, in the poem *Patita*). Poems with which we are familiar in original Bengali appear to us Bengalis as rather quaint when we read them again in their Sanskrit version, and not the least reason for that is the diversity of metre. For example, take the Bengali poem named *Madan Bhasmer Purbe*, one of the finest of the earlier compositions of the poet. The cadence of the original with its regular pauses and stresses is quite different from the formal and rather stiff and limited lift of the *Sikharini* metre in which it has been rendered. The result is quite good, though inevitably a little too different in the impression it leaves in our ears: and as one who loves the poem in the original where the music of the verse is inalterably bound up with the poem, I would have liked to see it rendered in the original metre;—this metre although a vernacular one has been already employed for Sanskrit in Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, in the lyric *vadasi yadi kincid api* etc. The genius of Bengali versification as that of a modern language is impossible of being adequately represented in Sanskrit and when we speak of translations, we must bear in mind all the limitations and the curtailments and the alterations of the qualities of the original which they imply. Nevertheless, the experiment was worth making, and from the testimony of people competent to speak on the matter, the experiment has been a success.

Sanskrit scholars will be able to obtain from these translations a good idea of the *contents* of some of the best poems of Rabindranath, though naturally not of their original form and music. And we should be content to get half where it is not possible to get the whole. Pandit Amarendra Mohana's work should have a wide circulation among those for whom it is intended, and can very well have a place in a library of modern compositions in Sanskrit.

The get up of the book is excellent, being printed in fine and bold Devanagari type.

S. K. Chatterji

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HINDI

Hindu Bharatka Utkarsh: arthat Rajputon ka Prarambhik Itihas (*The Culture of Hindu India: or the Early History of the Rajputs*) *forming Part II of Madhyayugin Bharat* (*or Mediaeval India*), *from 750 to 1000 After Christ: by Chintamani Vinayak Vaidya, M. A., LL B. Published from the Benares Vidyapith by Mukandilal Sripastava, Sambat 1986; cloth bound, pages 529: Price Rs. 3-8.*

This book is based on Mr. Vaidya's well-known English work on *Mediaeval Hindu India*. In the present volume, we have a discussion of the origin of the Rajputs, and short histories during the last quarter of the first millennium A. D. of the various Rajput or Hindu States of Northern India—Chitor, Sambhar, Kanauj, Anhilwad Patan, Dhar, Bundelkhand, the Chedi kingdom, Bengal and Bihar, and Maharastra, besides, the smaller kingdoms, with a chapter on the contemporary Arab writers on India. There is also a book on the general state of the country—in language, religion, society and caste, political matters, administration and army—during the period under review; and there are a number of appendices. Mr. Vaidya represents what may be called the orthodox view-point in the reconstruction of past history—orthodox in the fundamentals and not inessentials. He combats the views of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others about the foreign origin of the Rajputs. Although he has not convinced us that all that he says about the Guhilots of Chitor and the Agnikula Rajputs in general, he is quite right in joining issue with the view that all Rajputs are of foreign origin, and that they have also a great deal of aboriginal Gond blood in them, particularly in Central India. But it must be admitted that in the 2nd half of the 1st millennium, India was in a melting pot, and a large mass of foreign and aboriginal material was welded into the old Hindu stock to emerge as a new Hindu people. Whatever up-to-date scholarship might say, the orthodox view-point cannot or should not be summarily dismissed; and Mr. Vaidya has done well in putting forth a plea in its favour in his works.

In the section on languages, the statement that Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu are branches of the Tamil language and originated from the latter during the period 800-1000 is not warranted: in fact, Kannada and Telugu are both independent of Tamil and Kannada was in existence even at the time of Christ, and Telugu differentiated itself from the southern group of Dravidian even earlier. The evidence of the Arab writer Al-Masudi about the linguistic situation in Western India is valuable, and deserves being carefully worked out by linguistic scholars: the dialect called Kiriya of 'Kir' is regarded by Mr Vaidya as being the older form of Marathi, which is likely. Mr. Vaidya's sections on the general culture of Northern India are thoughtful and well written and deserve careful study. There is constant reference to epigrphical and other documents, which enheances their value. This period Mr. Vaidya considers as having witnessed the apogee of material and cultural prosperity of Hindu world, a view from which others will differ. The influence of the Buddhistic outlook on the present-day Hindu mentality has also been ably discussed. On the whole, although one may not

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agree with Mr. Vaidya, one finds his work replete with information, and stimulating for further enquiries, at least to the quick intelligence. The Hindi version should reach the wider public for which it is intended.

The get-up and printing of the work are quite good.

K. CHATTERJI

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MARAHTI

हजरत महंमद पैगंबर (LIFE OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD, FOUNDER OF ISLAM), *Written by Mr. Sayyad Ahammad, of Willingdon College, Sangli, Price Re 0-6-0).*

This is a short but pleasant biography of one of the greatest philosophers of Asia. The Arab tribes were absolutely degenerated when the Prophet was born, and even the Christians and Jews had lost all hope of its improvement. But the God-sent Prophet's zeal for religion was so admirable that even at the risk of his precious life, he introduced reforms boldly and sternly that made the Arabastan a mighty nation. Nobody except Shri Krishna and Bhagawan Buddha could attract so a large following as the Prophet did. The author has quoted some Quranic commandments, which are translated below :

1 The God takes satisfaction equally in all religions.
2 Do not abuse even other Gods than Allah worshipped by others.
3 Religious oppression should never be practised.

All such commandments are so commendable that they deserve to be inscribed in red letters. But one fails to understand how in spite of such golden canons the followers of the Prophet destroyed innumerable idols and demolished thousands of temples? Why did no Maulvi or Maulana condemn these acts of tyranny if it was against the preachings of the holy Quran? Why is Islam always at daggers drawn with other religions? What is the meaning of Dar-ul-harb? What does Zezia mean? What does the word Kaffir signify? Why a certain Maulana prefers a vicious Muhamadan to a virtuous Mahatma without the least fear of contradiction? I request the learned and sympathetic author Mr. Sayyad Ahammad to cleanse the Augean stable in the second edition of this book, along with full discription of the married life of the Prophet to test the accuracy of the accounts available elsewhere.

महाराष्ट्राचा स्मृतिकार (LAW-MAKER OF MAHARASHTRA) THIS IS A LIFE OF RAO SAHEB K. V. VAZE, *by U. K. Apte, published by Mr. S. N. Huddar. Price Ten annas only.*

Rao Saheb Vaze was an able engineer, staunch conservative, true patriot and a man of keen intelligence, though the book does not show any special feature of his life. The author has preached his own long, idle and at times unnecessary sermons, which have no connection whatsoever with the life of his hero. The publisher should utilize his energy, time and money towards better purposes than such useless publications.

आनंद गीत (*Mr. Anandarao Tekade's poems. Part III. Nagpur, price Re. 1-0-0.*

Mr. Tekade is a national poet. He is much loved and appreciated for these pieces of his, which he has sung before the public, though his poetry does not seem to be a spontaneous flow of either feelings or ideas. Poetry requires rather a delicate touch of hand, the softest bend of mind and the deepest thought over the theme, to be handled. Still however many of his poems, though comparitively few, is liked by a large portion of literate persons and these not only from the book under review but from the two earlier parts too. To facilitate the readers Mr. Tekade should make a brief selection of his poems and publish it.

V. S. WAKASKAR.

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GUJARATI

TAKLI, *by Rasik Chunilal Bhayani, published by M. Vadilal and Co., Bombay, pp. 30, Price Annas Two only. (1930).*

Gandhiji has given to his followers a substitute for the spinning-wheel, called *Takli*, which can be plied over while walking. All the intricacies or simplicities of this form of producing yarn are explained by the writer from personal and practical experience, which however is of short duration and he therefore invites suggestions.

GALGOTA, *published by Deshalji Purmar. Ahmedabad. Price Annas Ten only 1930.*

Galgota means marigold and this little book is in its literal sense a children's book. It is nicely got-up. There are sketches illustrating maxims, catch-words, catch-phrases, and catch-sentences, such as attract juveniles and impress them. It does not differ in the slightest degree from well-known European productions on the subject.

VIJNAN NO VIKAS : *by Revashankar Oghadbhai Sompura, B. A., printed at the Saurashtra Mitra Printing Press, Ranpur, Thick cardboard, pp. 419. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1930).*

Development of science, that is what the title of the book means. Its first four sections and a part of the fifth are based on an American work, *History of Science* by Henry Smith Williams and his son. The history of science and its essentials are well told, and whatever of science and art flourished in India has not been neglected. A very short but appreciative introduction by Dr. K. G. Naik of Baroda, ought to hearten the writer for future work. The last chapter of the last (5th) section--The scientists of India—is an informing one and furnishes interesting reading. The price is heavy and will come in the way of making his work popular.

K. M. J.

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The Business of General Insurance in India

By Dr. S. C. Roy

WE are taking rather too much interest in the life insurance business just now, neglecting general insurance altogether. Not to speak of the general public, who take absolutely no interest in this business, even most of the managers and secretaries of life insurance companies do not care to know anything about the present position of the general insurance business or the possibilities of its future development. We believe it is high time that the public took some interest in this business and helped in the attainment of economic 'Swaraj' without which political 'Swaraj' has no meaning.

It is certain that many countries were neglecting the insurance line as a whole until, say, thirty years ago. But during the last quarter of a century almost all countries have understood the importance and implications of keeping their own insurance business in the companies of their own country, run with their own capital and by their own men. We give below some world insurance figures, collected by the Indian Insurance Companies Association, which will give an exact idea of the position of Indian business in comparison with other nations.

Great Britain

Six of the leading British insurance companies who are doing all classes of insurance business have accumulated among themselves funds amounting to £451,000,000.

Sixteen British insurance companies earned in the year 1927 a premium income from fire and accident insurances alone of over £103,000,000.

America

Three hundred joint-stock and seventy-three mutual fire and marine insurance companies of the United States of America, which reported to the Insurance Superintendent of the State of New York on their working for the year 1928, show the following results :

	Dollars.
Assets on 31st December, 1928	2,654,496,211
Capital	348,564,020
Premium Income for 1928	1,043,434,296
Total Income	1,335,977,914
Risks written during the year (Fire)	167,386,160,443
All other risks	228,075,856,777

Germany

The results of two hundred and forty-one German insurance companies doing all classes of insurance business are as follows :

	Rm.
Fire Premium income	226,000,000
Assets	2,691,400,000
Paid-up Capital	539,700,000
Income from Abroad	46,673,000

Switzerland

The position of forty-five Swiss insurance companies is as follows :

	Francs.
Premium income	771,548,286
Paid-up Capital	74,968,300
Underwriting Reserves	549,192,032
General Reserves	183,674,866
Interest Revenue	37,303,447
Total Assets, 1928	2,231,362,807

Sweden

The following are figures with regard to the position of thirty-three Swedish companies :

	Kr.
Paid-up Capital	68,750,000
General Reserves	75,674,257
Underwriting Reserves	76,582,296
Premium income (Gross)	140,559,805
Net Premium income	72,360,969
Interest Revenue	13,965,142
Dividends paid	8,096,500

Norway

Thirty-seven Norwegian companies had the following result at the end of 1928 :

	Kr.
Paid-up Capital	29,242,500
General Reserves	25,110,681

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	Kr.
Underwriting Reserves	38,371,477
Premium Income (Gross)	101,966,156
Net Premium Income	41,279,547
Interest Revenue	4,413,917
Dividends	2,197,990

JAPAN

Japan is the one Asiatic country which has shown to the world at large what she can do in any department of life. Her development in the insurance line as in other industrial matters has been remarkable. Twenty years ago Japan's position in respect to the insurance business was similar to the conditions prevailing in this country at the present. That is to say, Japaness insurance business was controlled to a very large extent by non-Japanese insurance companies. The position today is that Japanese people insure only with Japanese companies with the result that non-Japanese companies have not only lost the bulk of the direct business but every foreign insurance official visiting Japan has to return with the impression that non-Japanese companies in Japan will have to be content with re-insurance business obtained from Japanese companies. The following figures will speak for themselves. These relate only to twenty companies.

	Yen
Subscribed Capital	176,000,000
Paid-up Capital	69,690,000
General Reserves	85,951,884
Underwriting Reserves	130,738,103
Net Premium income	78,228,612
Interest Revenue	17,640,663
Dividends	11,056,450

INDIA

General insurance companies in India are very few in number. But that these have not yet been able to get a proper share of this country's business is a thing which cannot be understood. The following are the particulars of seven general insurance companies :

	Rs.
Paid-up Capital	1,32,68,940
Premium income	1,59,71,707
Total Funds	2,46,07,519

In all these figures, no account has been taken of life insurance at all. Life insurance stands in a separate class by itself and its development even in India during the last five years has been remarkable.

The above figures are convincing enough. Even the existing Indian insurance companies are in a position to absorb a much larger volume of business than they are getting at present because of their capital and reserve strength. There are two hundred and forty-five companies (both Indian and foreign) working in India, out of which,

"Life insurance is carried on by 102 companies
Fire and marine insurance by 151 companies
Other classes of insurance by 171 companies"

and there are only sixteen companies (incorporated in India who are working in India for general business of insurance, out of this big number. It is the Indian business men, merchants, mill-owners, house-owners, motor car owners, shippers that mostly provide these huge number of foreign companies with their business and patronage. There is no doubt that these companies cannot remain in India for a day if Indians do not patronize them. We are ashamed to admit it and it is a pity that we are to mention it but it is a fact nevertheless that we have acquired a mentality by which we like to put our reliance on everything foreign. Our business people will raise all sorts of questions when a representative of an Indian concern would visit him for his patronage and it will be very difficult to convince him, although he may not have nothing to say against the particular concern. But he would put all his faith blindly in any foreign concern—the more unknown it is, the greater the confidence ! A list of directors with names such as Lu Hun Chang or Fa Ke Min, will not stop him from giving his business to that company. When shall we get rid of this peculiar servile mentality ? Providence alone knows—but it is certain that all talk of political Swaraj is absolutely useless, unless we know how to love our own country, our own institutions, even with all their faults. We do not, of course, mean that we should not find out defects of our own institutions. What we want is that we should not be experts in finding and magnifying the faults of the Indian concerns and be generous to all foreign things.

We give below a table taken from the Government blue book which will show what business the very few Indian companies are doing in competition with such a large number of foreign companies.*

* Out of this list even there are some companies floated in India by European or foreign firms and managed by them. In the Blue Book these companies are shown as Indian Companies.

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Indian Companies

Particulars relating to policies (other than Life Assurance policies) in respect of the financial year ending in 1928.

In thousands of rupees

Name of Company	Premium income included in Revenue Account. Fire		Marine		Miscellaneous		Total	
	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian
Argus	10	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
British India Genl:	90	773	36	826	686	638	812	2237
Christian Mutual	—	—	—	—	8	—	8	—
Clive	*	—	*	—	*	—	*	—
Crescent	10	—	1	—	—	—	11	—
Empire of India	—	—	—	—	19	—	19	—
Indian Guarantee	6	—	—	—	26	—	32	—
Indian Mercantile	108	—	—	—	—	—	108	—
Jupiter	252	1205	293	—	62	3	613	1208
National	—	—	—	—	47	—	47	—
New India	528	4133	289	1525	331	6	1148	5664
Rechabites	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Triton	174	*	334	*	12	*	520	474
Universal	194	204	54	19	113	—	361	223
Venus	—	—	—	—	5	—	5	—
Vulcan	266	632	69	2	100	—	435	634
Total	1644	6947	1076	2372	1410	647	4130	10440.

These figures may be compared with the total figures of foreign companies business in India as given in the following chart :

In thousand of Rupees

Names of the countries where the companies originated.	Indian Business.† Premium income included in Revenue account, under Policies effected in in India			
	Fire	Marine	Miscellaneous	Total
Constituted within—				
(a) United Kingdom	10693	2528	4103	17324
(b) Australia	14	—	—	14
(c) Canada	150	74	7	231
(d) Hongkong	519	1004	20	1543
(e) South Africa	—	5	—	5
(f) U. S. A.	873	497	—	1370
(g) Switzerland	111	37	—	148
(h) Germany	—	70	—	70
(i) Holland	44	33	7	84
(j) France	231	—	19	250
(k) Italy	—	—	—	—
(l) Japan	104	36	7	147
(m) Java	78	68	14	160
Grand Total	12817	4352	4177	21346

We draw the particular attention of our fellow countrymen to this side of national service and we conclude this article by quoting from the appeal issued by the Indian Insurance Companies Association :

"Depression is the cry heard everywhere in India while, it is reported, America and other parts of the world are passing through "golden age." Is it not tragic that India with all her rich natural resources cannot even pass through the 'wooden age'? There is evidently something radically wrong somewhere in this country. It may be the foreign domination, it may equally be the economic condition, namely, that people have no money. When such is the case, is it not necessary that what little money there may be available should not be deflected into channels from which it will never return. One of these drains from the country is the huge insurance premium which non-Indian companies collect. Herein lies the real explanation for the continued depression. The solution, therefore, lies in stopping the drain on the country's resources. In that way alone can our true self-interest be served. Here there is no room for sentiment. The Indian insurance companies are out to stop this drain. They merely ask the insuring public to co-operate with them in this noble task.

* Particulars are not available.
† Compiled for the *Insurance and Finance Review Year-Book.*

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Feudatory States Of Orissa *

By BIDYADHAR SINGH DEO

LIKE other states, the Feudatory states of Orissa too, are playing no less conspicuous part in the present political arena of India. They, with the help of their writers, have pushed their respective claims so far that there is every likelihood of their being crushed like the 'Terpeian maid'. The writings of men like Sirdar D. K. Sen, Prof. P. C. Lahiri and others, have manifested a deep sense of regard for the safeguards of the rights, treaties and engagements of the ruling chiefs. On the other hand, the chiefs too vie no less with each other, to uphold their respective status and power in the future constitutional Government of India. The fond hope created in them by their legal advisers, has taxed them enough and it will tell heavily upon them in the near future unless they realize their own position in the present political crisis of the country. It is an admitted fact that the problem of the States has become a burning topic of the day. And any constitutional changes without the co-operation and goodwill of the Princes, will put the whole political machine of the country into disorder. Hence there has been the necessity of appeals to the good sense of the Princes from the British Indian leaders to sacrifice their personal interests for the cause of their country, as did the feudal lords of Japan in their land at the call of their country. In Nicholson's *Scrap of Paper* it has been rightly observed, that the British authorities have persistently and deliberately violated their pledges so scrupulously given to the Indian rulers on the very eve of the foundation of the British Empire. In this connection, he has referred to the Magna Charta letter of Seraikella State, written by Lord Wellesley to its the then ruler Abhiram Singh. Apart from this, the British Raj has also done similar injustice to the tenure holders under Seraikella, although separate *sanads* under the same style, 'His Highness' ('Rafiat-Panaho' or 'Rafiat Ali Panaho') were granted to them in recognition of their rights and tenures. In direct violation of their *sanads*, the decisions were forced upon them in order to reduce them to the position of the holders of mere maintenance-grants. These instances remind us of the attitude of the Company's servants towards the treaty rights of Hyder Ali, which subsequenly led to the delivery of the famous speech of Burke on the great devastating war of Southern India Whatever it may be, we cannot overlook history at the same time—we cannot allow historical facts to be distorted, and thus massacred, at the sweet will of the writers who profess to be learned authorities on the subject. Therefore, in the present article, it has been my purpose to give a bare outline of the historical origin of these Orissa States in order to enable readers to draw their own conclusions from it and to see whether they tally with those of mine. The States' Committee has divided the States into three groups and the Orissa States have been placed in the second. While in his turn, Sirdar D. K. Sen has subdivided the Orissa States into three peculiar divisions of his own, namely, 'Vassal' 'Tributary' and 'Sovereign'. This division seems to be not only unwarranted, but quite unscientific and unhistorical in its nature, which will be proved from the following account.

One of the most striking features of this beautiful classification is that the learned author is ever ready to recognize the sovereign status of the petty principality of Kharswan, but shows his full reluctance to attribute the same qualities to the state of Patna. By his resorting to this sort of manoeuvre, Sirdar Saheb has gone to put the cart before the horse. The very classification itself has proved the futility of his attempt to give colour to a thing which does not deserve it. What a ludicrous thing it is to see that the states far inferior in culture, civilization and administration, almost under one man's autocratic and primitive rule, should be claiming the privileges of paramountcy as it is found in the case of Mysore or

* *The Indian States*, their Status, Rights and Obligations; by Sirdar D. K. Sen, London, Sweet & Maxwell, Rs 7-8.

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Hyderabad? In order to test this serious problem let us examine it from the view-points of their history, *kabuliyats* and engagements.

I. There are altogether twenty-six states under the Political Agent and Commissioner of the Feudatory States of Orissa. Previous to this arrangement these States were classified in the following manner.

1. The following seventeen states were placed under the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa :—

Athgarh, Athmalik, Baramba, Boad, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Keonjhar, Khandpara, Mayurbhanj, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Pal-Lahara, Ranpur, Talcher and Tigiria.

2. The following states were under the Political Agent of the Feudatory States of the Central Provinces :—

Bamra, Kalahandi, Patna, Rairakhol and Sonpur.

3. The following four states were under the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur :—

Bonai, Gangpur, Kharswan and Seraikella.

The states mentioned under two and the states of Bonai and Gangpur were transferred to Orissa in 1905, and all the twenty-four states were called the Feudatory States of Orissa. To this group . . . . . Seraikella and Kharswan, the political states of Chota Nagpur, were added in 1921.

II. History of these states in pre-British period.

(a) Mediaeval Period

Among the Chiefs of Orissa the Bhanj rulers are the most ancient in origin. The Mayurbhanj family possess records dating back to the 11th century at the latest. Others claim ancient origin relying only on the traditional accounts. (*History of Orissa* by R. D. Banerjee, Chap. XII.)

(b) Mughal Period

The following were feudatories under Puri or Khurdha family.

Athgarh, Baramba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara Narsingpur, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Talcher, and Tigiria. These chiefs were bound to do certain personal services duly attending the court of the Raja of Khurdha.

(2) Nilgiri was under the Raja of Mayurbhanj. (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799).

(3) Keonjhar was a state like Mayurbhanj.

(4) The following were feudatories under the Hai-Hai house of Ratanpur. (*Bilaspur District Gazetter*, p. 38) :

Kalahandi, Patna, Sambalpur and Singbhum.

The Mughals aimed at dominion and not at suzerainty. Khan-i-Duran's account of 1660 shows that all the zamindars of Orissa were refractory due to the slackness of the Mughal governors of Orissa. It is found at that time that Rajahs of Mayurbhanj and Khurdha were very powerful. The Raja of Mayurbhanj had a large number of military retainers. Such position of Mayurbhanj and Khurdha is also found during the expedition of Alivardi Khan of Bengal in or about 1740 A. D.

(b) Mahratta Period

Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, ceded the province of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and thus the Mahrattas became the master of the country in 1751.

The states under the Raja of Khurdha or Puri were made independent, of Khurdha by the Mahratta government but the rulers used to pay homage to the Raja of Puri, and tribute to the Mahratta Government.

Nilgiri was separated from the control of Mayurbhanj by the Mahrattas and was supported by them against the claim of Mayurbhanj. At that time Singbhum is found to be an independent state and Seraikella and Kharswan were zamindars under Singbhum till their separate existence was recognized by the British. Mayurbhanj maintained a unique position; its Raja sided with the British Government of Bengal as well as with the Mahrattas of Orissa; the Raja always disowned the authority of either Government. The British authorities of Bengal recognized it as an independent principality. In order to maintain his position the Raja of Mayurbhanj was fighting with the British and the Mahrattas, and was acknowledging the supremacy of either Government when it was convenient for him. (Pannikar's *British Policy Towards Indian States.*)

Keonjhar acknowledged the supremacy of the Mahrattas as it is found that its Raja offered shelter to the Mahratta army in his country. Pal-Lahara was at this time under Keonjhar. Before this Pal-Lahara was under Sambalpur.

Kalahandi and Sambalpur acknowledged the supremacy of the Mahratta Government.

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Patna, Sonpur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur, Boad, Athmalik and Rairakhol were feudatories of Sambalpur. The military service of these chiefs of the period of the Hai-Hai-Bansi dynasty was changed to a tribute by the Mahrattas.

The supremacy of the Mahrattas was only centred on the exaction of the tribute. They did not interfere in the internal affairs of the states. They had to remain satisfied in getting the tribute even with military aid which was established as a rule in the shape of annual military campaign to every state.

There was some sort of civil war in Mayurbhanj as to the succession in 1803, when the British Government in India was preparing for the war with the Mahratta Government of Nagpur. At the request of the Collector of Midnapore on behalf of the Governor-General in Council the ruler of Mayurbhanj helped the British troops coming from Midnapore to Balasore and guarded the Ghats against the Mahratta attacks. Similar request was also made to the Kunwar of Seraikella for guarding the Ghats on the western frontier of the Midnapore border. The British army conquered Orissa without the least difficulty, and, soon after the conquest, the Commissioner of the Affairs of Cuttack made treaty engagements with, and gave counter-engagements to, the Rajahs of Narsingpur, Tigiria, Dhenkanal, Ranpur, Baramba, Khandapara, Nayagarh, Talcher, Daspalla, Athgarh, Nilgiri and Hindol, that is, the Rajahs who were formerly under Khurdha, in November 1803. The Rajas of Boad and Sonpur tendered submission to the British Government at that time. These treaties were ratified by article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon signed on the 17th December 1803.

By article 2 of the above treaty Senah Saheb Soubah Raghujee Bhonsla ceded the province of Cuttack including the port and district of Balasore. No mention of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Singbhum is found in the list of feudatories mentioned in article 10 of this treaty. A treaty engagement was made with Keonjhar after a year, in December 1804. Section 37 of the Regulation XII of 1805 goes to show that no settlement was made with the ruler of Mayurbhanj till 1805.

The territory of Sambalpur and Patna, ceded to the British in 1803 by the Treaty of Deogaon, was restored to the Maharajah Raghujee Bhonsla by the engagement dated 24th August 1806, ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 2nd October 1806; this shows that the portion of the ceded territory of 1803 with which no engagement was required to be executed during the years 1803 to 1806, was given back to the Mahratta Raja of Nagpur.

The relation of the British Government with Mayurbhanj remained unsettled till the year 1812. In 1807 the ruler of Mayurbhanj's claim as to the share of a portion of the pilgrim tax levied at Khunta Ghat was considered by the Government and the ruler was given a compensation for the loss of his revenue by the Government. (Toynbee's *Orissa*). The claim of a portion of the imperial revenue on the part of Mayurbhanj throws some light on the status of its ruler. No other chief of Orissa was given any privilege of this nature. Besides this, no settlement of tribute was made till that time with the ruler. The *Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer* mentions at page 200 that the ruler of Mayurbhanj executed two agreements—one in 1812 and the other in 1815. But the copies of these agreements are nowhere to be found. The same authority mentions again that the tribute of this state was fixed in 1812 at Rs. 1,001 on the then chief of the state agreeing to forego his claim to levy a tax on pilgrims who had to pass through the state on their journey to and from Jagannath. (page, 240). Clause 7 of the Treaty of 1829 goes to show that the ruler of Mayurbhanj had a six-anna claim on the Government on account of the pilgrim tax levied at Khunta Ghat. The then ruler of Mayurbhanj, in 1812 perhaps, gave up the claim of levying the tax but retained a share of it payable by the Government to Mayurbhanj.

The territory of Sambalpur came under British supremacy in 1818 by a provisional agreement concluded with Madhojee Bhonsla and was finally ceded by the Treaty of 1826. After the Treaty of 1818 the dependencies of Sambalpur were made independent; in 1821 separate *sanads* were granted by the Government to each Zamindar under Sambalpur and separate engagements were taken from them. Among the dependencies of Sambalpur that are now in Orissa States are Patna, Sonpur, Rairakhol, Bamra, Boad, Bonai, and Gangpur. The Chiefs of these states executed *kabuliats* similar to that of Patna in 1827. A treaty engagement was executed by the Raja of Boad and

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Athmalik in 1804, but in 1819 a separate *kabuliat* was executed by the *Samant* of Athmalik. This was again renewed in 1821.

Singbhum tendered the allegiance to the British in 1818 and agreed to pay 101 *sicca* rupees in 1820. Such agreements are believed to have been made in 1820 by Seraikella and Kharswan, two dependent zaminders under Singbhum. But no trace can be found of it.

The Treaty with Mayurbhanj executed in 1829 comes last in date. All the editions of *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* do not give the agreements executed by the ruler of Mayurbhanj in 1812 and 1815. Without looking into these documents it is not possible to say anything about their terms. One point in connection with the treaty requires elucidation. Advantage was taken of the circumstances under which Sambalpur and Patna and their dependencies were found on the cession to annul the dependency of the other zamindars on these two chiefs, and in 1821, separate sanads were granted to each zaminder, and separate *Kabuliats* were taken. Similar question of separating the dependant zaminders under Mayurbhanj was raised as early as 1804 by the Commissioners of the Affairs of Orissa, but the Government did not take any action on the suggestion even after annulling the dependency of the zaminders under Sambalpur and Patna. This goes to show that the circumstances under which the Government acquired the states of Sambalpur and Patna were different from that under which the relation of the British Government was established with the state of Mayurbhanj. Had it been a question of cession the Government surely would have taken the advantage of annulling its dependencies like that of Sambalpur Patna, and Singhum. The above arguments seem to be plausible when we refer to clause 7 of the Treaty of 1829, by which the Raja of Mayurbhanj relinquished the six-anna claim on the Government on account of the pilgrim tax, and this goes to show that the treaty was made for mutual benefit.

Examination of The Treaty-Engagements (?,) Pottas and Kabuliats

The position and status of each chief or group of chiefs of the Orissa feudatory states are to be judged from the documents executed by him or them with the Government. At the request of the British Government the Raja of Mayurbhanj rendered help to them during the conquest of Orissa, and this was due to an early relation which was established in 1761. So at the time of the conquest of Orissa Mayurbhanj was rather an ally than otherwise. The Rajas of eleven states who executed treaty engagements with the British Government before the Treaty of Deogaon owe by virtue of their documents a distinct status and position. Broadly speaking, there is a marked distinction between the status of the above-mentioned chiefs and the chiefs of Patna, Sonpur, Rairakhol, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur, Boad, Athmalik. The engagements with the former chiefs are styled reaties, and are worded as such while the engagements (*Kabuliats* and *Potlas*) with the latter chiefs merely signify the conditions on which their lands were settled with them, and their position according to their deeds is inferior even to that of the zamindars like Kanika, etc. of Cuttack district who became zamindar by the extension of the Regulation XII of 1805, but they still enjoy a permanently settled zamindary. The *Kabuliats* of 1827, fixed the *revenue* payable to the Government nominally for five years, and the enhancement of this revenue by the Government was left open, but in the case of the states of the former group tribute payable to the Government was fixed for perpetuity. The chiefs of the former group did not surrender their authority over their people in regard to the administration of justice, etc, but the chiefs of the latter group did so, and for this reason, separate engagements were taken from each chief binding him to the right of administration of the judicial and criminal powers entrusted to them. Excepting Keonjhar all the treaties with the Rajas of the former group furnish a clause by which they engaged themselves to depute a contingent force of their own troops with the force of Government to suppress any refractory Rajah or person offering opposition to the Government. This clause has not been referred to in the engagements of the chiefs of the other group.

The marked distinction of the ducuments of both class of chiefs is corroborated by the Adoption *Sanad* of 1862. At first there were sixteen states including Banki and Angul under the Orissa Tributary Mahals, and twenty-three including Boad and Athmalik under Political States of South-West Frontier Agency of Bengal. In 1837 Boad and Athmalik were annexed to Orissa Tributary Mahals. Banki

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was confiscated in 1839, and so the remaining seventeen states including Khandapara, which was minor at that time, executed engagements to suppress *suttee* in their states. The Sarbarakar of Pal-Lahara also executed such a document because Pal-Lahara was separated from the control of Keonjhar in 1840. There remained nineteen states under S.W.F. Agency ; Seraikella and Kharswan were then included in Singbhum, but were independent of it. So practically there were twenty-one states under that group. In 1854 the states under S. W F. Agency were called Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur ; Seraikella and Kharswan were placed as Political States directly under the Deputy Commissioner of Singbhum, In 1848 Angul was confiscated and in 1849 Sambalpur was escheated to Government and Singbhum was confiscated in 1858.

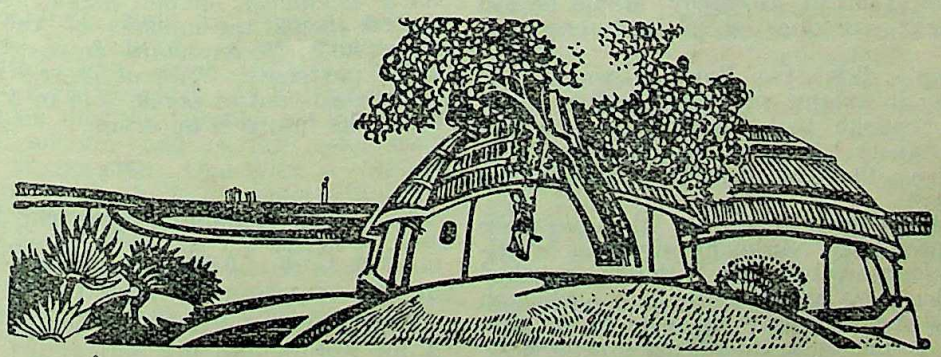
According to the suggestion made by Mr H. Rickett, the Member of the Board of Revennue, in his report of Sambalpore, the district of Sambalpur with the estates of Sakti, Sarangarh, Sonpur, Patna, Bonai, Rairakhol, Bora-Sambar, Bindra-Nowagarh, Kharriar, and Phooljhar was transferred to Orissa in January 1861, and these states were under the management of the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals of Cuttack until September 1862. Out of the states of the Sambalpur group only Bonai and Gangpur remained under Chota Nagpur. In March 1862 Adoption *Sanad* was granted to the Chiefs of Cuttack group only and not to the Chiefs of Sambalpur group of Cuttack and Chota Nagpur under the Government of Bengal. The non-grant of *Adoption Sanad* is entirely due to the conditions of the documents executed by these chiefs. That the Government was treating them as ordinary zamindars is proved by the map attached to the first edition of *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, published in 1862. The colouring of the map is not different from that of the districts under the zamindars of Bengal. The executive powers exercised by them are perhaps due to the laws applicable to the non-Regulation districts to which the South-West Frontier belong.

The rank of the chiefs of Athgarh, Baramba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara, Narsingpore, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Talcher and Tigeria, is similar to that of the chief of Nilgiri, the former eleven states were under Khurdha and latter was under Mayurbhanj. According to Man Singh's classification, Keonjhar was next to Mayurbhanj. So among these chiefs Keonjhar is entitled to the highest rank.

The rank of Kalahandi is similar to that of Keonjhar and it is a question who will precede whom.

The rank of Patna, Sonpur, Gangpur, Bonai, Rairakhol, Bamra, Boad and Athmalik is similar to that of twelve Chiefs of Orissa. Pal-Lahara, Seraikella and Kharswan may be placed in a special rank of their own as their position is quite different from the other above-mentioned states.

Again this classification is to be fully considered from the view-point of 'Adoption *Sanad*' issued by the Government to different chiefs at different times.



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Fascism in Germany

The sensational results of the recent German elections have made Europe nervous. Do they portent the revival of German aggressiveness? The question is posed, and an answer attempted, in *The Literary Digest* which quotes, at length, the opinion of the well-known English journalist, Mr. Sisley Huddleston :

Comfortable talks about the federation of Europe, disarmament, international friendship, and other pleasant themes are admirable, but some European observers warn us against the danger that lies in them.

They claim that we are liable to be lulled into a false sense of security by such smooth phrases.

What we must keep in mind, they say, is that Europe has many elements of discord, and that in the final resort it depends upon the plain people to insist on keeping the solemn promises freely made that there shall be no more war there.

But a famous European correspondent, Sisley Huddleston, sees grave danger in European conditions. In *The New Statesman* (London), he says, the peril most of all to be feared is Hitlerism in Germany....

"Hitler, who is nearer his goal than was generally anticipated, repeats his programme with at least equal emphasis, and he repeats it from a higher platform and under a louder sounding-board.

"He does not acknowledge any intention of reaching power by illegal methods, but he acknowledges that when once it is reached he will exercise it in what the world would regard as an illegal manner.

"He will not use the bullet before using the ballot ; but he will use the ballot in order that he may, if need be, use the bullet. He will not seek to effect a *coup d'etat* in Germany ; but he will effect a *coup d'etat* in Europe.

"Now, a *coup d'etat* in Germany would be bad enough ; it might produce social and economic ararchy.

"But a *coup d'etat* in Europe would be infinitely worse ; it might produce another great war. It is bad enough that he should, legally or illegally, exterminate his adversaries ; but it is infinitely worse that he should repudiate the Versailles Treaty.

"The very threat puts Poland on the *qui vive* and it has resulted in a hardening of French feeling. It is quite conceivable that Hitler has reached the summit of success, and there will be a reaction against men and methods who open up to the gaze of the German people such terrifying prospects.

"It is even conceivable that were Hitlerism to advance as Hitler boasts it will, Hitler himself would react against methods which are terrifying.

"But in the meantime it seems to many people that he has gone some way to ruin the work of reconciliation.

"If he has not undone, he has at least halted, the efforts of M. Briand, and he has placed not only Germany but pacifism in a most unfavourable light."

Other causes for anxiety about Europe, we read then, may be seen in the whittling down of the Briand proposal for the United States of Europe into European co-operation of a loose, undefined, sentimental kind.

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The Significance of Hitlerism

The same subject is approached from another viewpoint by *The New Republic.*

Judging from the Berlin dispatches on the convening of the new Reichstag, the future of the German Fascists depends on whether the Germans' sense of humour can be overcome by their sense of grievance. Like the bad boys in a comic strip, Fascist youths concealed stones in their pockets, broke show windows and then ran before the police could arrive. Scarcely an impressive challenge to the Republic ! The Hitlerite delegates in the Reichstag solemnly marched to their seats dressed up in brown shirts and riding breeches—a sight so novel in the halls accustomed to more formal garb that the assembly burst into laughter. The line between impressive theatricality and ludicrous play acting is thin ; we flatter ourselves that no pompous Mussolini could have got by with his nonsense in our hard-headed land. Perhaps the Germans are not so easily herded into adoration of mock-heroic poses as are the Italians. Nevertheless, we must remember that whether any given attitude is impressive depends largely on the validity of the emotion behind it. If the occasion is such as to stir heroic passions, you can have a hero. And the Germans are not without material for a genuinely heroic nationalist movement in protest against the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles and the hardships imposed by the reparations payments. Without these, Hitlerism would be laughed out of public life in a fortnight ; with them, the future is uncertain.

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The Weapon of Economic Boycott

Mr. C. F. Andrews contributes an article on the situation in India to *the New Republic.* After pointing out the pitiable failure of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, if not exactly to grasp the situation, at any rate to face it, Mr. Andrews goes on to characterize

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the proposals of the Simon Report as the "Great Refusal." The people of India, he says, will not allow such proposals to be embodied in a parliamentary statute if they can help it. But have they the weapon with which they can make their will felt? That is the question Mr. Andrews attempts to answer in the last paragraphs of his article :

India has recently, in the same way as China, learned the latent powers contained in the boycott. These go far beyond the more directly moral weapon which Mahatma Gandhi himself forged in *Satyagraha*, or Soul-Force. In *Satyagraha*, the moral appeal is uppermost throughout ; and the higher the appeal, the greater the hope of true success. On the other hand, the boycott necessarily carries compulsion with it. It is in reality a form of silent warfare. It falls below *Satyagraha* in moral value. It does not rely upon Soul-Force.

The remarkable success of the present national movement in India, which the administration is very acutely feeling, is due to *Satyagraha* and the boycott combined. On the one side, there has been this moral force of the highest order called *Satyagraha*, exercised at its greatest intensity at Dharasana, Bombay and other places, when the *Satyagrahis* (passive resisters) stood up against police violence without returning a blow. The other force has been the economic boycott of foreign cloth, which has been in a sense retaliatory. This has brought its own powerful compulsion upon the Indian Government.

Both these forces taken together have made the strength of the popular will in India felt very seriously indeed by the central administation at New Delhi. For the people of India themselves have felt their own power, and they are not likely to let it go again. That it will be exercised along with compulsion, in one form or another, is not unlikely. But the fact is evident that the government knows now for certain the strength of the popular will.

In the long run, it will be mainly by means of this special weapon of economic boycott that the old imperialisms exercised in Asia and Africa will be brought under control by the people of the East. By disturbing trade with the foreigner, they will be able to reduce the powers of arbitrary rule which have done so much to create mischief in the past. The use of this new weapon will make a very great difference to the future of all subject peoples.

Meanwhile, in India itself, the struggle goes on from one stage to another. Even before this article reaches the press some tentative halting place may have been reached. At the same time, it may well happen that the strengh of the economic boycott has not yet had its full compulsory effect upon the government. One thing is certain; all parties among the people of India are determined that the arbitrary rule of the Executive Council at New Delhi with the Viceroy at its head shall cease, and that responsible government, containing the "substance of independence" (to use Mahatma Gandhi's phrase) shall be achieved. Only on this main condition will the struggle be concluded.

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Expansion of the Cotton Industry since the War

Dr. E. B. Dietrich summarizes in *The International Labour Review* the present state of the cotton textile industry. The most important fact to be noted in connection with the development of this industry since 1913, is the passing away of the British dominance of this trade. Dr. Dietrich points out the actual increase in production of cotton goods and compares the figures of the various countries which have developed a cotton industry of their own.

From the point of view of actual increase in spindleage since 1913, the countries showing the largest growth are Japan, which during the past year alone has increased her spindleage by 300,000 to adjust her industry to the new night-work legislation, the United States, India, China, France and Germany, Brazil, the group "other countries," the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy ; whereas percentage increases above the average world percentage increase are to be found in the group "other countries," China, Japan, the Netherlands, Brazil, Canada, Belgium, India, Poland, and Sweden. All but five countries (Great Britain, the United States, Russia, Canada, and Italy) and the Austro-Hungarian group show percentage increases in loomage above the average, and all countries but these, in addition to the Netherlands, Brazil, and the group "other countries," have a larger percentage increase of loomage than spindleage. This situation is indicative of several factors with regard to the growth of the industry : first, the general tendency toward dispersion, since weaving mills usually precede spinning mills ; secondly, an attempt on the part of countries having a larger percentage increase of spindleage to manufacture their own yarns for their weaving sheds ; and lastly, a tendency on the part of former yarn-exporting countries to manufacture their yarns into cloth. Though the figures are incomplete, the large percentage increases shown in the group "other countries" are indicative of the spread of the industry, which can now be found in all European countries, all American countries (except perhaps Paraguay, the Guianas, and the islands). Australia, and the great Oriental countries, with beginnings in Egypt, South Africa, and the countries of Asia Minor.

Though, as suggested above, the growth of the cotton textile industry would have occurred in all probability as one aspect of world-wide industrial evolution, the war undoubtedly hastened the process. By cutting off British exports from their markets, it stimulated the development for export trade in countries such as Japan, which had an established industry, and it fostered its growth in other centres, as for instance, Canada, India, China, and Brazil. According to Sir Ernest Thompson, England's loss of export trade between 1913 and 1929 was 2,500,000,000 square yards, of which 1,500,000,000 was due to the development of new industries and 1,000,000,000 to foreign competiton in neutral markets. Secondly, it awakened a spirit of nationalism characterised by an urge toward industrial development, which, except where there is some outstanding raw material, is nearly always

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inaugurated with a textile mill. By the revision of boundaries, it broke up textile units. For instance, France acquired 1,891,450 spindles and 50,258 looms from Germany in Alsace-Lorraine, with the result that Germany has sought to regain her former position and has more than replaced within her present territory both spindles and looms; the mills of Lodz (Poland), built to supply the Russian market with coarse goods, have been forced to seek other outlets and to turn to finer counts; Estonia, also, with 750,000 spindles, which formerly had no foreign trade, has now become an exporting country. As a result of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire among seven different States, Czechoslovakia inherited 79-90 per cent of its textile industry with a population of 13,000,000 in place of 52,000,000, and at the same time lost the Danubian markets, which are now developing textile industries of their own behind protective tariffs. In addition the spindles of the present Austria were separated from the weaving sheds of Bohemia, and Austria has been forced to export yarns. Lastly, the cost differentials arising from currency problems resulted in a stimulus in certain European countries to the detriment of Great Britain, as for instance, in the Netherlands, and the depleted markets led to a post-war boom characterised by unwise finance and expansion, especially in Lancashire.

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The Next Year in International Politics

Unity has struck the following not very hopeful note on the outlook in international politics for the next year :

That the year 1931 looms as the most critical year since the close of the Great War, is now perfectly evident. A few years ago we were flattering ourselves that we had liquidated the War after all, and that it takes more than four years of the most destructive conflict in human history to wipe out our civilization. But now we are not so sure. Perhaps this civilization has not survived the conflict after all. This next year at any rate raises a question mark which would terrify the world if it had a little more imagination. Look at the crises before us! First of all, Germany swept by a mighty wave of popular ravolt against oppression, and threatened by the speedy prospect of a dictatorship and the consequent dissolution of the republic. Next, France and Italy at loggerheads over naval armaments and refusing to continue discussions. Then, internal disturbances in Italy, with every sign indicating the growing power of the violent extremists as over against even Mussolini himself. Farther east, Poland proclaims the failure of parliamentary government in the ascendency of Pilsudski, an erratic and cruel despot of the medieval type. Nearby are Hungary, trembling in revolutionary anticipation of the coming to age of the dethroned Archduke Otto, and Jugo-Slavia, boiling in enmity against her dictator king inside her borders and against Italy beyond her borders. At the extreme east of Europe, Russia is writhing in the throes of the most bitter economic crisis she has known since the five-year plan was adopted, and at the other extreme end, to the west, Spain is seething in revolt against her monarchy. A month ago we surveyed in these columns this European scene, and tried to be optimistic. Now we survey it again, and find it a harder job than ever to be cheerful. What we have, in summary, is universal political disturbance combined with world-wide economic depression. Say what we will, this is a combination of match and tinder which may, in any little chance episode, produce the spark which will set the world aflame. The one sure hope in the situation is the deep-seated popular hatred of war and all its works. "The disinclination of the great mass of the people to fight," writes a correspondent, is what may save us yet.

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The Future of the Women's Movement

The publication of two important works on the women's movement in Germany—*Die Arbeitende Frau* by Dr. R. Hofstätter and *Germany's Women Go Forward* by Hugh W. Puckett—furnishes an occasion for *The Times Literary Supplement* to review the position of the movement in one of its leading articles. Women have at last won the emancipation they had been striving for the last hundred years or so, and the question is what use are they going to make of it. As the writer of *The Times Literary Supplement* justly observes,—"in view of the physical and emotional differences between the sexes, it is merely misleading to speak of their equality without any qualification." Whatever the future of the movement, it must be based on a recognition of the fact that there is one unique function which can be discharged only by woman, and which handicaps her for other duties during the active years of life—the function of motherhood.

Dr. Hofstätter, to whose thorough and conscientious study of the working woman no adequate justice can here be done goes into this most important question and makes full use of statistics as well as of the views of an extraordinary number of other writers; his bibliography extends to fifty-five pages of names. He discusses the choice of occupation for women, marriage, the birth-rate, protective measures, wages, trade unionism and many other questions, and is by no means satisfied with the present tendencies. He puts all the reponsibility on the men, and holds the general view that marriage, the care of the home and the children, is the function ordained by nature for the great majority of women and the one for which they are perfectly fitted. He quotes from the programme of the National Association of German Women the following :—

"The women's movement bases its demands on the fact of the thorough physical and mental differentiation of the sexes. It concludes from this fact that all the possibilities of cultural progress can be realized only in the mutual co-operation of man and woman. For the married woman the women's movement regards the series of duties

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involved in marriage and maternity as her first and most immediate occupation.... The women's movement sees in the sanctity of marriage the essential guarantee for physical and mental welfare of the coming generation and the fundamental condition for social health."

Holding these views, he naturally finds many disquieting signs in the present position. He particularly condemns the Soviet mariage ordinances, which tend deliberately to abolish family life and are of special interest because the conditions in Russia are regarded as an Eldorado for the proletariat, and the female trade unionist looks to the East for her emancipation. He also regards the striking and general fall of the birth-rate with misgiving. Its effect has been masked by the falling death-rate; but there is a limit to that, for all must die, whereas the birth-rate may sink to zero, and as soon as it falls below the death-rate depopulation or race-suicide begins. That has already happened, we may observe, in several communities in which the people do not reproduce themselves. The causes are various, but he declines to reckon diminished fertility among them. The principal cause is deliberate control, to which many things contribute; but the main reason is the economic necessity of the women going out to work. He discusses the various means, public and private, for combating the decline, in which France has set the example; but he leaves the matter in an unsatisfactory state. The question is whether any large proportion of the women, and especially the young women, prefer ease and comfort, or whether they will listen to the call of the maternal instinct, which is still strong within them and cannot be replaced. It is unfair to put the responsibility for this decision on the men.

Mr. Puckett's survey of the position if anything, is still more tinged with scepticism.

Mr. Puckett does not discuss the subject of birth-control, though he has something to say about the *Mutterschutz* movement in Germany; but his concluding remarks on the future of that country reveal a doubtful state of things. The emancipation of woman is not the only movement that may have been killed by its own success. Practically everything that has been fought for since the forties has now been gained, and even more. The critics want to know what it all amounts to. Are the women any happier? Are they better off? The answer is uncertain. But what is certain is that the woman's movement must take a new turn if it is not to become rigid. He quotes Mary Diers: "Woman has been trained to compete with and crowd out man, instead of being his complement and helper. One sex has been played against the other." It has now been discovered that this will not do and that the woman's movement must develop the essentially feminine fields of activity. But the first thing to do is to discover them. This seems to be the idea at the back of the resolutions recently adopted by the Belgian Association for Social Progress, which considered the question of equal and unequal wages for working women. They found that certain occupations are unsuited to the talents and physical capacities of women and that in other industries women can only adapt themselves to some part of the work; and they therefore desired to see the subject further examined wtth a view to occupational guidance. They also found that women sometimes earn higher wages than men, or at least equal wages, and suggested vocational training in order to develop this advantage. Another resolution had to do with domestic work, which is a pre-eminently feminine occupation, and urged the restoration of its value in the eyes of women by a sound education. Here is a definite attempt to differentiate women's and men's work. On the other hand, the International Council of Women, attended by 800 delegates from forty affiliated countries, contented themselves with marking time and calling for a few social reforms. The question of what women should do with their newly acquired liberty is still in an early stage of discussion; what they will do with it depends, like most other things to-day, on the economic pressure.

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Control of Thought in Japan

There must be something radically wrong with the existing social order in Japan if it has to resort to ruthless suppression both of free thought and free political discussion in the manner it is doing so at present. A leading article in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* explains the measures that are being taken to suppress "dangerous" thought among Japanese school and college students.

Notwithstanding the prolonged campaign by successive Education Ministers of every political complexion against radical political thought in schools and colleges, they seem to get no nearer to extirpation of the obnoxious ideas. They cannot reproach themselves with lack of energy. School-boys have been arrested in great batches and kept in prison for long periods. Colleges have been filled with spies and *agents provocateurs*, while teachers and professors suspected of "thought" have been persecuted out of their jobs. It is not without reason that bureaucrats nowadays generally drop the adjective and instead of speaking of "dangerous thought" simply say "thought." For it comes to this, that any intelligent person who thinks at all arrives at some conclusions, at least, which are regarded as dangerous. Bureaucracy has got so much in a groove that it is impossible to take thought without criticising its ways, and criticism is subversive and dangerous. In these circumstances it is interesting to learn that the Education Department and the War Office have arrived at an agreement that military education in schools must be made compulsory instead of voluntary. A pretty long step was taken in this direction a few years ago, when partly in order to provide jobs for officers who were left without any owing to the army reduction, a much more extensive system of military instruction was introduced into the schools than had been in vogue before. There was much criticism at the time, and it was pointed out that the military officers would not be amenable to the principals, so that they could do pretty much what they liked. Exactly how the system has failed is not apparent, because though nominally voluntary, it is in all

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essentials compulsory, and hardly a boy dare refuse to join in. But it seems that the military men want something more, and the element of compulsion is to be quite definite. Perhaps even a nominal liberty is regarded as liable to undermine authority. A sufficient dose of drill, and a strict inculcation of parade-ground ideals will, it is hoped, allay tendency to think.

But indications show that the educational authorities have themselves begun to think—a most alarming sign. The fact that young men still become fascinated by the idea of making the world better, and will not be deterred by any penalties from entertaining such ideas, has at last suggested to the educational authorities that it is necessary to examine these "thoughts" and find out what there is in them that is so fascinating. On the 22nd of last month a meeting was held at the official residence of the Minister of Education, at which a number of important officials and educationists were present, and the startling conclusion was come to that the teachers of youth must learn to think for themselves. It was also agreed that the present system of education in Japan is too materialistic—which is an indication of how little the gentlemen present had studied this system of "thought" at all, because in Soviet Russia the cry is always that education must be as materialistic as possible. So the Japanese schools have been Russified without knowing it! It is proposed, in order to make the schools less materialistic, that philosophy, ethics, and so on be taught in larger measure. Unfortunately, this philosophy and ethics cannot find favour unless they are made to conform to *soshi* ideas of loyalty. And as for history, which was also recommended as a cure for materialism, it all depends on what is meant by history. In Japan even more than in most countries, history is written with a purpose, and the sort of history that is taught in schools is hardly calculated to develop anything spiritual, though, on the other hand, it does not encourage thought. So much history is written for the sake of misleading nations that it is surprising that nobody has yet suggested that in the teaching of history one's own country should always be strictly prohibited until the student has become old enough to choose for himself what he will read. Histories of other countries can be read with all proper criticism, and may enlarge the mind even when taught by a schoolmaster.

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The War-Guilt Question

Everybody is aware of the existence of the war guilt question. But not all know what it exactly means. Its implications are succinctly and clearly explained in the following editorial note of *The World Tomorrow*.

Who caused the World War? The answer to this question possesses the utmost political significance. The Treaty of Versailles rests upon the corner-stone of the sole responsibility of Germany and her allies, and its validity depends upon the stability of its foundation. The mature conclusions of scientific scholarship seem to be undermining the pillars of the peace treaty. The war-time theory of the exclusive guilt of the Central Powers is rapidly being abandoned by competent historians who have thoroughly examined the evidence now available. But if Germany is not alone guilty, what is the ethical basis of indemnities or reparations? Why should the German people be compelled to stagger under the enormous annual payments demanded? What justification is there for the Danzig corridor which separates East Prussia from the rest of the fatherland? Why should Germany be denied colonies and mandates? "Indeed," wrote Poincaré in the *Temps* on December 27, 1920, "if the Central Powers did not start the War, why should they be condemned to pay the damages? If responsibility is divided then, as a matter of necessity and justice, the costs must also be divided!" Likewise the *Figaro* said: "In fact, if Germany is not guilty, then the Peace Treaty is unjust. It would be unjust even though the guilt were distributed."

This problem cannot be disposed of by saying that it is a closed issue and is now merely of academic interest. A hundred million people feel passionately that the peace treaties are based upon falsehood and they will never rest content until drastic changes have been wrought. Impassioned orations concerning war responsibility are constantly being hurled across the Rhine from both directions. Are the injustices of the peace terms to be remedied by persuasion and agreement or will the victors procrastinate until the victims in desperation resort to violence? To say that the Central Powers are impotent and helpless is to adopt a perilous attitude. Political alignments are notoriously fickle. Already there are sharp rifts within the ranks of the Allies. The Italian Government has recently indicated a desire to see changes made in the peace treaties. Those persons who are opposed to violent revolution and war are under obligation to seek pacific means of solving ominous problems. Permanent peace will be jeopardized to the extent that the political arrangements of Europe rest upon false-hood and injustice. The Williamstown Institute was startled a few weeks ago by the prediction that another great war will break out during the period from 1935 to 1940. While this prophecy seems to us unwarranted pessimism, there is doubt that the tension in Europe is today far more acute than is generally recognized on this side of the ocean.

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For Foreigners who go to England

In course of an article in the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Harold Nicolson gives some advice to foreigners who visit England. They would do well to remember his advice in order not to be disappointed with their experience.

This, therefore, is the first piece of advice which I should give to any foreign visitor. 'Realize,' I should say, 'that the English are a good-humoured race Unfortunately, however, they are both inarticulate and shy. They get flummoxed when they are faced with the unusual. You, as a foreigner, are something strange. You must take it for granted that all Englishmen whom you meet will at first be acutely embarrassed. You will

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mistake this for arrogance or pride. It is nothing of the sort. They are merely frightened; and if you put them at their ease they will in the end respond with affability.'

I admit, however, that our embarkation orders, our embarkation officers, create from the outset an atmosphere of hostility. It is not their fault, poor harassed civil servants. It is difficult to be at the same time both official and urbane. But the foreigner enters his Pullman at Dover with a feeling that he has not been humiliated only, but actually spurned.

Then there is the old controversy about our food. Should a Frenchman desire luncheon or dinner in this country he will find that it is, for him, almost uneatable. His distaste will be increased by the fact that the condiments with which he is served bear French names. These names, all too frequently, are wrongly spelled. He will feel that he is not merely being badly fed but also parodied. He will long for the fleshpots of his own country.

This, therefore, is the second piece of advice which I should give the foreign visitor: 'Never attempt either to lunch or dine in England. Concentrate upon breakfast and tea. You will find these two meals are better cooked than in any other country. You may, of course, dislike both these meals. But that is your fault—not mine.'

On arrival in London he will wish, after he has washed and shaved, to amuse himself. Here comes a point where a patriot, such as I am, feels himself at a disadvantage. It is difficult to pretend that London at night offers much amusement to the Continental, or even the Dominion, visitor. After the theatre he may end by being arrested in Piccadilly. Or, otherwise, at 11-25, he must go to bed. Now most foreigners begin to sit up and take notice only at 11-25. They do not want to go to bed. And it is difficult to explain to them how it comes that we have our curfew at that sunset hour.

The third piece of advice, therefore, which I should give the foreign visitor is this: 'Do not expect to be amused, expect only to be interested.' I have not noticed that this sage counsel produces any very immediately stimulating effect.

The life of Paris and Berlin, the life of Madrid and Rome, is conducted on the pavement. The life of London is conducted behind locked doors. It is difficult for the visitor from overseas to perpetrate behind these doors. He feels an atmosphere of exclusion—he feels shut out. I find it difficult to cope with that impression in my foreign friends.

There is one thing, however, against which I warn them with earnest insistence. I beg them, whatever happens, not to spend Sunday in London. Such sojourn leads to suicide. I beg them to go off to Oxford or to Windsor, I beg them to take a bus to Maidenhead or Dorking, I beg them whatever happens not to remain alone listening to the feet of other pariahs echoing upon our deserted pavements. Sometimes they take this advice; sometimes they do not. 'Londres,' they say to me, 'est plutôt triste—mais vos arbres ! !' 'London,' they say to me, 'ist eigentlich trubsinnig—aber die Baume ! !' 'Londra,' they say to me, but I need press the point no further. England, I fear, strikes the foreigner as being hostile, uncomfortable, and dull. 'Serves them right,' you murmur, for being foreigners ..

Well, perhaps. But only perhaps.

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The Last Ten Years in the United States

The most important fact of the last ten years of world history is the emergence of the United States as something of a dictator of the world. This predominance is the result of a novel industral development which has had its reaction on the social order is well. Russia and the United States may be stated to be the representatives of two opposing types of social development. While the tendency in Russia is to bring all capitalists down to the status of the worker, the American trend is to make all workers capitalists or rather bourgeoisie. This social development is explained in an article in *Current History*.

The outstanding characteristic of American civilization is the large size of the middle class. This group, in many countries, but a small fraction of the population, in the United States tends to swallow up all others. Whereas Bolshevism reduces all to the condition of the proletariat, here there is a constant rise of the lower classes to the status of the bourgeoisie. During the past decade this movement has been going on with startling rapidity.

Back of it one sees the carrying of the use of machinery for mass production to heights hitherto undreamed of. In 1914 the value of our manufactured products was $24,250,000,000; in 1927 no less than $62,700,000,000, an increase of 50 per cent even after making allowance for the shrinkage of our yard-stick of value—the dollar. This enormous increase has been made possible, not primarily by the use of more labour, but by standardized machinery. Machinery is used far more in the United States than in Europe, with the result that one American produces three times as much as his European competitor. In fact, the output of this country is twice that of Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Belgium combined.

It is a new emancipation, this use of mechanical devices to do man's work. With shorter hours of labour, the American workman earns an income that to his European fellow seems princely. A bricklayer here receives as much for an eight-hour day as a London bricklayer in twenty-eight hours or the Paris bricklayer in eighty hours. "The problem of making labour sufficiently productive to provide material comforts for all has been solved for the first time," says Bertrand Russell. With but 7 per cent of the world's population, the United States consumes 56 per cent of its rubber, 21 per cent of its sugar, 72 per cent of its silk, 36 per cent of its coal, 42 per cent of its pig iron, 69 per cent of its crude petroleum. The purchasing power of our 122,000,000 inhabitants exceeds that of 500,000,000 Europeans, and far exceeds that of 1,000,000,000 Asiatics. "The bettered home

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surroundings, the expanded schools and playgrounds and the enlarged leisure which have come with our economic progress, have brought to the average family a fuller life, a wider outlook, a stirred imagination, and a life in aspirations," says President Hoover. There still exists what may properly be called a lower class, but in the years since the World War great progress has been made toward its elimination. With the average annual wage $1,280 for both sexes, all ages and all degress of skill, poverty, as Europeans understand the term, is reduced to a minimum.

It is true that the constantly increasing use of labour-saving machinery has thrown many thousands of men out of work, a tendency which has been accelerated by the present economic depression, but the evil is temporary. Sooner or later we may expect the lowering of the cost of production so to stimulate demand that the unemployed will be drawn back to the factories to man the machines which drove them out. Such was the history of Arkwright's inventions in England, where the idle artisans stormed the factories and demolished some of the new spindles, only to find, a few years later, that the number of hands employed in spinning had doubled and tripled. The people as a whole participate in the benefits of labour-saving machinery, but no class more than the factory hands themselves.

Recently a distinguished German professor visited this country. Stoping before a building in process of erection, he asked why so many automobiles were parked beside it. When told that they belonged to the carpenters, stone-masons, plumbers, plasterers, he exclaimed in astonishment, "All Americans must be millionaries!" "By no means," he was told. "But high wages in America, together with the low price of machine-made cars, have combined to give almost every workman his motor."

It is futile for Europeans to inveigh against the American age of machinery, or to assert that it has made the people automatons, devoid of individualism. It is the greatest advance in all history from deadening drudgery for the masses. Despite the unprecedented wages of domestic servants in this country, the size of the servant class is extremely small. The average housewife, if she has any servant at all, must supplement her efforts with the electric washer, the vacuum cleaner, the gas or electric range, the electric refrigerator, the electric floor-waxer.

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Sport in Modern Society

Before the Great War the apotheosis of sport, which is a notable feature of contemporary social life, was only a very English trait; so much so that in a map of the world found in a captured German trench, in which a contemplated redistribution of colonial possessions of the Allied powers was shown, all French and English colonies were shown as German, only a little square in the middle of the Sahara desert being left to England and inscribed "Foot-ball Platz for the English." Since then the foot-ball field has become a feature of every continental town. But the new fashion has not blinded thoughtful men, who are prepared to recognize sport as only a part of life but not the whole of it. And M. Edmond Jaloux, the well-known French writer, contributes to *Le Temps* a timely warning on the subject. The following extracts from this article are quoted from *The Living Age*:

Thus sport had a religious and civic origin and tended to develop the first germs of civilization. Far from creating pernicious rivalries, it demanded that the idea of struggle should have nothing to do with cupidity and personal vanity. The victor's crown was taken from the god's honour. It was a means of coming close to this god and placing one's self under his protection.

The physical education that accompanied this spiritual education was governed by an essentially Greek virtue, the voluntary moderation the wise man, sophrosyne. This virtue was supposed to imprint hatred of all presumptuousness and to develop the observation of an exact balance in all things. Skill and physical force were not cultivated for their own sake, but became part of amoral, intellectual, and civic whole, taking on their true meaning only in relation to other forms of culture.

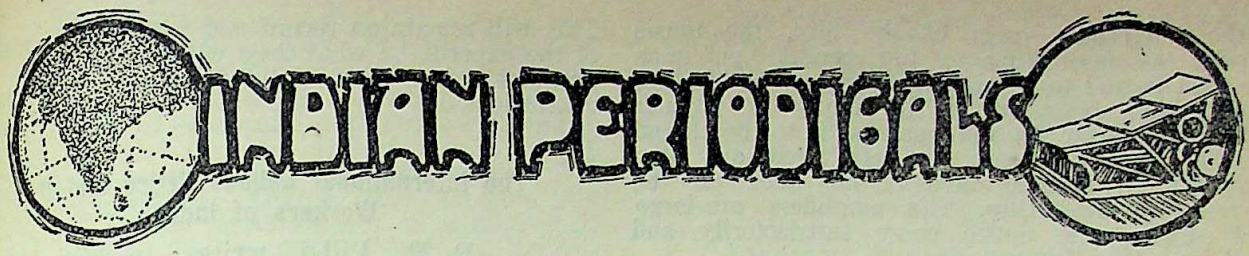
I do not want to crowd the picture I am painting, but when one sees the passionate admirers of modern sport incessantly invoking the example of ancient Greece it would be well to recall to them some of the prime notions connected with the Olympic games. The delirious condition into which the arrival of a few runners plunges our crowds, the battles between Uruguayans and Argentines, the hostile outbreaks that often occur on the field of play when the decisions of the referee do not correspond with the natural desires of the crowd, the return to primitive totems in the shape of some champion who becomes the ephemeral idol of the multitude, all these manifestations do not seem to recall that attitude of sophrosyne which the Greeks gave us as an example.

Our poor world, unlike theirs, is completely subdued by immoderation and if there is one thing that is going to leap to the eyes of future historians when they come to study the first third of this century I believe that it will be this trait. And does a spectacle in one of our stadiums tesitfy to this trait any less than an exhibition of paintings or a thousand other manifestation of the public and private mind?

One cannot help wishing that writers who devote themselves to exalting athletes had assumed instead the task of educating the masses to sport. But the men who praise sport have preferred to give themselves over to the most far fetched adulation. I recently heard an aviator disdainfully use the expression, 'belly-crawlers,' to describe all those, and there are many of them, who do not travel by air. I do not know what term of contempt sport writers use to describe people who do not devote themselves to praising champions, but I suppose it must be pretty strong. For my part, I often read novels, poems, and essays inspired by the glories of sport,—and I read them respectfully,—but how much better Pindar sings!

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Swami Vivekananda on the Physical Degeneration of Indians

Swami Vivekananda was a great advocate of strength—spiritual, moral, intellectual, physical. In an article on the economic views of Swami Vivekananda, the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata*, writes :

It well-known that the Swami was eager to solve the bread problem of his countrymen. He said again and again that one cannot practise religion with an empty stomach. There must be food, nourishing food. The wants of the body must be fulfilled. Then only we can devote our mind to higher things. He considered that much of our present degradation, not merely material, was due to our physical weakness. In course of a lecture at Madras, he said : "Physical weakness is the cause at least of one-third of our miseries. We are lazy ; we cannot work ; we cannot combine ; we do not love each other ; we are intensely selfish ; not three of us can come together without hating each other, without being jealous of each other. That is the state in which we are,—hopelessly disorganized mobs, immensely selfish, fighting each other for centuries as to whether a certain mark is to be put on our forehead this way or that way ; writing volumes and volumes upon such momentous questions as to whether the look of a man spoils my food or not ! This we have been doing for the last few centuries. We cannot expect anything high from a race whose whole brain-energy has been occupied in such wonderfully beautiful problems and researches ! And are we not ashamed of ourselves ? Aye, sometimes we are but though we think these things frivolous, we cannot give them up. We think many things and never do them ; parrot-like, thinking has become a habit with us, and never doing. What is the cause of that ? Physical weakness. This sort of weak brain is not able to do anything ; we must strengthen it. First of all, our young men must be strong. Religion will come afterwards. Be strong, my young friends ; this is my advice to you ..You will understand the Gita mighty genius and the mighty strength of Krishna better with a little of strong blood in you. You will understand the *Upanishads* better and the glory of the *Atman*, when your body stands firm upon your feet, and you feel yourselves as men." The Swami traced much of our present degradation to physical weakness. And he said on another occasion that such was the nature of the Indians that as soon as they would have material well-being, they would not, like other peoples, sink into the mire of worldliness, but would automatically soar into the spiritual empyrean. It was natural, therefore, that the Swami would think earnestly of the material problems of India, the economic ones not excepted. In fact, his going to the West had for one of its main objects, as he admitted on more than one occasion, the finding of means in the West for the amelioration of the miseries of India, evidently physical sufferings—for, in matters spiritual, he never thought that India had anything to learn from the West. In fact, he strongly repudiated the idea whenever it was even indirectly suggested to him.

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Music in India

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins writes on the revival of music in India in *Stri Dharma* :

India is pre-eminently a musical nation. This is proved by its wealth of folk music, its social and religious music, its innate love of singing, its veneration for chanting, its age-long representation of music in the plastic arts. Yet as a social art music had fallen from its high estate during the past century and men of the best families rarely become exponents of the Art and many women were forbidden to learn music. The exclusion of Indian music from the schools and colleges for over fifty years was a mistake. It arose in a simple way. Hindu music is entirely religious. The English nation is Christian. Its Government had promised religious neutrality in India. If it encouraged Indian music it felt it was encouraging heathenism and breaking its promise of neutrality. So music got no place in the school and college curricula.···

The gradual restoration of music to its ancient place of high honour is one of the remarkable proofs of the Indian national renaissance. It began with the institution of All-India Music Conferences in which Baroda State took the lead. The Gandharva Vidyalaya in Bombay did a great deal to standardize North Indian music from the educational angle. In 1918 it fell to my lot to call together the musicians of Tanjore for the first conference ever gathered to draft a syllabus of Carnatic music to be introduced as a school compulsory subject in the primary stages, as an optional subject in the High School, and as a Special subject for a Bachelor of Music University Degree. That happened at the beginning of the campaign for National Education which Mrs. Besant initiated after her internment and when she founded the National University.···

In addition to all this expansion on the academical side there has been the most noteworthy revolution in the policy regarding moneyspent by Madras Municipal authorities on provision of music for the masses. Three years ago the Madras Corporation for the first time arranged that Indian music by Indian instruments should be played weekly in the Madras public parks. The result was an immediate growth in the out of door habit

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in the congested parts of the city, the music proving as fascinating to the general public as the *vina* is said to be to the serpents. A further remarkable extension of the supply of popular indigenous music for the masses is to be found in the radio-broadcast concerts that are now provided on certain days of the week on the Marina of Madras City. The amplifiers are large and make the music carry satisfactorily and well for a long distance....

Only thirteen years have been needed to make these drastic and fundamental changes in the education of the people musically in this Madras Presidency and elsewhere. And yet people exclaim at the slowness of the East, and accuse the oriental of inability to change! The speed of everything in India in these last months reminds me of the triply quickened pace at which the final of a *raga* is sung! It tells us we are nearing the end of a regime, if not of a political *raga*! It also tells us that a finer race is in the making for the future for it is being moulded by music in the home, in the school, in the *maidans*, and in the *bhajana* parties. And Indian music itself will take a new lease of life and break old conservatism and stagnancies and bring new gifts to musicians of East and West alike, for the radio, the gramophone, the aeroplane, the cinema are going to effect interchanges of influence which will be for the enrichment of all, especially seeing that training in music is itself under disciplined control.

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A Plea for Anthropological Research in India

Mr. P. O. Bodding, writing in *Man in India*, draws the attention of scholars to the rich unexplored fields of anthropological research in India:

What I wish to concentrate our attention on here to-day is the immensity of anthropological material lying in our midst, and partly untouched, and the pressing need of getting the material collected without delay. It is generally computed that between one-fifth and one-sixth of the human race lives in India, and this is very far from being a homogeneous mass. People living near each other are liable to intermix both physically and socially and to influence each other in several ways. In certain localities we may here in India find a nearly homogeneous or pure race of people; in others we have a large number of types that cannot possibly be descended from the same race.

Anthropological measurements are a sure guide, so far as they take us; but they are concerned with only one side: the assistance of philology and social anthropology is required to complete the investigations and find out the possible origin of all, and the ways by which all has reached us.

Our first task is to find out exactly what we have. Here there is one matter that I particularly wish to urge on all anthropological workers. Let us get an accurate, full and detailed description of any common, *i. e.*, customary act or doing. This is the first consideration. Try to explain, if you can do so; it will be a help and a possible guide for those whose life work is the study of these matters. You may give suggestions of possible solutions of some of the many problems. What is of primary importance is to get an exact description. This will remain on record and will, in the hands of the experts, be what they will use and have to use, and what they will ultimately build their conclusions on.

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The International Labour Office and the Workers of India

Dr. P. P. Pillai writes in *The Indian Labour Journal* on the influence of the I. L. O. on labour legislation in India:

So marked has been the influence of the I. L. O. on the course of labour legislation in this country that an acute critic has expressed it as his deliberate opinion that "the development of Indian public opinion on labour questions has been greatly stimulated and encouraged by Geneva and that but for Geneva many of the measures of social reform which have now found their way to the statute book might not have been initiated at all." Readers of this journal are already familiar with the many legislative enactments, such as the amended Factories and Mines Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Act with its many revisions, the Trade Unions Act, the Indian Railways (amendment) Act, etc., which have been adopted by the Government of India in recent times as a result of the beneficent influence exerted from Geneva. Such important questions as the limitation of the hours of work, the observance of the weekly holiday, the prevention of night-work for women, the regulation of women's and children's labour, etc., have been dealt with in these Acts; and that well-known friend of Indian labour, Mr. C. F. Andrews, was so struck by the remarkable result which the I. L. O.'s work has produced in India that he has stated that "the amelioration of labour conditions in India has gone forward more quickly in the last ten years since the I. L. O. was established than was possible in fifty years before its establishment. Every one of the great landmarks in the great Indian labour legislation has been put up since the establishment of the I. L. O." Indian railway works, in particular, have reason to be grateful to the I. L. O. for the new Indian Railways Act of 1930 by which the provisions of the Washington and Geneva Conventions have been extended to several categories of Indian railway workers.

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Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer

Hindu College of Calcutta was one of the greatest educational institutions of the 19th century. The credit for its establishment is generally given to David Hare. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji shows in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* that the leading part in establishing this institution was taken by Raja Rammohun Roy:

The education of the people is usually described as England's mission in India. But English education was not in its origin a gift of the East India Company's Government to the people of India; the impetus for it came at first from the

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missionaries and some non-official Europeans, and the movement went on gathering volume from the eagerness of the ruled rather than of the rulers. The East India Company and British traders in India wanted clerks and interpreters knowing English as much as the Indian people wanted posts in Government and mercantile offices. The growing demand for English education from this motive led to the establishment of a number of private schools. The method of teaching English in them was, to say the least, extremely rudimentary and their inefficiency came to be realized very soon. A desire for English education of a higher grade, as an instrument of culture, was also rapidly growing among the upper classes of Indians, who had grown in wealth under British peace and the permanent settlement of the land. It was this desire, as well as the necessity of a higher knowledge of English from the business point of view, which induced some leaders of Hindu society to establish the well-known 'Hindu College'—"the very first English seminary in Bengal, or even in India, as far as I know," according to Dr. Duff. It was founded in 1817. Among those who had realized the supreme importance of Western science and literature as a means of enlightening their countrymen the name of Rammohun Roy stands foremost, and it was he who actually conceived the idea of founding the Hindu College—a fact known to very few. Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, was instrumental in establishing this institution, which was reared up by the unremitting devotion and energy of David Hare, backed by some leading Hindus. The true history of the origin of the Hindu College is given in a letter which Sir Hyde East addressed on 18th May 1816 to his friend J. Harington, then absent in England....

Rammohun Roy was the prime-mover in founding the Hindu College. The leading Hindus of Calcutta disliked his association with it, as he was regarded by them as a heretic and more of a Musalman than a Hindu. Rammohun, therefore, very wisely withdrew from the movement, lest the objects of the institution should be frustrated in consequence of his name appearing on the Committee of Management.

But his zeal for educational efforts of all kinds continued unabated.

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Guru Nanak

The Khalsa Review pays homage to the memory of Guru Nanak in the following editorial note :

Our province should feel indebted to the work that Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, did for us. He not only brought the message of the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagvad Gita* to the common masses in the language of those times, but also inspired many with that high idealism which is at par with the idealism of other theistic faiths. This leading of the simple folk to a life of true piety and religion and simplification of the subtle and the philosophical doctrines of Hinduism into the everyday language of the people, is an achievement of which any one may well be proud. The torch that was lighted by the first Guru was kept burning by the nine successive Gurus who followed in his footsteps and continued his mission.

We find, therefore, as a result of Guru Nanak's teaching that in almost every Hindu home in the Punjab the hymns of the Sacred Granth are read and recited and sung with a devotion that is unique.

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League of Nations and Intellectual Co-operation

How the League of Nations is trying to unify the world of knowledge is described in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

Quite different but equally far-reaching is the work in intelliectual co-operation. An International Committee directs an International Institute and is aided by a series of national committees as well as delegates appointed by states themselves. The world of thought and learning had never before been subject to co-ordination. Once the problem was posed, however, an embarrassing number of opportunities presented themselves.

The work of intellectual co-operation is divided into four main categories : university relations, science and bibliography, arts and letters, and intellectual rights. The organizations capable of representing the universities of each country, as a whole, have met annually since 1926 to discuss and solve their common problems. The extraordinary migration of students and teachers in these days is being brought into some semblance of order. Student organizations meet under its auspices.

The resources of knowledge expressed in the form of library books attracted attention, and a system was created to facilitate loaning and exchange of rare works. World-wide co-operative bibliographies in various scientific fields are being fostered. Such common problems as improvement of the scientific methods of preserving manuscripts and rare books, command attention. In arts and letters, the Union Catalogue of Museums, uniform methods for the reproduction of works of art, a census of the world's extant sculpture, and means of reproducing casts are being undertaken. Preservation of the records of popular art has been the object of congresses and exhibitions. Problems created by the motion-picture have called forth an International Institute established at Rome.

In the field of intellectual rights attention has been given to the more adequate protection of literary and artistic property and the possibility of enabling the discoverer of scientific facts to benefit from their industrial exploitation. The legal status of international organizations, made up of private citizens, offers a fruitful field of inquiry.

The Assembly of the League in 1924 called for an examination of instruction in the schools on the work of the League. A committee examined the question, and the first official international textbook was issued last year under the title *Aims and Organization of the League of Nations.*

Literally dozens of promising fields of international activity are being explored at Geneva. Some of them are highly scientific in object and result ; others are highly romantic. So varied are they that the full list of them would be unintelligible or uninteresting to any particular reader. To

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explain them all would require touching almost all the phases of human activity. The League of Nations is equipped and keyed to give appropriate attention to any international problem which the governments of which it is composed decide to entrust to it.

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Effect of Foreign Trade on the Economic Development of India

Professer S. C. Bose writes on the consequences of the development of the foreign trade of India in *Indian Journal of Economics* :

We, therefore, arrive at the conclusion that though the growth of our foreign trade has certainly added to the prosperity of India, a policy of developing the industries of the country by restricting the free progress of foreign trade would have been much more beneficial. We can, therefore, unhesitatingly assert here that the so-called free trade policy of the Government of India which led to the unhampered growth of our foreign trade to the disadvantage of the industrial progress of India was a fatal blunder and positively injurious to national well-being. The true interests of the country were sacrificed to the pursuit of an unsound economic theory. A right policy would be a system of protection which will guarantee the growth of the various industries of the country and at the same time aim at obtaining the maximum amount of gain by participation in international exchange of goods. It was indeed most unfortunate that an injurious policy was thus pursued for over half a century which led to the drifting of our trade to its present plight. If a right policy of safeguarding the interests of Indian industries were adopted earlier and adequate encouragement were forthcoming from the Government in developing new manufacturing industries, some of our industries would not have succumbed to the competition of imported goods nor would have our raw materials been exported in increasing quantities to the detriment of the growth of new industries in India. The task has been made difficult by the negligence of more than fifty years. But it is no good crying over spilt milk ; nor will anything come out of perorating over conditions which prevailed in our country a century back. Things must be taken as they are ; nevertheless, we have this consolation that though the task is difficult, its ultimate success is guaranteed by the existence of an ample home-supply of raw materials, an internal market of large dimensions and other requirements for industrial progress.

—

A New Venture in Industry

The National Christian Council Review cites the example of an American company which has incorporated in "its plan of operation almost every progressive feature required by a Christian standard of human relationship in industrial life", comprising the following : a minimum wage ; a family wage with fifty per cent higher wages for needs of families, and extra weekly allowance for each child up to the number of three ; and other protective features. In the same paper is given the account of an Indian industrial concern which is being run much on the same lines :

In this connection we may mention that almost the only industrial venture in India which attempts to run a factory on 'idealistic' lines is that at Kiloskarwadi, in the Deccan, which owes its origin and inspiration to a Brahman. About six hundred men and boys are employed in his factory, which manufactures simple agricultural implements. The impressions formed by Miss M. C. Matheson about this unique factory are recorded in her book, *Indian Industry*. We quote here a few sentences from her :

"A model village has grown up round the factory. Most of the houses are detached, and each one has its own electric light and water tap, although the water, which is brought from the hills, three miles away, must often be rationed during the hot weather. Gardening is encouraged, and there is a certain control of shop and market prices, a co-operative store not having proved a success. The well-built houses with their shady gardens, the tidy streets and the general air of neatness and prosperity form a striking contrast to the ordinary Indian village.

"Mr. Kiloskar wants to do away with the difference between capital and labour by making everyone a capitalist in greater or less degree. He himself lives in an ordinary village house, and insists, somewhat naïvely, that everyone who earns thirty-five rupees or more a month shall become a shareholder in the business. No alcoholic liquor is sold in the village, and it is an understood thing that workers shall be non-smokers and non-drinkers. There is a compulsory primary school and a free medical dispensary. He is assisted by his son and his nephew, who were educated in Boston and London respectively, before becoming associated in the business.

"We may object that this venture is small and representative of an old-fashioned paternalism that has long been outgrown in the more advanced West. There may be truth in this indictment, but we must remember that Mr. Kiloskar is dealing with an undeveloped people among whom a paternalistic authority is the one best understood, that his venture, small to Western eyes, is unique of its kind in India ; and last, and by no means least, he has been a pioneer in associating handicraft with Brahmanism. In his workshops one can see a Brahman and an untouchable working side by side at a machine."

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Baman Das Basu

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Sanskrit saying, "*Daridrya-dosho guna-rasi-nashi*," contains a kernel of bitter truth within it. It purports to say that even if a poor man possesses a good many virtuous qualities, his poverty stands in the way of his receiving credit for them. It may be similarly observed that even if a subject country produces men of distinction, the world does not recognize them to be so, unless they are accepted as such in the free and enlightened countries of the West. On the subject peoples themselves subjection produces the inferiority complex. One manifestation of this fact is that when Bengali authors began to produce meritorious works in Bengali which were appreciated by their countrymen, many of the latter thought that this appreciation would not have its true value unless some one author were called the Bengali Milton, another the Bengali Scott, a third the Bengali Byron, a fourth the Bengali Shelley, and so on. Another manifestation of this complex is connected with the work done by the subject of this sketch, the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. When his historical and other works began to be published, his friends had no doubt about their worth. They also received their due meed of praise from the reviewers of books in Indian newspapers and periodicals. Doubters among Indians, if any, must have rubbed their eyes, when the Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America wrote of Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India*: "It seems to me by far the most important history of British rule in India that we have." He thinks it "is indispensable for all persons making a careful study of British rule in India." Those Britishers and other like-minded persons who would discount Dr. Sunderland's opinion because of his being a friend of India had, however, to take into consideration the opinion of an Englishman like Mr. J. A. Spender as expressed in his book, *The Changing East*. In that book that eminent English publicist's attitude toward India seems to be that of a sincere well-wisher, "and one who in a general way believes in self-determination for all peoples; and yet who cannot quite bring himself to be willing to apply his belief frankly to India! India must somehow be an exception! She is so valuable to Britain! He sees in the Indian people great qualities, and wants them to be free, but, but—under his beloved Britain:



B. D. Basu as President of the 9th All-India Ayurvedic Conference held at Lahore.

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self-ruling, but—with the British Parliament over them, of course, 'for their good' "! The author of a book with this serious limitation writes therein :

"There is no Eastern country which has so many talented men in so many walks of life as India. Men like Tagore, whose writings are read all through Europe and America ; Sir J. C. Bose, whose researches in plant physiology are famous the world over, and whose zeal and originality as a teacher make an indescribable impression on those who see him at work with his students ; Major B. D. Basu, the historian of India ;...—to name only a few out of scores—would be highly distinguished in any European country, and most of them have followers and students around them who would do credit to any Western seat of learning. All of these should be respected and appreciated by us Englishmen and Europeans, as working on a plane of absolute equality with ourselves."—*The Changing East*, p. 23 (1927).

The youngest child of the late Babu Syama Charan Basu, Baman Das Basu was born at Lahore on the 24th March, 1867. Babu Syama Charan originally belonged to a village named Tangra-Bhabanipur, now in the district of Khulna, Bengal. He received a good education in Calcutta under the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff.

Shortly after the annexation of the Panjab Babu Syama Charan went to and settled in Lahore, covering the distance in some months by bullock cart in those pre-Railway days, and after serving a couple of years as Head Master of the American Mission School there, entered Government service. When the Education Department was established in the Panjab, he was selected to fill the important post of Head Clerk. In that capacity he had to organize that department and worked hard for the spread of education in that province. An unsolicited certificate, given to him by Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, mentions the fact that he zealously supported the cause of female education. It is abundantly clear from other certificates given to him by the Rev. Mr. Forman and some high English Government officers that he was a very able, intelligent and dutiful man of high character. On his untimely death in August 1867 at the early age of forty, the *Indian Public Opinion*, conducted by Sir Lepel Griffin and Dr. Leitner, paid the following handsome tribute to his memory :

"We deeply regret to hear of the death of Babu Syama Charan Bose, one of the most enlightened and respectable members of the excellent Bengali colony which we have in our midst at Lahore. The deceased gentleman took considerable interest in all matters affecting the welfare of his adoptive country and together with other Bengalis threw himself actively into all movements which some time ago reflected credit on this province. He was a Vedantist by persuasion, a most amiable man and an accomplished English scholar. As Head Clerk of the Educational Department, much of the credit assigned to its chief deservedly belongs to the well-known native gentleman whose loss, we are sure, is sincerely felt in the community to which he belonged."

Baman Das was only five months old when his father died. He had one elder brother, that large-souled scholar, the late Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu, Vidyarnava, who rose to be a district and sessions judge in the U. P., and two elder sisters. Srish Chandra was older than Baman Das by six years and four days. Though the highest salary which their father drew was only Rs. 300, on account of the low cost of living in those days the family was quite well-to-do and had much property at the time of his death. But after his death, the treachery of some so-called friends reduced the family to utter poverty. His young widow, Srimati Bhubaneswari Devi, had to depend only on her jewellery for bringing up her four children. She had one faithful servant named Kammu. With Kammu's help she hired a small thatched house at the monthly rent of annas twelve only. When Srish Chandra got a scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem after passing the Entrance Examination with credit, the family removed to a slightly better house, rented for Re. 1-8 per month.

Bhubaneswari Devi had received only a little education, being able to read the Gita, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in Bengali, which she read again and again throughout her long life of 86 years. She was possessed of strong common sense and a high sense of duty to her children. For what her sons afterwards became, they were greatly indebted to this remarkable woman. They, too, were noted for their loving devotion to their mother.

Baman Das passed his Entrance Examination in 1882 and entered the Lahore Medical College. He failed in midwifery in his final examination in 1887. This failure depressed him. But his brother and his younger brother-in-law, Babu Taran Chandra Das, husband of his sister Srimati Jagat Mohini, encouraged him to go to England for higher medical studies, which he did. Before going abroad he married Srimati Sukumari Devi, eldest daughter of the late Babu Hari Mohan De

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of Allahabad. He reached England in August, 1888. There he successively passed the L. S. A., the M. R. C. S, and the competitive I. M. S. examinations, and after undergoing "officer's training," obtained the King's Commission on January 31, 1891. He reached Bombay on the 13th April, 1891, and was posted to the Bombay Presidency, where he served until his retirement in 1907, except when he had to go elsewhere with some expeditionary force or other. He saw much active service, particularly in the Sudan war and in Chitral. He was mostly connected with the army, working as civil surgeon only at Poona, Ahmednagar and Belgaum, which was the last place of his service, whence he retired, his health having been shattered owing to too much active work in Baluchistan and at Malakand. He had contracted scurvy, followed by diabetes, which proved fatal on September 23, 1930.

That he retired after only 16 years' service was not due entirely to bad health. He had too keen a sense of personal and national self-respect to relish being in harness in company with military imperialists. One anecdote will show how trying mess life was for him. On a certain King's birthday he was asked to drink to the King's health. As he was a strict teetotaller throughout life, he refused to drink any spirituous or alcoholic liquor. He was taxed with being untrue to the King's salt which he ate. He retorted that he ate the salt of his country, *i. e.*, drew his salary from the revenues of his country.

Major B. D. Basu had left brief descriptions of the events in his life and of the places and men he had seen during his period of service in his manuscript "Reminiscences," which were divided into XIX chapters. Unfortunately during his last illness, which proved fatal, seventeen of these were mysteriously lost; so that we have only a few jottings for 1929 and 1930, besides a few reminiscences relating to his stay in England. Should the lost chapters never be recovered, on one would be able to reconstruct the full story of his interesting and instructive life.

In July 1899 Mrs. B. D. Basu gave birth to her only child and son and was soon after laid up with a serious type of fever, which ultimately proved to be tuberculosis of the lungs, leading to her death in 1902. Her sorrowing husband led the ascetic life of a widower ever afterwards. Like his countrymen of Bengal in general, he used to take meat and fish previous to this event, though only occasionally. His diet became strictly vegetarian after the death of his wife. It has been mentioned before incidentally that he was a total abstainer. He did not take tea. He smoked only once, in England, and then he felt giddy and fell down unconscious.

When Major Basu came to live in Allahabad after retiring from service—the family had already settled permanently there, he was approached by several leading medical practitioners of the place, requesting him not to start practice there, as that might injure their interests. As Dr. Basu did not want to get rich, as his tastes were literary and his pension was quite enough for the simple needs of himself and his little son, he readily acceded to their request. His decision meant a great loss to the profession and to those who might have profited by being treated by him; but it was a gain to historical and other literature and the cause of learning.

The mention of his literary tastes necessarily brings to mind his labours in connection with the Panini Office. The names of the two brothers Srish Chandra and Baman Das will ever remain associated with it. There is no space in this article for a detailed history of that institution. Suffice it to say that of the books published by it, Major Basu was the Editor of the many volumes in the Sacred Books of the Hindus series, and the joint translator with his brother of the Sanskrit Grammar *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, and that he laboured for it till the day of his fatal illness in spite of seriously impaired health and the almost total loss of eyesight due to cataract.

Rare must at all times, as in our day, have been such mutual affection, trust and devotion as shone through the lives of the two brothers, in their collaboration in connection with the Panini Office and in all family and other affairs.

I was happy to be once of some use to the Panini Office. I edited and wrote an introduction for the Bengali and English works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, published by it. Before that I had the great good fortune to be introduced to Captain (as he then was) B. D. Basu, in the year 1902, I believe. I once read the exact day, month and year when our acquaintance began, put on record in a chapter of his "Reminiscences." But that chapter and most other chapters have been lost. What a wonderful memory he had! He could remember the exact date of events which had occurred thirty, forty, fifty

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years ago. And of the books to his taste which he had read he could recite long passages. Though I have been the editor of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* ever since I started them, very often when I could not easily find out what had appeared in them years ago, I wrote to him at Allahabad, and by return mail came the exact reference. The range of his scholarship and studies was extensive and varied; and I never failed to get exact information from him in any subject that he knew, whenever I applied to him.

He had a strong journalistic instinct, and could have become a successful journalist if he had so liked. When he was in England in connection with his medical studies, he contributed to the Congress organ *India* (May 6, 1890), now defunct, a "Serious Indictment of the Examinations for the Indian Medical Service." He contributed biographical sketches, with portraits, of Indian Medical Celebrities (till 1908) to a medical journal. His book named "My Sojourn in England" originally appeared for the most part in the Lahore *Tribune* in the early nineties of the last century. His Bengali contributions to *Prabasi* and his English contributions to *Welfare* bore his name. But his contributions to *The Modern Review* did not, for the most part bear his name or initials. Hence it is necessary to give a list of them.

So far as can be definitely ascertained at this distance of time he contributed the following articles to *The Modern Review*, in addition to a good many Notes:

1907: The Plague—What the State can do to prevent it; The Native Indian Army; Sanskrit Scholarship in the West; Contemporary India and America on the Eve of the Revolution; Swaraj or Self-rule in Oriental Countries; Is Parliamentary Government Suited to India? The Fighting Races and Castes of India; The Efficiency of the Native Indian Army; The Export of Raw Materials; Bijapur; Modern India and France in the Eighteenth Century; Why Permanent Settlement was Granted to Bengal; How the Sepoy is Housed; India's and the Artillery; Democracy and the Multiplicity of Religious Sects in India; The East and the West; The Genesis of the British Idea of 'Civilizing' India; The Organization of the Native Indian Army; Trade Follows the Flag; Native Officers of the Indian Army; Surat; The Market for British Goods in India a Century Ago.

1908: The Forcing of British Free Trade on India; Lord Roberts on the Efficiency of the Indian Army; Foreign Mercenaries in the Indian army; The Free Influx of Englishmen into India; What can England Teach Us? Conversion and Education of Indians; Reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813; The Barrackpore "Massacre"; The Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries; The Pay of the Sepoy; The Ruin of Indian Manufactures If Russia Ruled India; The Negro Race in America The So-called Inferiority of the Coloured Races; Abolition of the Monopoly in the China Trade; The Present Situation; The White Army in India; The Settlement of Europeans in India; The Monopolies of the East India Company; Golden Bengal; Aspects of Bengal under John Company; Who Should Pay the Piper? A Thing that India has Taught Europe; The Anglicization of Indians; Indian Military Charges; "Specimens of Indian Textiles"—Where are They? India's Military Problem.

1909: Employment of Indians in the Public Service; "The Gate-keepers of India"; The Indian Law Commission; Macaulay *versus* Sinha; Pabhosa; Public Works in pre-British, Native and British India; Railways in India; The So-called Inferiority of the Coloured Races; History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company; Medical Administration Reform; Private Enterprise in Education in India; The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement.

1910: Education of Indians (1833-1853).

1911: The Plague in India and the Duty of the State; The Propagation of Hindu Literature.

1912: The Colonization of India; The Education Despatch of 1854; Education of Indians (1833-1853); Education of Indians and the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853; The Establishment of the Presidency Universities; Vernacular Education in the Days of the East India Company; The Royal Public Services Commission, (being a series of articles comprising "Where is the Necessity of the Commission?" "Is India a Conquered Country?" "Justice to Bengal," "Race Superiority," "Detraction of Educated Indians," "The Irreducible Minimum," "The Hindoo-Muhammadan Problem," "Morality and Health of Public Servants," "Preference to Eurasians," "One Standard Service for India," "The Natives of India and the Civil Service," "Educational Service," "Medical Service," "Judicial Service," "The Police Service," "Equalization of Pay," "Ministerial Service," & "Conclusion"); Should English Women Marry Indians? Eurasian Regiments; A French Traveller in India in the Last Century; London.

1913: The Indian Medical Service; Cornwallis the Warrior; Cornwallis the Civil Ruler.

1914: The Marquess Wellesley's Appointment as Governor-General of India; Indigenous Medicine; The Rise of the Nizam's Dynasty.

1915: Government College, Lahore; Sir Philip Francis—a True British Friend of India; A Few Words on the Care of Indian Children.

1918: How Far British Capital in India is British; Permanent Assessment of the Land Revenue in Bengal; Lord William Bentinck's Indian Administration.

1920: Unrest in British-ruled India, Past and Present; Lord Mornington's Treatment of the Nizam; How the Marquess Wellesley Ensnared the Peshwa.

1921: Ether Committee Report; The First Lord Minto's Indian Administration; Indian Mineral Waters; Passive Resistance by Agriculturists (written in April, 1903).

1922: The Colour Bar; The Last of the Peshwas; Diet and Race; The Story of Satara; Appa Saheb, the Raja of Nagpur.

1923: The Fate of Sivaji's Seal—an Act of Vandalism.

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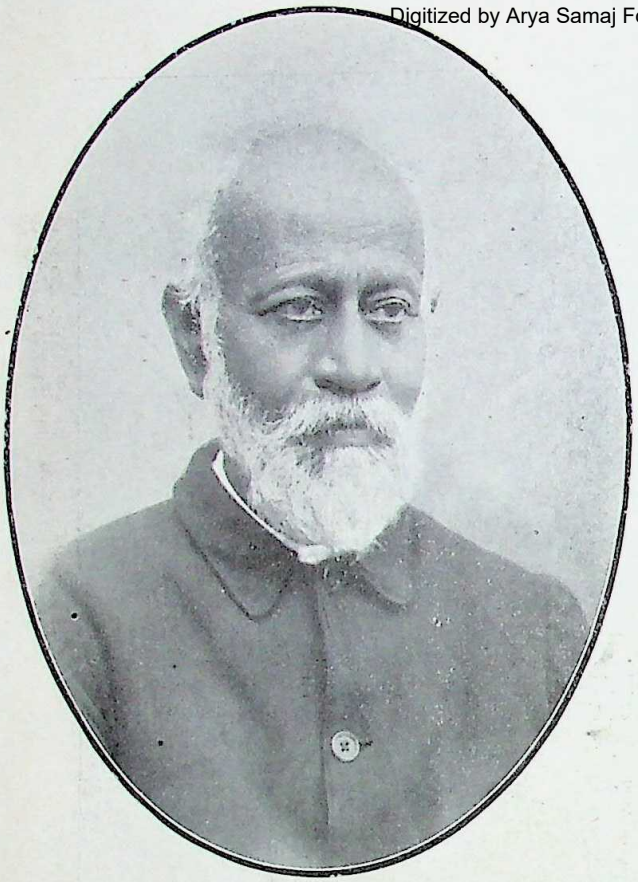
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1. B. D. Basu, Civil Surgeon, Ahmednagar. 2. Srish Chandra Basu.
3. Their Mother Bhubaneswari Devi. 4. Mrs. B. D. Basu.
5. Bhubaneswari Ashram, family residence of the Basus in Allahabad.

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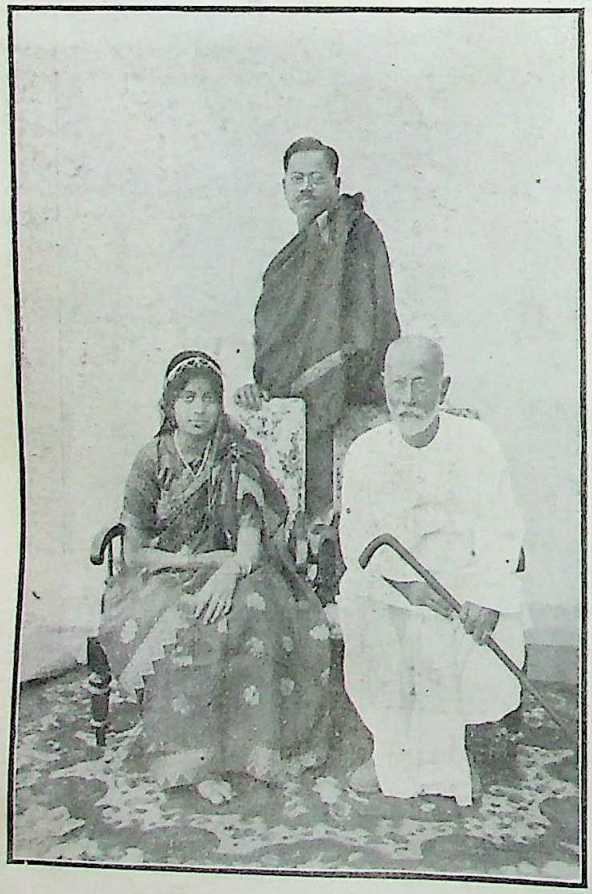
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Last Portrait of B. D. Basu taken during life



B. D. Basu on receiving King's Commission



B. D. Basu with only Son and Daughter-in-law (Srimati Prabhati Devi)



B. D. Basu with some of his Gandhara Sculptures

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1. B. D. Basu before starting for England.

2. As Author of "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries."

3. As a student in England.

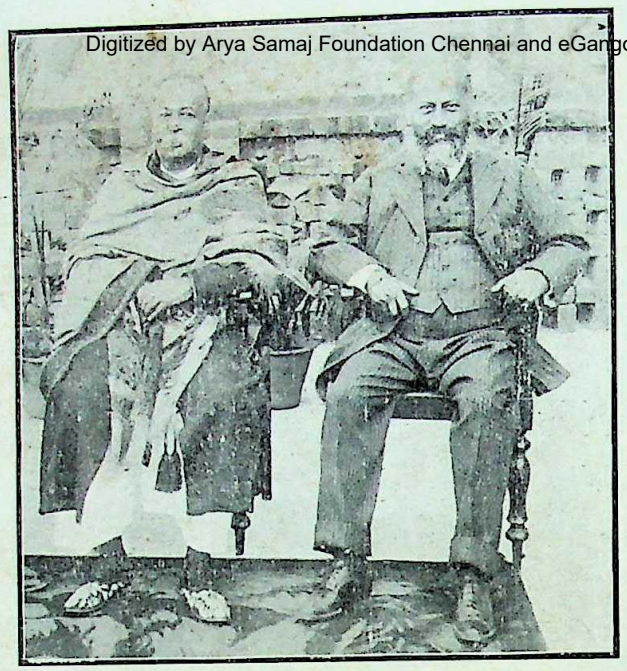
4. B. D. Basu, Bhaskarananda Swami of Benares, Mukunda Deb Mukherji, Srish Chandra Basu.

5. Civil Surgeon of Poona (left) with Srish Chandra Basu (right)

6. As author of the novel "The Plot that Failed," with son, (standing) Lalit Mohan Basu.

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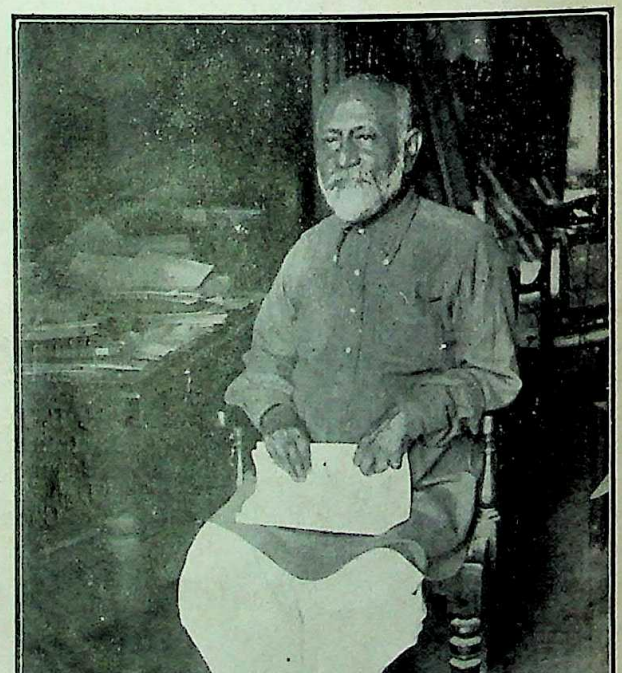
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Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu, Authors of "Indian Medicinal Plants"



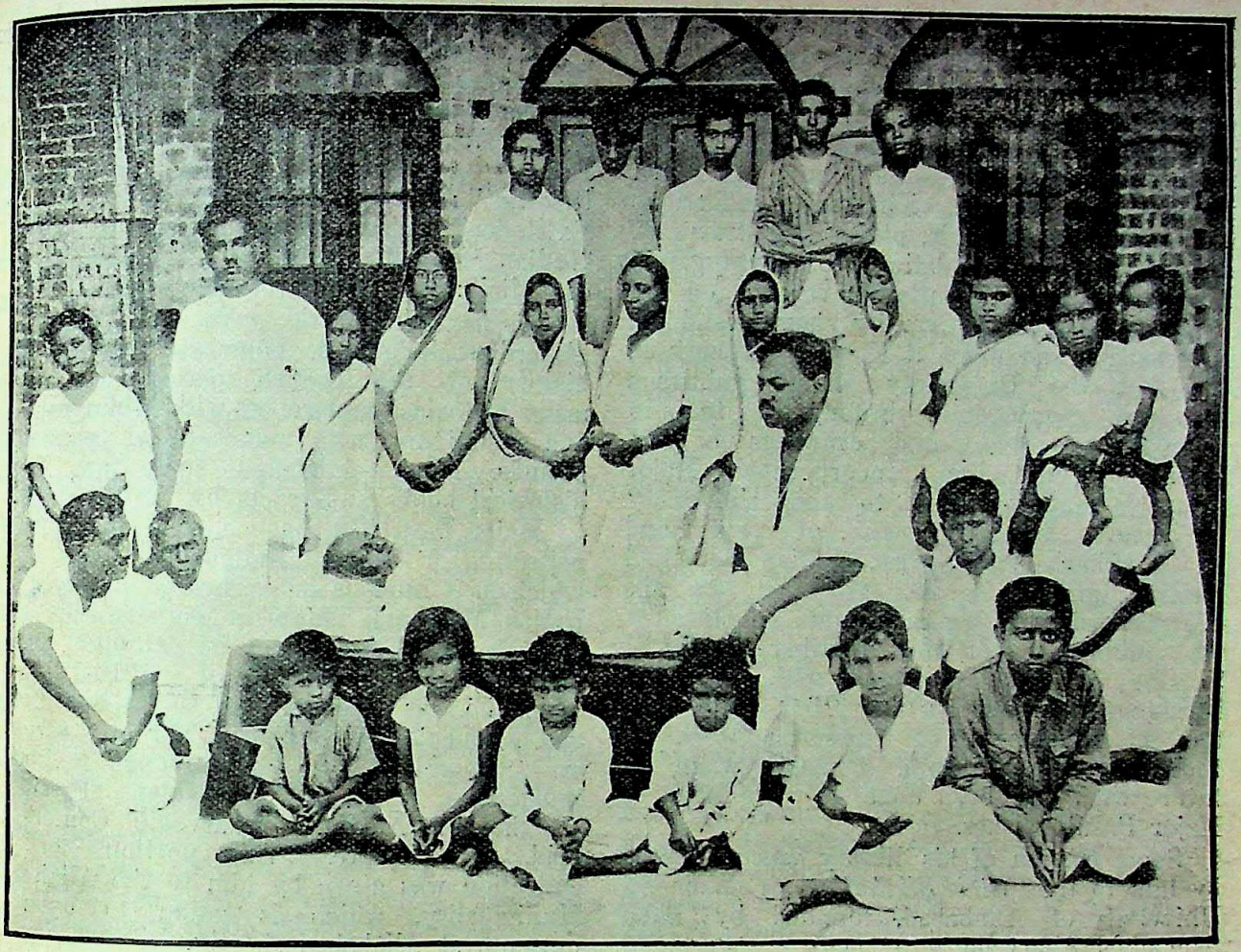
B. D. Basu (left), a friend (centre), Srish Chandra Basu (right)



B. D. Basu as Author of "Culture"

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The Deceased Major Basu surrounded by son, daughter-in-law, nephews, nieces and other relatives.

1925 : The Relation of the Sexes ; Christianization of India ; Effects of Tea as an Article of Diet ; "Muhammadanism Must Be Suppressed."
1926 : The Preservation of the Native States ; Religion, its Negative Side ; My Reminiscences of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar ; The Exploitation of India ; The Hindu-Muhammadan Problem ; Reorganization of the Indian Army after the Mutiny.
1927 : "Cooperism" the Predecessor of "Dyerism" ; The Second Afghan War.
1928 : The Causes of the Second Afghan War ; The Second Afghan War ; Evacuation of Afghanistan after the Second Afghan War.
19 9 : My Reminiscences of Lala Lajpat Rai ; Peace or War ? Town or Country ? Some Pioneers of Medical Education in Bengal (compiled from his articles).

Some of the above captions are titles of series of articles.

When in September, 1906 I resigned the principalship of the Kayastha Pathshala College in Allahabad owing to some difference of opinion with the managing committee regarding educational matters, I thought of starting an English monthly—I had already been editing my Bengali magazine *Prabasi*. It was at this period, as ever afterwards, that Baman Das Basu helped me in all possible ways. For this I shall remain ever grateful to him.

While a student in London, it was his habit to haunt old book shops and buy rare old books and old prints. When he came back home, he brought with him a pretty large collection of them. The books purchased in London, along with the books purchased by his brother, formed the nucleus of the Bhubaneswari Library, named after their mother. The library grew year after year by purchase and by receipt of books in exchange for Panini Office publications, as well as presents from Government and private individuals. It is one of the best private collections in India, being rich in Sanskrit, archæological and Indian historical works.

When the late Lieut.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar

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visited Allahabad in 1914, he was so favourably impressed with it that by his will he left his valuable collections of biological books and journals and coloured drawings and photographs of cryptogamic plants to his friend Major Basu. In 1920, the latter in turn made a gift of Dr. Kirtikar's collections of books and journals, plates and drawings, and specimens—all relating to cryptogamic Botany—to the Calcutta University, on the conditions that the University should establish a Herbarium and name it Kirtikar Herbarium, and that the University should publish a work on cryptogamic Botany of India in which the researches and drawings of Dr. Kirtikar would be incorporated. Major Basu also made a gift to the University of one hundred sets of his and Dr. Kirtikar's joint work, "Indian Medicinal Plants," priced at Rs. 275 per set, the sale proceeds of which would go towards the publication of the Kirtikar Memorial Volume of Bombay Fungi with plates, the development of the Kirtikar Herbarium and the encouragement of research work in Indian cryptogamic flora. I shall write in future what has been done to give effect to Major Basu's wishes.

Some portion of his library was presented by him to the *Stri Sikshalaya* or Women's University of Allahabad, founded by Babu Sangamlal Agarwala, M. A., LL. B.

Major Basu was a collector not only of old books and prints but of old newspapers and periodicals as well. He had many books of newspaper clippings which working journalists might envy. I heard from him how during his period of service at a military station he purchased ten maunds of old newspapers from his fellow officers and others and read and made clippings from them. When he was transferred from that station the clippings alone, forming part of his luggage, weighed two and a half maunds! No wonder the British officers who were his messmates, thought he was eccentric.

His published works in book form are: "Rise of the Christian Power in India," in five volumes; "Diabetes Mellitus and its Dietetic Treatment"; "Culture"; "Story of Satara"; "History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company"; "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries"; "The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India"; "My Sojourn in England"; "The Colonization of India by Europeans"; and "Indian Medicinal Plants" (in collaboration with Lieut.-Col. Kirtikar and an Indian I. C. S., retired).

Among his works which have not been published in book form are: "The Second Afghan War of 1879-80"; "The Plot that Failed" (a novel); "Indian Foods and Diatetics"; "The Philosophy of Human Existence"; "Economic Geography of India"; "Indian Medical Celebrities"; "Health Resorts of India"; and "Uplift of Humanity."

His historical works were the result of his ardent longing to know and tell the true history of the British period. He helped many historical researchers with bibliographies, and sometimes with materials, of particular periods. He re-published some rare Indian historical books and tracts by Englishmen.

Major Basu had made a good and valuable collection of Indian indigenous drugs, using which as a nucleus he prepared his work on Indian Medicinal Plants in collaboration with two friends. These drugs he exhibited in the great U. P. Exhibition of 1910-1911, of which he was in charge of the Indian Drugs and Archæological sections. For his services in bringing into prominence Indian indigenous drugs he was elected President of the 9th All-India Ayurvedic Conference held in Lahore. This portion of his collection was given by him to the Allahabad Municipality, which is going to open a museum at Allahabad shortly.

When he was in service in the N.-W. Frontiers, he made excavations in many places difficult of access and collected a considerable number of Gandhara sculptures. These were exhibited at the aforesaid Exhibition. A detailed and illustrated description of these sculptures was given by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in *The Modern Review* for April, 1924, in the course of which he said: "In Europe, many public and private museums contain collections of Gandhara sculptures, but in India the only known private collection belongs to Major Baman Das Basu, I.M.S. (retired)." Some public museums in India wanted to purchase this collection. The late Prof. J. N. Samaddar of Bankipur offered him Rs. 3,000 for them years ago on behalf of the Patna Museum. But he did not accept the offer. His intention then was to present the collection to a public museum in Allahabad, if any were ever established there. I do not know whether he changed his mind afterwards. When he was on a visit to the ancient site of the Buddhist city of Kausambi he discovered an inscribed slab of stone

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on the verandah steps of a grocer's hut. He purchased it at once for a few annas. As soon as Mr. R. D. Banerji heard of it, he went to Allahabad and read what was written on the slab of stone. He assigned the writing to the first century B. C. or A. D. (I forget the exact date), and offered Rs. 100 to Dr. Basu for the slab. The Major did not agree to sell it. It is still in his house. Besides these, he had made a valuable collection of old Indian coins from different regions of India. These were with his and his brother's family when they were residing at Benares in 1899. Unfortunately these were all stolen from their house.

Mention of the U. P. Exhibition of 1910-11 reminds me of two things. One is the splendid hospitality of the brothers, who were by no means rich men. Their doors were ever open to friends and strangers alike who chose to be their guests. At the time of the aforesaid Exhibition they had at least 75 guests—it may be one hundred or so (I cannot recollect the exact number now). I and my family were among them. The brothers were the very beau ideal of courtesy to all alike. In addressing even young boys and girls Major Basu would use the honorific *apani* in Bengali and *ap* in Hindi. The other fact is that he utilized his position as a member of the Exhibition Committee to bring from the Lucknow Museum and exhibit the "Specimens of Indian Textiles" about which he had written an article in *The Modern Review* for December, 1908. None of us knew of their existence or the object for which they had been prepared. Seven hundred specimens of Indian textiles were made into eighteen volumes, and twenty sets of these were made. Thirteen were kept in England, seven in India. The object was to promote British manufacture at the cost of India. For details, see the article named above.

Major Basu was a member of the committee of the Allahabad Public Library till his dying day. When he was its honorary secretary he purchased for it a complete set of Parliamentary Blue Books relating to India when under the rule of the East India Company. Perhaps no other library in India contains such a collection. He made such use of it as his impaired vision allowed, always regretting that young Indian historical workers did not turn their attention to this field of research. He himself tried to collect funds for a Research Institute, himself contributing some thousands of rupees and his library; but the idea did not materialize. As a member of the Allahabad Public Library Committee, he drew up lists of fresh publications every year not only in the subjects assigned to him, but also in some other subjects assigned to some other members who were neither so learned nor so studious as he.

He was the president of the *Bangiya Dhana Bijnan Parishat* or Bengal Academy of Economic Research and gave it some money and his collection of notes on economic subjects. For he was not only a voracious reader but also an indefatigable taker-down of notes from books on a great variety of subjects. He kept up this habit even when he could read with very great difficulty.

He did not take any active part in public movements, though he took great interest in them all. The last public function which he attended as president was the anniversary of the Gurukula founded by Swami Shraddhananda.

Baman Das Basu could claim to be an Indian in a sense in which few of us are Indians. By parentage a Bengali, he was a Panjabi by place of birth and upbringing. He had spent years of his active life in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Sindh, Baluchistan, etc., and had finally settled in Allahabad. Besides his mother-tongue Bengali, he knew Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, English, Hindi, Urdu, Sindhi, Panjabi, Kashmiri, Pashto, Eastern Pahari or Naipali, Gujarati and Marathi, and could speak fluently the vernaculars of India which he knew Besides Hindustani, I have heard him speak Panjabi, Pashto (with a Pathan friend of his), Gujarati and Marathi. He had friends in many parts of India. I saw a Pathan friend of his coming to his residence, shaking hands with him in the Pathan fashion and speaking to him in Pashto, to which he replied in the same language. When serving at the Frontiers he used to go alone to Pathan villages and converse with the villagers in their houses. His British fellow officers often warned him that, as he went without any escort, he might be killed or held up to ransom some day. He smiled at these fears. And his Pathan acquaintances also laughed when told of British fears for him. For, they said, "Why should we kill you? We have no blood feuds with you." As he knew Pashto, he was sometimes made a paper-examiner in Pashto in some military examination or other. On one occasion when he was examining a young British officer *viva voce* in Pashto, he asked him what a certain

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Pashto word meant. The word meant simply "man." But the young examinee, in order to insult him, answered, "It means a nigger." Quietly correcting him, young Basu said : "No, it means a white cad." Thereupon the young British officer complained to the General Officer Commanding that Dr. Basu had insulted him. After hearing what the examiner had to say, the G. O. C. told the young complainant, "You have been served right."

Readers of *Prabasi* are indebted to the late Srijut Baman Das Basu for giving them in Bengali some idea of the Gujarati and Marathi languages and literature and for articles on many other subjects.

He was a patriot in the best sense of that word, but was aware of the limitations and defects of patriotism. In the second volume (page 284) of *Rise of the Christian Power in India* there is a passage in which he observes that "patriotism, after all, implies selfishness and worldliness." He was a lover of mankind as a whole and wrote many papers on the Uplift of Humanity most of which have been published in *Welfare* and some in this *Review*. Of course, his love of humanity did not exclude his own people from its purview. I would mention only one fact in this connection. When he read the news of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre in the papers, his mind was greatly agitated—to use mild language. He wrote to me from Allahabad that he had not had a wink of sleep for many nights and he feared that, if his insomnia persisted, he might go mad.

He never took any public or private part in any political movement. But he appears to have had great powers of anticipating what turn politics might take. For instance, in his novel, *The Plot That Failed*, published in *Welfare* in 1929, long after it was written in 1903, he anticipated that secret societies might spring up in India. Again, in an article contributed to *The Modern Review* for December, 1921, but written in April, 1903, he anticipated possible passive resistance by agriculturists. In the case of secret societies and political murders, one may say, therefore that on his mind those sinister "coming events cast their shadows before," and in the case of passive resistance his anticipation of it was an example of the fact that "The spirits of great events stride on before the events." (Coleridge's *Death of Wallenstein*).

Reference has been made above to his ascetic mode of life, particularly after the death of his wife. As indicated before, he had contracted diabetes while in service in the Frontiers. After his retirement and just prior to it he had been trying to ascertain by experimenting upon himself the efficacy of diatetic treatment of this disease along vegetarian lines. The result was that after eleven years of such experiments he published his book on "Diabetes Mellitus and its Dietetic Treatment," from which several present-day investigators have adopted his theories and incorporated them in their treatises. For three years just before his death he had taken to the system of one meal diet, that is to say, he had given up entirely the night meal, because he used to say he felt much better with this one meal, and more fit for work the next morning.

So long as he was in service, he had of course to dress according to regulations. But after retiring from service, he usually wore the plainest possible clothes, using Swadeshi materials as far as practicable. His usual costume consisted of a *dhoti* and a shirt, with a *chadar* thrown in when going out.

Except for a brief mid-day nap, he was engaged in reading or writing almost throughout the day and a part of the evening. He was easily accessible to all alike. Few had to wait long to see him and talk to him. Except during the rains and at mid-day in summer, he lived in the open, and he also slept in the open at night, except when it drizzled or rained.

Throughout life he remained a member of the catholic Hindu society. He was against the caste system, believing that it was the cause of great harm to the Hindu community and one of the causes of India's downfall and subjection. As a scientific man, he condemned child marriage and *purdah*. He was in favour of the education of girls and women, disliking, however, any Anglicization. As the younger of his two sisters, Mrs. Jagat Mohini Das, had brought up his little motherless son, and as her husband, Babu Taran Chandra Das, had helped him when he went to England for medical education, he paid his tribute of loving gratitude to them by founding the Jagat-Taran Girls' High School in Allahabad and giving it some financial support. It is maintained mainly by a Government grant and some subscriptions received from the public.

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He held liberal religious views. His father was a Vedantist and his elder brother a staunch Theosophist. His sister Mrs. Jagat Mohini Das and her husband Mr. Taran Chandra Das were members of the Panjab Brahmo Samaj. So long as the late Mr. Indubhushan Ray, the Brahmo preceptor and musician, was in Allahabad, he frequently conducted divine service in the residence of the Basu brothers, though neither of them was a member of the Brahmo Samaj. He had great reverence for the Swami Bhaskarananda of Benares, who loved him. His brother and he, with an esteemed friend of theirs, got themselves photographed with the Swami, touching the saint's feet. I heard from Major Basu the story that, once when a man asked the cheerful Swami, who remained in Nature's garb in all weather day and night, whether he did not feel the biting cold wind on his uncovered body, the saint asked his questioner whether he did not feel the cold on his nose. The man replied, "Oh, but it is only the nose; it is usual to keep it uncovered." The Swami answered with a smile, "Suppose my whole body is my nose."

During pauses of conversations I sometimes heard Major Basu exclaim, "Wah Guru," as the Sikhs do. The fact is, though he had never been initiated into Sikhism, he had, while serving with a regiment, accepted a Sikh sepoy as his *Guru* or religious preceptor. This ordinary soldier was a very pious and honest man. Once, after a battle, when the loot was being divided among the soldiers, he refused to accept any share of it. He was allowed to resign. That Major Basu revered an ordinary sepoy so much shows that his position had not blunted his spiritual perception and that he deeply felt with Burns that

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that."

Major Basu was a great lover of liberty. He had made a collection of English poems on Liberty and on India, which the late Mr. B. B. Nagarkar of Bombay took from him promising to publish it, but which he neither published nor returned. Adapting some well-known lines of Byron, Major Basu would sometimes declaim with fervour:

"The mountains look on Konkan—
And Konkan looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dreamt that Hind might still be free;
For, standing by the spoilers' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave."

Baman Das Basu dreamed of a glorious future for India—an India spiritually, politically, economically and socially free. He did not live to see the realization of any of his dreams. But if disembodied souls can think and work for any earthly cause, his spirit is undoubtedly still labouring for the welfare of our common Motherland.

Professor C. V. Raman Wins Nobel Prize

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

It is necessary to realize the comparative historical significance of the award of the Nobel Prize for original work in Physics to Professor Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, D. SC., F. R. S., of the Calcutta University. In modern times scientific research and discovery are of very much longer standing in the West than in India. In our country it began within the last half century, leaving aside of course India's ancient achievement in science. No country in Europe did so much scientific work of such great importance during its first half century of such endeavours as several Indians have done. The award of the Nobel Prize to Professor Raman is, therefore, as much a tribute to his genius as to India's intellectual potency and its imperishability in spite of her political subjection. Modern Indian scientific achievement appears sudden to foreign observers, as the observations of the eminent German Physicist Dr. Sommerfeld quoted below would seem to show. But the suddenness is more apparent than real. The intellect of India has not lost the quality and vigour which made her famous among nations in ancient

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times. It is only manifesting itself in different ways according to changed times, circumstances and stimuli.

It was in the course of an article contributed last year to the German periodical *Zeitwende* that Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld made the following observations referred to above :

"That wonderland, India, rising to fantastic heights with its buildings, and its religious and philosophical systems, draws any Westerner with irresistible force. Me it entranced all the more,



Prof. C. V. Raman

since in that primeval land of culture powerful shoots of modern physics have grown in the years just gone by, by which the Indian investigations *enter suddenly* into the same meritorious competition side by side with her European and American sisters. No physical discovery of the last few years caused so much sensation and brought forth such admirable collaboration in the whole world, as the spectroscopic effect found by Prof. C. V. Raman in Calcutta, and worked out by him and Dr. Krishnan in a very exemplary manner ; and no discovery in the field of astrophysics has proved itself so fruitful in the understanding of the constitution of the stars as the theory established by Meghnad Saha, now professor in Allahabad." (*Italics mine*, R. C.)

The Nobel Prizes were instituted by and are named after Alfred Bernhard Nobel, a Swedish chemist and engineer, who amassed an immense fortune by the invention and manufacture of dynamite and some other explosives. At his death he left the bulk of it in trust for the establishment of five prizes, each worth about £6,500, to be awarded annually without distinction of nationality. The first three of these prizes are for eminence in physics, in chemistry and in medical science or physiology ; the fourth is for the most remarkable literary work of an idealistic character ; and the fifth is to be given to "the person or society that renders the greatest service to the cause of international brotherhood, in the suppression or reduction of standing armies or in the establishment or furtherance of peace congresses." The following are some of the scientists who have hitherto received the Nobel Prize for eminence in physics : W. C. Rontgen, H. A. Lorentz, P. Zeemann, P. and Madame Curie, Lord Rayleigh, J. J. Thomson, Michelson, Marconi, Max Planck, Johannes Stark, Albert Einstein, Niels Bohr, R. Millikan, and Compton. Professor Raman's name will now be added to this list of eminent scientists. He is the first oriental to win a Nobel prize for any science included in Nobel's scheme, and the second in Asia to win it for any kind of intellectual achievement included therein, the first Nobel Prize winner in the East having been Rabindranath Tagore in 1913 for literary eminence.

Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman was born in Trichinopoly on 7th November, 1888. His father was first a Professor of Mathematics and then the Vice-Principal of the A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam. Raman was a precocious child. He matriculated when he was 12, passed the F. A. examination of the Madras University in his fourteenth year and obtained the B. A. and M. A. degrees in due course, standing first class first in both the examinations. Even when a student he exhibited an aptitude for science remarkable for a boy of his age.

It is generally thought that precocious children do not, when they grow up, fulfil the promise of their earlier years. This, though it may be true in many cases, is not universally true. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman took upon himself the task of planting the flag of Science in the realms of Nescience before he had become a professor ; and after he had become one, he has gone on annexing new territory to the regions of the known from the world of the unknown in science.

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After passing his M. A. examination in physics, he wanted to continue his studies in Europe. He could have got a State scholarship, too. But medical examination showed that he was not physically strong enough to stand the rigours of the English climate. The doctors were probably right in those days. But in recent years Dr. Raman has visited many cold countries of Europe and America without any injury to his health, and he has just left for Sweden, to reach that northern European country in December, to receive the Nobel prize from H. M. the King of Sweden. What might have been is not often a fruitful speculation. But in the case of young Raman, one cannot now say that he might have been a more distinguished scientist if he had received a European education. His example, as that of some others, shows that for doing original work in science, European education is not a *sine qua non*. This truth does not become the less a truth because Dr. Raman has had distinguished Indian predecessors in the field of scientific research.

It may be observed incidentally that in politics British imperialists sagely opine that Indians must go through a very long course of evolution before they can become fit for the work of managing affairs of State. What centuries-long process of evolution have Indian intellectuals undergone in modern times to be able to take rank with their colleagues in Europe and America? The human mind is not divided into air-tight compartments. A people who can overcome difficulties in one field of endeavour can do so in other fields as well. The historian Lecky truly observes :

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary natural gifts. The art of management whether applied to public business or to assemblies lies strictly within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendental abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy, and industry."

What Lecky says of statesmanship in comparison with poetry or some of the other forms of higher literature, may also be said, to some extent at least, of statecraft in comparison with higher achievement in science.

As Mr. C. V. Raman could not proceed to Europe after passing his M. A. examination, he appeared at the competitive examination for the higher service in the Finance Department and headed the list of successful candidates. When he was serving in Calcutta as a high officer of this department, he became a regular worker in the laboratory of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, founded by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar. During this period he published several memoirs on Acoustics, etc., some of which were favourably noticed in this *Review* by the late Prof. Homersham Cox of the Muir Central College, Allahabad.

During the last most destructive war he acted as the Deputy Accountant General of Posts and Telegraphs in Bengal. In 1914 the All-India Science Congress was held in Calcutta. Mr. Raman read an original scientific paper at one of its sittings. This attracted the attention of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and some other educationists. In 1918 when the building of the Calcutta University Science College was finished Sir Ashutosh got Mr. Raman appointed to its Palit Professorship of Physics. He took two years' leave from Government service to see if the work of the University would suit him, and ultimately became *pucca* Palit Professor, resigning Government service. His decision to serve Science instead of the Public Ledger has meant for him much pecuniary sacrifice. But thereby his life has attained higher fruition, science has benefited and he has been better able to serve the Motherland according to the bent of his genius.

He obtained the honorary Doctorate in Science of the Calcutta University in 1921, and in 1924 the Fellowship of the Royal Society (London), which is the highest scientific distinction in the British Empire. He was knighted by the Government in 1929. Soon after this he got the "Premio Matteuci" medal of Italy. He then travelled over many countries of Europe, receiving honours and delivering lectures on his discoveries. He received at this time the honorary Doctorate in Natural Philosophy of the German University of Freiburg. He has travelled and lectured and received honours in America and Canada also. Immediately before his winning the Nobel prize he was awarded the Royal Society's Hughes medal. The Nobel prize has been awarded to him probably for his discovery of what is known as the "Raman Effect," in November, 1927. It is thus described by Professor Andrade in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :—

"When a beam of monochromatic light passes through a transparent substance, a certain amount of light is scattered from the path of the original

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beam which is of greater wave-length than the incident light. This effect was discovered by Raman in 1928, and is known by his name."

His publications include Theory of Musical Instruments, Mechanical Theory of Bowed Strings and Violin-Tone, Molecular Diffraction of Light, Maintenance of Combinational Vibration, two simple harmonic forces, and other works, including many papers in the *Philosophical Magazine, Nature, Physical Review* and the *Proceedings* of the *Royal Society*.

Wild Rose

By SANTA DEVI

THERE was great sensation at the corner of the lane. A hackney carriage had come to a stop there, and an oldish looking gentleman had got down on the foot-path. He had seven children with him and an astonishing quantity of luggage on the top of the carriage. These were being taken down now, revealing to the curious eyes of the beholder, broken bedsteads, tin trunks, brackets, mats, lantern, pails, dirty bedding and even a basketful of empty bottles. The children had taken up the smaller articles, the rest were being dumped down on the footpath by the coachman, thus obstructing all entrance into the lane.

Then began an altercation between the coachman and the gentleman regarding the fare. Gradually voices rose louder and tempers became furious. The coachman was trying to prove that none of his ancestors had carried so many passengers and so much luggage for six annas. He was employing all the arts of elocution, he possessed, to make his words carry more weight. He ended by saying that six annas were dirt, and he did not want to soil his hand by touching them. The gentleman appeared very much pleased at these sensible words and putting back the six annas in his pocket was about to enter the lane. He was probably thinking that this money would cover the bazar expenses for the morrow.

But the attitude of renunciation on the part of the coachman did not last long. As the gentleman was about to enter a door, he rolled up his shirt sleeves and advanced belligerently. The children set up a dismal howl. A small girl of about ten or eleven years of age, with a small child in her arms and two lanterns, swinging from her hand, had been standing so long, looking on with curious eyes at the contest. But as soon as she saw that matters were getting serious, she dashed the lanterns down on the footpath and cried out aloud, "Oh lord, he is killing my father! Oh, what will happen to us?"

A group of young men had been sitting in front of a house, within the lane. They had a newspaper in their possession, and were deep in discussion. They were solving all the problems of the country very satisfactorily, when the shrill cry of the girl struck their ears. Next moment, the small girl rushed upon them and catching hold of one of them, cried out again, "Come quick, quick, he is killing my father!"

Murder in broad daylight! The group was petrified with amazement. But the young man, whom the girl had caught by the hand, rose up in a hurry and walked off with the girl. He was soon followed by the whole band. As soon as the coachman saw them coming, his grief welled up afresh. Maniklal, the champion of the small heroine, soon understood that the trifling sum of eight annas was causing all this trouble. Without further thought, he took out an eight anna bit from his pocket, and threw it to the coachman. The curtain dropped at once on this comi-tragedy.

But Maniklal had already begun to feel ashamed of himself. He had paid off the coachman unthinkingly, but had not considered that the strange gentleman might feel offended at his off-hand manner. He was about to tender an apology to him, when, to his surprise, he heard the gentleman saying, "You are not very wise, young

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sir, you wasted your money, for nothing. I had already paid him his just fare, he cheated you out of eight annas, finding you simple."

Maniklal looked up rather relieved. But the gentleman had no more time to spare for him. He advanced to take possession of his newly rented premises, which were nothing but a room, on the ground floor of the house, next to Maniklal's. The girl had wiped off her tears and was smilingly picking up the lanterns, which she had thrown down in her agitation.

Seeing Maniklal standing by her, she looked up and said, "You don't know anything. Father was only bluffing, he hasn't paid the man at all."

Maniklal was not accustomed to hearing such unfilial remarks from children. But though it seemed a bit funny, he believed the girl, seeing that the gentleman made not the slightest attempt at returning his eight annas. He seemed mightily busy, putting everything in order, inside his room.

Maniklal saw that the girl was eager to make friends with him. So he, too, began to ask her all sorts of questions. The girl looked very likable. She was very thin, and had her hair cropped like a boy's. Her dress, too, was that of a boy, a tunic and full pyjamas. She had no ornaments. Her eyes were very large and bright and all traces of fear had disappeared from them now. She had a wise look on her face, though her body, thin with want of nourishment, seemed like that of an eight year old child.

"What is your name, child ?" asked Maniklal.

The girl burst into a thrill of laughter and stumbled against Maniklal. She could hardly control herself.

Her sweet laughter affected Maniklal strangely. It was like music, and seemed hardly in keeping with her boyish look and dress. "Why are you laughing so much ?" he asked curiously. The girl laughed still more, and rocked herself to and fro. After a while, she controlled herself somehow and said, "You don't know my name ? Oh, it is so funny." Again that laughter.

"Why don't you say what it is ?" said Maniklal.

The girl covered her mouth with her hands, trying hard to be serious and said, "Phootki." Then she clapped her hand on his mouth, saying, "You must not laugh though." Her eyes shone with suppressed mirth.

The small child, who had at first been in her arms, was all this while sitting on the piled up luggage on the foot-path, cheerlessly sucking its thumb. The older children were dragging the things inside, one by one. Seeing Phootki enjoying herself, they too walked up and sorrounded the two friends. Suddenly a roar was heard from inside the the room, "Matka, Phootki, Dooni, Kooni, Bhona !"

The boys ran off at once. "Coming father," shouted Phootki, too, picking up the small child, but she did not budge an inch. She had not finished yet. "You know my name," she said, "why don't you tell me yours ?"

Maniklal laughed and said, "My name is funny too. It is Manke."

"Oh, that's a pet name," said Phootki wisely. "Your real name is Manik, isn't it ? I have no other name at all. It is lucky that I don't go to school, else I would not know, what name to give."

"Phootki," cried someone from inside. "I am hungry. Won't you light the kitchen fire ?"

Phootki had to go, now. "I must go," she said. "Kooni is suffering from fever, I must prepare some barley water for him. Is that your house ? I shall come in the afternoon."

Maniklal was a rich man's son, he stayed in Calcutta for the sake of his studies. He was rather original in his manners and liked generally to be left to himself. He never made any friendly advances to anyone, and he could never gossip. But he could talk. Ask him his opinion on national or social problems, and he would beat any platform orator. But if any of his acquaintances tried to ask personal or intimate questions, Maniklal would shy off at once. Even when he talked, he preferred monologues to conversation, so he had no friends, properly speaking. As soon as he finished his monologue, he would take off his spectacles, wipe them with the end of his *dhoti*, and leave without any preliminaries. Children regarded him as a curious object, and never came near him.

So, no one understood, why Phootki chose this strange, shy young man as her friend. But Maniklal felt glad. He had put up a self-made barrier between himself and the world, but Phootki had easily broken through it. Maniklal never acknowledged it

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even to himself, but he was starving for human company. He could only discuss problems with his equals and that did not satisfy him. But the poor fellow did not know, how to draw children to him.

Phootki did not want any help in making friends. She made all the advances herself. She found out Manik's rooms, and came and went at her own sweet pleasure. She could talk unendingly. Perhaps Maniklal was deep down in Economics, when Phootki would appear suddenly, dragging Bhona by the arm "Do you see, what a fool Bhona is?" she would begin. "You can get so many *Batasas* for one pice, but only two *Jilebis*. Still he must have *Jilebis*. I am sick of his stupidity."

Next moment, she would give up this pose of wise housewife and pull down all Maniklal's books on the floor. "Why don't you throw them away?" she would ask. "You have hundreds of rupees, then why do you read so much?"

"Who told you that I have hundreds of rupees?" Maniklal would ask.

"Do you think I don't know anything?" Phootki would reply. "Are you a poor man? Do you get a salary of fifty-five rupees? Then why have you got so many chairs and tables in your room and why do you drink tea from beautiful cups? Why have you put on a wrist watch? My father has not got one, neither has my brother. Most certainly you do not get a salary of fifty-five rupees."

To Phootki, Maniklal was the ideal man, in wealth, knowledge, beauty and even in smartness. She was very proud of being his friend. Other children, specially her own brothers, held her in high esteem for this merit.

Six months ago, Phootki's mother had passed off, leaving seven children behind. From that day, Phootki had to take entire charge of the household. The master of the house got a salary of fifty-five rupees only. He earned ten or fifteen more in various ways. Still it was far from being enough to feed, clothe and shelter so many persons. So Phootki had no one to help her. For want of money, she did not even get a girl's dress.

Phootki did not object to this. A girl's dress hampered her in many ways. She could not take down heavy pots from the oven, carry Bhona, and frisk about amongst the neighbours' houses at her leisure, quite so easily as in her boy's dress. The sari would slip down from her shoulders and cling to her legs, thus causing her to stumble. So she did not care at all about dressing like a girl.

But she had sorrows enough in her young life. Even before day fully dawned, Bhona would begin to cry shrilly. Matka would pull her by her short curly hair, and shout, "Get up you monkey, or you will be very late in cooking." Kooni would cry out, "I want my barley water, first." Dooni would pull her by the leg, while the eldest Mistu would decamp with Phootki's small savings and carefully hoarded toys and trinkets. Phootki wanted to lie in the bed, for sometime more, but as she slept in the same bed with the other children, she could never escape these tortures. She had to get up and work, and fight with Mistu, for her possessions.

Still, with so many duties on her shoulders, she would sometimes disappear for hours. Matka would search the whole house, then he would peep in at Maniklal's door and find Phootki sitting there, quite at her ease, and enjoying a hot omelette. She had brought Bhona with her too. If Matka came in, he got a share in the omelette, but Maniklal was not at all cordial in his manners. He would pick up a book and pretend to be deeply engrossed with it. This, of course, did not please Matka overmuch. So he would drag Phootki away by main force to satisfy his envy and anger. "Father says he will take the skin off your back, to-day," he would threaten.

Mistu did not stay at home for most part of the day, but if he happened to be in, by chance, he too would join Matka in devising new punishments for Phootki.

But Phootki never lost heart. As soon as she could give the slip to her tormentors, she would run to Maniklal, saying, "They were hammering me. But never mind; when I am as big as Mistu, I too shall hammer them hard and take away all their things. Mistu has taken away the money you gave me yesterday. He is an awful wretch."

Maniklal gave Phootki something every-day, as she was the only person to whom he could give presents. It was either a bottle of lozenges, or yards of ribbon, a pencil or at least some money. Matka, Dooni and Kooni played the part of sycophants to Phootki, in order to get shares

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in these good things, but Mistu used force. Poor Phootki could never enjoy her presents for long. Next day, she had to run to Maniklal with the invariable excuses, "Poor Matka wanted it so much," or, "Kooni is young and nobody gives him anything," or, "that awful wretch Mistu has taken it away from me."

So in spite of Maniklal's generosity, Phootki remained as poor as before.

But Phootki had a warm heart, she never wanted to monopolize Maniklal. Perhaps the young man had started for his college, when Phootki would call out from behind, "Manikda, Bini says you are very handsome, and she wants to make friends with you."

Bini would slap Phootki hard and cry out, "I shall kill you, if you say another word."

Maniklal would look behind and find a group of girls of various ages. He would walk quickly out of the lane. The girls would tease Phootki, "A fine friend you have got! He does not even look at you."

Phootki went away, with her cheeks puffed out in anger. She entered Manik's room, scribbled something there, then came back to her own room.

Usually, one would never find Mistu at home, at such times. He used to take his stand in front of the tea-shop that stood at the street corner, make friends with all and sundry and eat to his heart's content at others' expenses. He indulged in smoking too. The taxi-drivers of that quarter were his pals. He often enjoyed drives through their favour. He had other occupations too, but those could hardly be spoken of in decent society.

But today, he happened to be in. Phootki found him lolling on his father's bed, which was the single article of furniture their room boasted of. "Why are you lying down?" asked Phootki, "Are you ill?"

Mistu sat up. "Oh, I had a bit of headache," he explained, "but I think it is going off."

"What a fool!" cried Phootki, dancing in and out of the room. "Headaches do not go off like this, don't you know? Manikda told me the other day, that you have to put Eau de Cologne on your head. Wait, I shall bring you some from his room. He has got many bottlefuls there."

"What a Nabob," jeered Mistu; "he seems to possess everything."

Phootki rolled her eyes proudly. "Sure, he has," she said. "He is a rich man, don't you know? He has got almirahs and big boxes, full of clothes, shirts, coats and money. He has got lots and lots of books. He has got beautiful lights in his room, and a fan. You have never seen anything like it"

Mistu's eyes became fierce with greed. "Can you show them to me?" he asked.

Phootki was rather taken aback. "You are a big hulking boy, but you don't know English, you don't go to college, and you go about barefoot. I feel ashamed to take you to him."

Mistu's ugly face became even uglier as he sneered at Phootki. "Oh, what a highbrow lady! You know English, don't you? And you are dressed in the height of fashion, too! Why don't you fell ashamed to show your monkey face there?"

"But he is friends with me," said Phootki, "he is my Manik-da."

The logic of the argument convinced Mistu. "Very well," he said, "let us go now, he is not in. I shall only look at the things and come back. Don't tell your Manik-da."

"All right," said Phootki importantly, "I shall ask the servant to let me in. I don't feel ashamed before him."

Mistu walked along with Phootki and entered Maniklal's rooms. The servant saw them and asked, "Why are you going up, little miss? Babu is not in."

"Shut up," cried Phootki, "who asked you to play the lord here? I am going up, because I have business there."

The servant laughed and went about his business.

They reached the first floor, and Phootki began showing Mistu round, with great energy. "This is his reading room. He reads English books here for his examinations. You have to underline these books with a coloured pencil. And whatever the teacher tells you in the class, you have got to write down in these books. They give you such a lot to learn in the colleges. Big books are finished in a single day."

"This is his dining-room, and here is the dining table. You have to spread a cloth over it when you eat, and you must wash your hand in a bowl. You must not spill water on the tablecloth, and must not drop food on it. Do you see this beautiful vase? It is of silver. Look at that clock, it can sing."

Phootki did not notice whether Mistu was listening to her, or profiting by her expert guidance. She was talking on and on, full of

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pride, in Maniklal's possessions. "What is that?" Mistu would ask at intervals, thus increasing her enthusiasm even more.

When Maniklal returned, Phootki and Mistu had already gone. Manik entered his study and found that someone had written a message on the table, with a piece of chalk. He easily recognized Phookti's scrawl. She had written, "Manik-da is very wicked. He does not listen to me, I will never never speak to him again."

Maniklal smiled. He understood that Phootki had taken offence at his lack of response in the morning. But it was too late then to go and appease her. Besides, he was never in the habit of calling at her house. So he had his dinner and went to sleep as usual.

In the morning, the servant asked for bazar money. Maniklal opened the drawer where he usually kept his money, but to his astonishment, found only some loose coins there. The five ten rupee notes had disappeared.

He was really amazed. He was always in the habit of keeping his money in open drawers, together with his letters and papers, but hitherto he had never missed anything. He could never have mislaid so much money. He called his servant and shouted at him, "Come here, you rascal, you have become a *pucca* thief. What have you done with the money?"

The servant was aghast. "What a shame, Babuji!" he cried. "I can never steal your money. I should spit blood and die at once, if I did."

Manik pretended not to believe him. "You haven't?" he asked, "then did a disembodied spirit come and steal it?"

"The little miss came, while you were out," the man said, "and that thief of a boy came too. He has taken it most probably."

Maniklal did not know what to say. He frowned and dismissed the man.

Phootki peeped in once, her hands full of coal-dust. Manik wondered what he was going to say to her. But the girl disappeared almost at once, and next moment Manik heard her abusing the youngest child Bhona quite loudly. "Don't be so greedy. You want an omelette, don't you? I am not going to take you to Manikda's. I won't speak to him any more."

The speech was really intended for him. Maniklal could not help smiling to himself, though dark shadows of suspicion had begun to gather in his mind. He called Phootki, "Phootki come, I have something to say to you."

Phootki shook her head, with its mass of short curly hair, "No, I have no time to listen to you now. I have to cook for these ever-hungry good-for-nothings."

"Oh, let your cooking wait," said Maniklal impatiently. "I have really something important to ask you."

Phootki came in, sobered by the seriousness of his voice. Maniklal hesitated a bit, then asked, "Phootki, whom did you bring with you last evening?"

Phootki startled. Mistu had forbidden her to mention his name to Maniklal. Besides, she herself did not like to own that she had brought that disgraceful scamp with her. So she lied. "I brought no one," she said. "I came alone. Why do you ask? Do you think I cannot write? I wrote those words on the table myself."

Maniklal failed to understand why she was denying having brought Mistu with her. Could she be an accomplice? Or, had the servant lied to him in order to divert suspicion into another channel? "I don't doubt that you wrote those words yourself," he said to Phootki. "I am missing some money. I wonder if someone had taken it by mistake."

Phootki's face turned red in confusion. "Indeed?" she asked "What a shame!"

She did not stop there another moment, but ran away at top speed. Manik stood there, staring at her in amazement.

He did not see Phootki again the whole day. Manik once thought of going to see her. But he felt rather awkward. Phootki might misinterpret his coming on that day of all days. She would think, he had come to investigate. But he was on tenter-hooks, all day. He could not even remain out for long, for fear that Phootki would come and go away not finding him at home.

He found Bhona, sitting desolately in the lane. He was besmearing himself with dust and putting everything he found into his mouth. There was no one to look after him today. Dooni and Kooni stood by the window, with two pieces of dry bread in their hands, looking out into the lane. But they ran inside, as soon as they saw Maniklal. Matka was returning with some oil in a broken bottle. He too seemed trying to evade Manik, and hurried in.

Maniklal had his evening meal, and lay

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down with a book in his hand. He had dozed off, when a sound of knocking at his door woke him up. Manik jumped up in a hurry, he seemed to hear Phootki's voice, calling him from outside, "Manik-da, please open the door." Her voice sounded strangely subdued. Manik was surprised.

"Push the door, it is not bolted," he called out from the bed.

Phootki crept in stealthily. Her walk had lost its usual elasticity, her voice did not sound full of laughter, and her eyes had no longer the look of a blue autumn sky. Some monster seemed to have crushed all the exuberance of life within her. Manik-lal sat up in dismay and cried, "What is the matter, Phootki dear? Why have you come so late ?"

Phootki ran to him, and clung to him in desperation. "I had lied to you, Manik-da," she whispered. "My father lies, so does my brother. I thought, I would lie too. But I did bring Mistu with me."

"You could have told me to-morrow" Manik said.

"Don't you know, they will shut me up in the morning ?" Phootki said. "Today, they kept me a prisoner up to the evening. Mistu is a scamp, I know now that he had stolen your money. Because I asked him, he tied me with a string and hung me up, only my toes could touch the ground. And he has beaten me most cruelly. He went and told my father that I made friends with all the bad boys of the neighbourhood. Father beat me again with stinging nettles and shut me up. He has forbidden me to go out. He opened the door a little while ago to give me some food. They are all asleep now and I have escaped."

Phootki stumbled down on the floor, clasping her two feet in her hands. "Please, Manik-da, give me that medicine of yours, my feet are hurting me awfully. My whole body is burning with pain. I can hardly walk."

Maniklal sprang up from the bed and taking down an ointment, applied it lavishly on Phootki's feet. The poor child was a mass of sores. Her back had become black. Her face was drawn and haggard with pain. Manik felt tears springing to his eyes.

"Come, I shall take you home," he said. "Else they will punish you more."

Phootki was silent for a few minutes. Then she asked, "Have you got a garland ?"

"What do you want it for ?" asked Manik in surprise.

"Then I could have married you," Phootki said. "I need not have gone home again. I am afraid to go back. Mistu will kill me. He threatened to kill me if I disclosed his name."

"Don't tell Mistu, you came here," Manik said. "I shall see how he kills you. But I shall remember, Phootki. God willing, I shall one day buy the garland for you. We shall light up the whole house. You cannot marry in the dark. We shall have a great festival and you won't have to go away again."

(*Translated by Seeta Devi*)

Amongst the Peasants of Kwangtung

By AGNES SMEDLEY

IT was not yet six in the morning when I met a young official near a canal in Canton and boarded a boat that took us out into the Pearl river to a large river steamer of peculiar shape,—the property of the powerful Canton Silk Merchants Guild. It was bound for the heart of the silk districts to the south and east; roped to a steam tug, together with three other similar steamers, it would be tugged down through the network of rivers of the delta region. The boat was armed with cannon—as were all others, two machine-guns behind heavy armour plate, and we carried armed soldiers. To enter the boat we had to have letters of introduction from silk merchants, militarists, officials or other worthies who rule Canton. Our cargo consisted of small sacks of silver money and huge bags of yellow and white cocoons from the East and North Rivers. The passengers were money-lenders, silk merchants, brokers, commission agents, and a few officials. During the dinner I watched one fat merchant in particular. He rose,

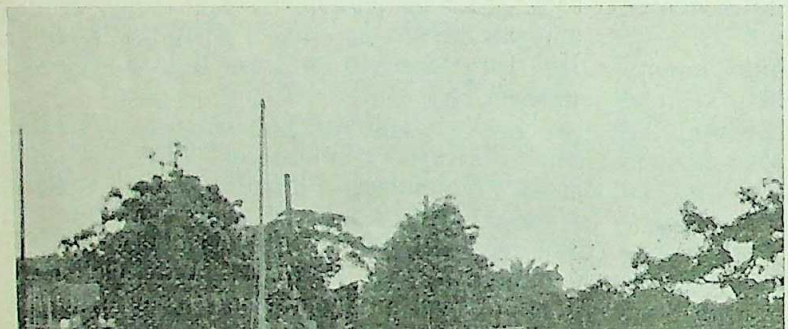
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took off his shirt, and reseated himself, naked from the waist up, his fat stomach bulging in heavy slabs out over his trousers. As he ate, he threw the chicken bones over his shoulder on to the floor. Dinner finished, he, with other passengers, washed their perspiring faces. A waiter stood near a bowl of water, filling and emptying and yelling out as each passenger finished. I lay back in a chair and pretended to be peacefully asleep. But the waiter woke me up and told me to go and wash my face.

The boat hummed with talk of market prices, money interest, Hongkong speculation —and bandits. There is much banditry in the silk district.

"Who are the bandits?" I asked the young official with me. He replied: "They are peasants, loafers, unemployed, and other men of evil tendencies." "Why do peasants turn bandits?" I asked. "They are poor and can get money and food in no other way."



Along a Country Canal in Kwangtung

In the many hot days that followed, and in successive weeks, each morning we left the temples in which we slept at night, and started in the early light, returning with the darkness. In the boiling sun in intervening hours we visited big silk towns and villages and numberless peasant homes, travelling by boat, but chiefly walking for hours, until our hats melted from perspiration, our hair was plastered tight to our scalps, and our clothing stuck to us like wet gloves.

In all this vast district, which is the centre of the Kwangtung silk industry, I can but summarize a few facts:

It is generally estimated that there are three million silk peasants in Kwangtung, most of them living in this delta region. There are perhaps one million *mow* (one-sixth of an English acre) of mulberry land under cultivation. Gradually, as one goes into the region, rice lands give way to exclusive mulberry lands. The silk filatures have been erected in the heart of the silk districts. There are one hundred and sixty registered steam filatures in the province—many of which have closed down because of the economic decline; there are countless numbers of foot-driven filatures in individual homes, or in small shops where all the evils of early capitalism can be observed at their worst. Excluding the workers in the foot-driven filatures, 75,000 women filature workers and 4,500 men workers are engaged in this industry and are still intimately connected with the peasantry, coming from their peasant homes each morning and returning there at night. There are other thousands of women weavers, both hand and machine; here the women are in the ascendancy, the men doing the unskilled labour.

There may be eight to nine silk crops in Kwangtung; sometimes five. The disaster that has visited silk peasants consequent upon the fall in raw silk prices can best be seen by prices; in the last ten years, raw silk has fallen from $ 2,400 and $,800 per picul (133⅓ lbs.) to $ 600 per picul (Hongkong dollars). And although the profits of the high prices were always reaped by the powerful silk guilds and speculators, still some of the peasants could keep their heads above water. Today, even though the silk merchants complain, they still seem to reap profits. The peasants, however, exist in a desperate state of pauperization. On the first three crops they make no profit at all; and often they lose on all.

Kwangtung, however, has sent out millions of emigrants into the South Seas, Hawaii and the Philippines, and the monthly sums of money sent back to their families furnish one of the chief means of existence of the silk peasants in the delta regions. The other source of income of many peasant families

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is the wages of their daughters from the silk filatures and weaving mills.

Junki, Taileung and Kweichow are large silk markets, the very heart of the industry. Junki has a population of about 125,000 with peasant lands crowding in and about it. There are twelve modern steam filatures, many foot-driven filatures, one hundred silk buying houses, one hundred and forty cocoon warehouses, forty weaving mills—four of them modern ; large mulberry, raw silk, cocoon, vegetable and pig markets ; and here are open dens for opium smoking for those weary of the travail of life. The narrow flagstone streets and arching bridges are filled with rows of peasants, naked to the waist, running at a dog-trot, carrying giant cocoon sacks at the ends of a bamboo pole over their shoulders. Their painful and rhythmical labour cries as they run fill the streets and shrivel up the heart of those not reconciled to human serfdom.

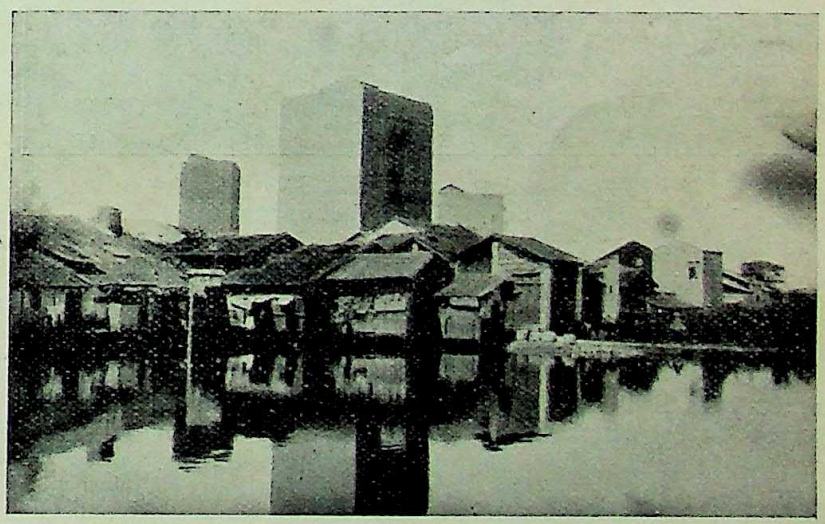


Peasant Children

We talked with large groups of these peasants in the cocoon, raw silk and mulberry markets, and then visited their homes, bare of any shred of comfort, often furnished only with a wooden bench, a bed, a few pewter cooking utensils, and cocoon frames. To all questions about their economic and social existence, they answered directly and frankly ; to questions of a political nature, such as of the Peasant Leagues that once existed they maintained a deep silence. Many of the peasants seem unusually tall and powerful for Kwangtung people. Almost all were naked to the waist, the knee trousers patched or in shreds ; their hats, if any, almost destroyed by long wear ; a few wore rope sandals on their bare feet ; generally they are barefoot, their feet are like hoofs. It is doubtful if they have ever worn shoes. They stand, tall and erect, and answer questions directly and intelligently unless the Peasant Leagues are mentioned. Then they study their hoof-like feet and leave you to your own thoughts. My companion was, after all, an official—and what peasant will speak to an official !

Certain significant and interesting developments are to be clearly observed in these districts :

In and around Junki and Kweichow, with far-lying districts, 99 per cent of the peasants own no land whatever, but are absolute tenants.



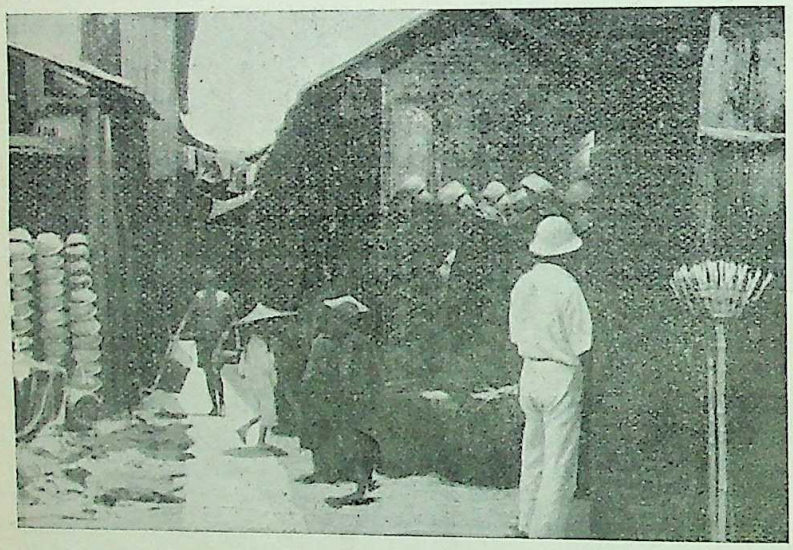
A Kwangtung Village

This, they told us, was the same to the south in the Chung-shan district, the birthplace of Sun Yat-sen, which the Government calls the "model" district. In cities and villages to the north and west of Junki, tenancy is 80 to 90 per cent. It varies somewhat from district to district, but in no place we visited does absolute tenancy fall below 80 per cent.

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Kwangtung is distinguished for its so-called ancestral and family clan lands, and this district is no exception. The former aristocratic clans owned thousands of *mow* of land. Some own this still. The ancestral lands, formerly for communal and educational purposes of the community, is losing its original character and is now being regarded and used as the private property of its administrators, who grow rich and fat upon it. Overseas Chinese who have become rich in the South Seas, as well as modern Chinese capitalists of Canton and Hongkong, and likewise modern corporations of Chinese capitalists, are rapidly buying up the old family clan and ancestral lands. The



In a Village Street in Kwangtung

peasants say land ownership rented by them is changing hands very quickly in the past few years. Often big landowners rent large tracks of land to well-to-do men, who sub-let it; the latter in turn sublet it again. By the time this process continues, the full weight of successive tenancies rests on the backs of the peasants. Apart from the great clan and ancestral lands, and a few rich landowners, the average holdings of a landowner, called well-to-do, is from 60 to 100 *mow*, which he rents. Large numbers of the landowners do no work whatever, but live off the rent. They are the local government officials, tax-collectors, or money-lenders.

The rent paid by the peasants ranges from $20 to $40 per *mow*, 25 being the average. To the north, west, and south of Junki, rents range from $15 to $35 per *mow*. This is a colossal sum for the peasants. During bad harvests, which are now general, they told us they must borrow money from the mulberry or cocoon market owners at the rate 36 per cent per year; or pawn all their belongings; and sell their children to rich landowners and business men. At all times they cannot afford rice, but eat sweet potatoes and taros. This is equivalent to Europeans giving up bread and eating only potatoes.

In the rise as money-lenders of the mulberry and cocoon merchants—and in other districts of the rice merchants is seen another important change of the conditions in Kwangtung and China. The pawn-shops as money-lenders are being gradually undermined by these new capitalists. These new capitalists are also the local agents for foreign artificial fertilizer, or kerosene, or other products necessary for the peasants. They grant the peasants credit at 2 to 3 per month on artificial fertilizer, for example, and thus the peasant is transferring his serfdom through debt from the old-style money-lender and landowner, to the new modern capitalist. These capitalists invest in road building corporations, omnibus lines, and we found them installing steam pumps to pump out stagnant water from behind the dykes, charging the peasants so much per *mow*. In rice districts they install now and then rice husking mills.

Many men are thrown out of their old work and a small, but permanent, proletariat is being developed.

In some districts of Kwangtung, here in the delta region and to the east and west of Canton, corporations of modern Chinese capitalists living in Hongkong or Canton, have brought up large tracts of public land; sometimes 1,000 *mow*, sometimes 400 to 500 *mow*, and at times smaller areas, (sometimes they rent) and have begun the cultivation of crops on the colonial system. But often they have failed. Having official connections and relatives, they have bought public lands from the government at such ridiculous sums as twenty-five cents to one dollar per *mow*. They use hired labour for cultivating the land, and there is a developing land proletariat.

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Both peasants and merchants in some sections declared that peasants are finding the uselessness of cultivating land on which they cannot earn even a bare living. Around

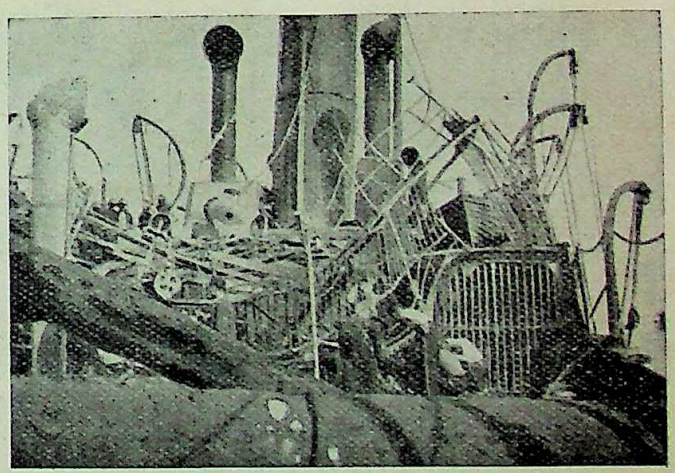


A Chinese Peasant in his Rice field

Lok-tsung, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, we learned that about 20 per cent of the male population had emigrated to the South Seas to make money ; it is upon their remittances that the peasants maintain a certain standard of life. Those peasants who have no such outside support, go themselves or send their sons into the army, thereby strengthening the foundations of militarism. There poverty is responsible for banditry, and was the reason for our river steamer being armour-plated and heavily armed. Of acutal Communist groups or armies, we learned nothing. The militarists call every kind of revolt "banditry," a term that excuses their own large-scale banditry.

The Peasant Leagues that once existed in these as in other Kwangtung districts have been completely destroyed. In their places there are unions of business men, armed by the officials ; the new "peace preservation corps" composed of mercenary troops ; the Kuomintang, now a pure official, merchants and militarists' organization ; and the government troops that parade the streets of the towns. The trade unions in the filatures have also been declared illegal and have been abolished. There is no kind of mass organization permitted.

Should I make general statements or draw conclusions, it can be said that everything in Kwangtung shows a change from the old system of aristocratic land-holdings and social system into an attempt to introduce the new capitalist system ; the impossibility of the latter is manifest because the colonial position of China does not permit of the development of an independent industrial life but leaves its economic structure open to all the whims of predatory capitalism of its imperialist masters. It is clear also that the militarists, bankers, officials, merchants and big landowners who rule Kwangtung today are in intimate co-operation with the foreign imperialists upon whom they depend for their continued rule. The rôle played by the rice merchants and other similar agents of big foreign firms make them the agents of foreign imperialism in the economic subjection of China. In all of this, the peasants profit not in the least. They are merely being transferred from an old form of serfdom



A British steamer seized and looted by Pirates

which was vicious in the extreme, to a new and more "efficient" form of serfdom. In fact, there is a clear deepening of their poverty and pauperization, which is finding expression in banditry in districts where they

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have no clear political conceptions or leadership, and Communist armies in districts where there is clarity and leadership. Their condition is further revealed in the abandonment of land, in emigration, in the influx into the militarists' armies, in continued civil war. In other words, developments in Kwangtung prove, in so far as my limited knowledge of the subject teaches me, that this section of China is proceeding along lines that go to prove absolutely the Marxian interpretation of social development. It is a most striking development, proceeding under a reactionary government that wages war on Marxism.

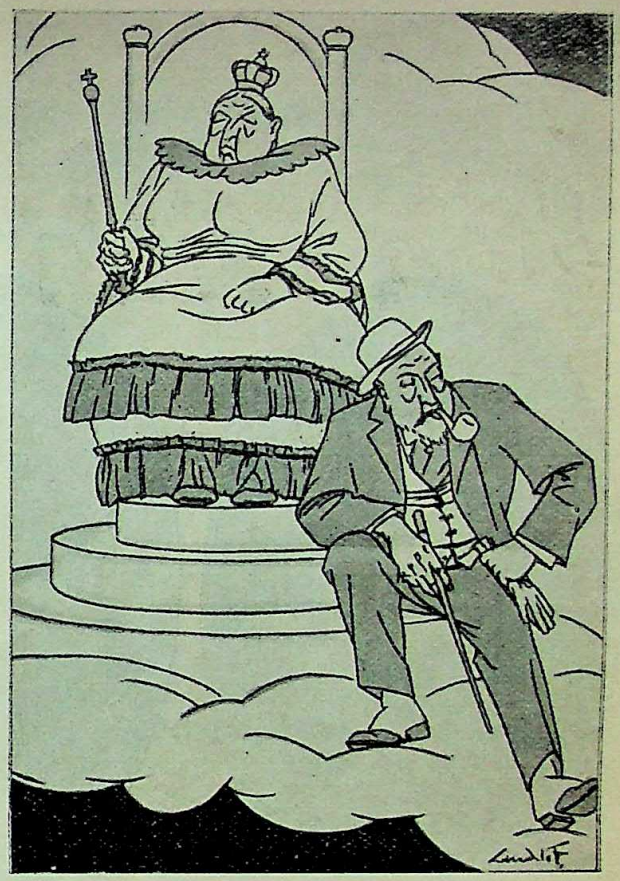
The World's Humour



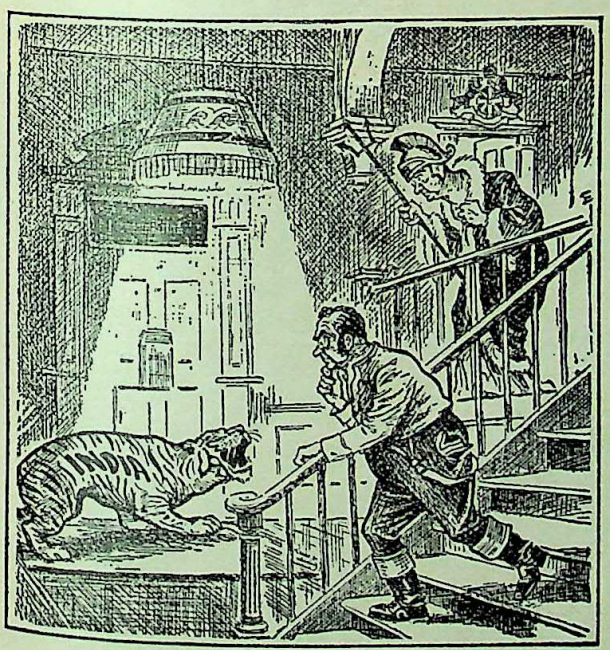
MacDonald, the simultaneous Player
—*De Groene Amsterdammer*

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Anxiety in the British Heaven
The Queen : "Edward, just take a look down there and see whether I'm still Empress of India."
—*Kladderadatsch*, BERLIN



Britannia : "John, I think the Cat wants to put itself out"
—*Dublin Opinion*



Gandhi in Prison
—*Kladderadatsch*, BERLIN

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Indian Womanhood

Ladies who have suffered for Satyagraha



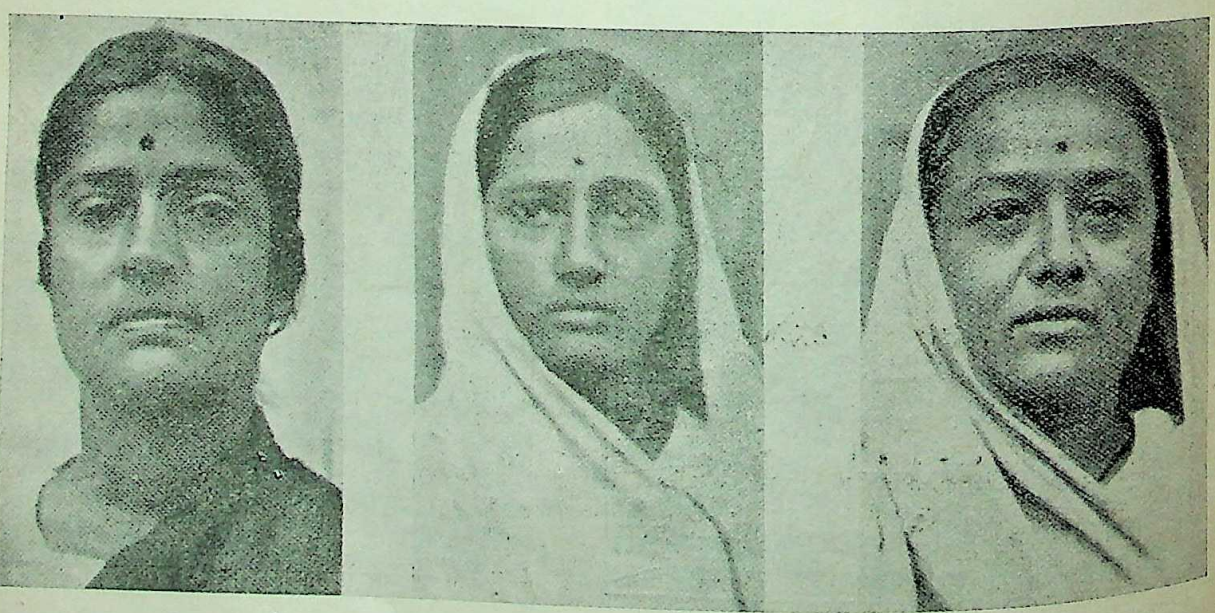
Urmila Devi Sastri
Captain of the Lady Satyagrahi Volunteers, who has been imprisoned for six months



Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai
who has been sentenced to imprisonment



Mrs. L. R. Zutshi
7th *Dictator* of the Panjab War Council, who has been put into prison for six months



Left to right : Miss K. Natarajan, Miss Suraj and Mrs. Indramalini Bhatt, three ladies of Bombay, who are now undergoing various terms of imprisonment

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India's National Economic Policy

By NALINIRANJAN SARKAR

POTENTIALLY India is somewhat similar to America. She has such abundant natural resources that a former Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir Basil Blackett, expected to see the day when she would be one of the foremost creditor nations of the world. The spectacle of the United States of America attaining a prosperity that enables it to hold the powerful nations of Europe in fee, leaves the Indian people gazing in despair at the gulf that yawns between possibility and achievement. This, however, is provocative of thought and there are thus many in this country whose minds are constantly exercised as to the best means of realizing the great future that should be India's even amidst the din of rancorous political strife. And their conclusion is, that the immense potentialities of the Indian continent can be converted into actualities only by a national economic policy framed by the collective wisdom of the people vitally concerned and executed by their trusted and responsible representatives.

The economic life of India is notoriously out of joint. The people have certain inherent economic inaptitudes, which the demoralization attendant upon political subjection has increased. Their disabilities are intensified by the domination of the economic life of the country by a class of foreign business men who do not and cannot be expected to identify themselves with the permanent interests of the people. And, last but not least, the inevitable indifference of a foreign Government to the economic welfare and uplift of its Indian subjects and its obsessions in favour of the trade of its own nationals have brought about a chaotic condition embarrassing alike to British and Indian interests. The revival of Indian economy is imperative in the interests of both ; and an appreciation of this fact will greatly help the mutual understanding which is essential for progress.

The removal of those factors which have acted adversely on the economic condition of the Indian people, therefore, constitutes the first aspect of the national economic policy ; and the second is concerned with those constructive measures which can afford every legitimate help necessary for progress These two aspects give rise to the third, which is perhaps of more direct interest to the British public, *viz.*, the reaction of a national economic policy on those foreign interests which are closely connected, though by no means identified, with the interests of the Indian nation.

The economic machinery is now so hopelessly out of gear that one may wonder whether it was ever modelled on any plan or design. By economic machinery, I mean the machinery of credit, the organization of productive activity, the provision of facilities for marketing, the mechanism of foreign trade, the garnering of surplus savings and the exploration of new fields into which they may be diverted. In other countries the progress through these stages is smooth, and the machinery works at a high pitch of efficiency. But in India either the machinery is non-existent or where it exists, it is crude, or too clogged to work efficiently. The result is that the economic stamina of the people is not only the lowest in the whole world, but is also lower than that at any time during her long history. Owing to lack of organization, the due reward of agricultural labour slips from the hands of the peasant, and every harvest sees him but deeper in debt. The classes find themselves shut out of the major avenues of employment and denied all scope for exceptional talent. Business of any magnitude is out of the question, for the people of the country are hedged round by obstacles which their unaided efforts can do little to overcome. And a good many of our industries are engaged only in supplying, in the most convenient form, the raw material for the manufacturers of Great Britain and the Continent. The national currency is a baffling conglomeration of rough expedients, half measures and compromises. Banking is in a parlous state. Insurance is yet to contribute its full quota to the financial stability of the country. National shipping is practically unknown.

Such are the conditions which any

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economic policy that may claim to be national is bound to tackle. The object of such policy must be to increase the national well-being by making available all the national wealth for the purposes of production and consumption. And that object can only be attained by a policy which has two distinct features, *viz.*, (1) the removal of the adverse conditions and (2) the provision of positive aids such as have enabled the newer industrial countries of the world to reach their present eminence. Unless and until our economic ills, due mostly to the presence of the parasitic bacillii in the body economic, are removed, all attempts to nourish and strengthen the system must necessarily prove futile. These parasites include no doubt such classes as the usurers and middlemen who fleece the cultivator. In their case, the solicitous vigilance of a popular government coupled with co-operative activities and similar measures of popular amelioration would go a long way in rescuing the victims, but the foreign domination of the important departments of our economic policy is quite a different and far more serious matter.

The positive aids comprise helping the people to undertake productive work and finding means for enabling them to carry on such work. Vocational and technical instruction on the existing system of secondary education is thus of as much importance as the devising and encouragement of cottage and other small industries, improved methods of agriculture, mutual marketing and financing through co-operative methods, and the like. These must, of course, be preceded by free universal primary education, the endeavour to free the people from customs and habits prejudicial to national progress, and holding up the ideal of national patriotic unity and international amity.

It should be clearly understood that the economic ills I have mentioned, flow, not from the fact that those who dominate the more important economic activities are of a different race or colour, but because the profits of these activities do not remain here to fertilize India herself; they flow out of the country, causing a drain of wealth, the most tragic in the history of the world's subject nations. It is probably only human that the non-nationals should place their own immediate advantage before the more permanent interests of the country, and it is no exaggeration to say that the progressive anæmia of the Indian people is due to this persistent, though often unconscious, bleeding.

A national economic policy will naturally have to devise measures which will prevent this bleeding. With banking, shipping, insurance, export and import business down to broking everything in the hands of foreigners, with every facility to preserve their monopolies, the task of rescuing our people from the vicious circle becomes well-nigh impossible, except by getting rid of the basic exploitation. I feel certain that, burdened to the breaking point though she be, India will not stoop to any unjust or unfair means in solving that problem. And I have no hesitation in giving such assurance because of the fact that such unfair means would not be expedient. It will suffice to circumscribe, by means of legislation, the rights and privileges of non-nationals trading in this country, such legislation strictly keeping itself within the limits of the accepted juristic and constitutional principles relating to the treatment of non-nationals residing in the territory of autonomous nations.

The remedy is to be sought, neither in being fearful nor in inspiring fear, but only in the larger view which, in this case, may serve as the best common ground on which contending parties can find the basis for an honourable settlement. The British trading community must, in fairness, acknowledge that in no country of the world are traders allowed such a free hand as they have enjoyed and such as they seek to perpetuate in India. They know that in France, Japan, and even in some of the Dominions their activities are restricted by legislation designed to ensure that in carrying on their normal trading activities they may not adversely affect the nationals, that is to say, their activities are welcomed only on the basis of mutual advantage. We would seek to do no more and no less than that. We are determined that those spheres, which accepted international law regards as legitimate preserves for the nationals of a country, shall remain so and that those into which foreign traders must be allowed must be subject to the usual legitimate restrictions. Thus the coastal trade of jute should be reserved for national shipping. Foreign banks would have to take a licence under proper conditions. Insurance companies would be subject to analogous legislation; and foreign companies would be brought within the scope of well-devised

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special legislation. Measures would also be required to get rid of the incubus of foreign domination over Indian-owned concerns such as the jute mills of Calcutta, in which, despite the fact that about 70 per cent of the shareholders are Indians, a European clique is in possession of the management, which openly restricts its patronage to its own people and has so far kept Indians from an intimate knowledge of the working of the industry.

One would expect that to such measures no objection could be taken either on the ground of efficacy or equity. But that hope was destroyed by the controversy which followed the ill-fated Coastal Reservation Bill and by the action of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon in circulating their letter of July 27, 1929, among the members of the British Parliament. In all the discussions that have then or since taken place, there has been no attempt to show what has been confiscated. The Coastal Bill seeks to reserve to nationals a sphere of trade which international law admits to be a national preserve ; and even British constitutional lawyers themselves have admitted that such legislation is within the competence of the Legislative Assembly. There is no clause which seeks to confiscate to the Indian Government the ships of the non-national companies or any of their assets.

Besides, the Coastal Reservation Bill is an unfortunate example in that other measures would not be so extreme. For it stands to reason that banks, insurance companies and foreign industrial enterprises could not be swept out of the field without great detriment to the country itself ; and the worst that can happen is that there may be imposed on them just those restrictions to which they have cheerfully submitted, and under which they have even thriven, in other countries. No one who knows the Indian mentality can honestly say that even a Swarajyist Government would choose to tread the dangerous and unprofitable path of confiscation of the property of all foreigners in India.

The present agitation started by the British trading community in India is due, not to a correct appreciation of Swarajyist aims, but to the instinctive antipathy of a ruling race to an aspiring subject population. The economic impact of Swarajyist India on the trade and commerce of Great Britain is a question which has not received adequate attention and study at the hands of expert economists. To say that the moment India attains Swaraj the channels of British trade will be blocked, is to contend that genuine trade can subsist only between master and slave and that international trade must soon become a thing of the past. I will not make the facile assertion that an independent, united, and prosperous India will be a better market for British goods than a congerie of impoverished and servile peoples. But I will express my confident hope that if an economist of the calibre of Prof. J. M. Keynes or Sir Josiah Stamp would undertake an enquiry into this question and estimate our needs of the future and the opportunities they afford to British industry, they will doubtless be able to find some *via media* affording an escape, for the British people, and their statesmen alike, from the shortsighted policy in which they have hitherto been floundering with regard to this country. In other words, their study may well form the basis of what I should call a mutually advantageous treaty arrangement between India and Britain in the matter of reciprocal trade—a treaty arrangement which is quite within the realm of possibility if by an adequate political gesture Britain impresses the imagination and captures the heart of India.

Although the above was written some time prior to the publication of the Government of India Despatch on the Simon Report, the fears I have touched upon are all evident in the mind of the Government as expressed in that report. Fear of expropriation, unjust interference with the rights and privileges of European traders in the country appear to vitiate any little latitude they would allow to Indians in other respects. I am quite certain that the Government is largely mistaken in their fears and I have endeavoured above to make this clear. All that Indians ask is that they should be given the right to frame the economic policy of this country on the ethics of internationl commerce which places the people of the country first but does not spell injustice to others. I do not see why a trade convention should not result on this basis, embodying safe-guards against the following :

(1) Discriminatory Legislation restricting spheres of trade of foreign business men and business houses.

(2) Discriminatory legislation of definitely spoliatory character such as unfair taxation, infringement of contractual rights in regard

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to mines, lands, the business of public utility concern, etc., etc.

As regards (1), the European interests must recognize that India has the same right as other nations to apply to her legislation all the accepted juristic principles of discrimination between national and non-national. There is no escape from that. Even if the national leaders of today agree to have their hands tied in this respect, it will be of no practical use.

What is essential is that the limits imposed by those principles be not transgressed. An impartial machinery must be provided by which foreigners may be enabled to settle doubtful points. As the Governor or Viceroy is only a representative of British interests, his veto does not give the assurance of impartiality. An *ad hoc* tribunal consisting, for instance, of two jurists in international law, two members of the British judiciary and two of the Indian, may be trusted to decide the question and be given the power to declare any particular piece of legislation null and void.

As regards (2), it may be provided that if any such interests which are affected by new legislation are able to prove in a court of law that the new law imposes on them a tax-burden which it does not equally lay on national concerns of a similar nature or in a similar position, or that it infringes rights acquired by direct contract with the State or other public bodies, the courts may declare such legislation null and void.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

INDO-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION IN BUSINESS

A writer in the *Modern Review* pointed out last month the obstacles to the progress of American business in India. That there are obstacles cannot be denied but these can be easily remedied and a large business developed, to the benefit of both countries. In this article, we propose to discuss how American business can be established in three principal lines *viz.*, Insurance, Banking and Shipping.

(A)

Insurance

Some statistics have recently appeared in an insurance journal showing that while life business has greatly progressed with Indian owned and Indian managed life companies and the proportion of Indian and foreign business is just half and half; in the general assurance business *i. e.*, in marine, fire, accident, etc., the Indian share is only 10 p. c. and the foreign share is 90 p. c.

The Indian life companies justly resent that foreign gompanies should give higher rates of commission and show their large reserves and business without showing separately the Indian proportion of business and reserve. The figures are naturally misleading and create in the minds of the insurer a false sense of security which the Indian share of the business may not justify. But in view of the fact that 50 p. c. of the life insurance business is still with foreign companies, American insurance companies who will appoint Indian agents and agree to Indian management will get preference of the Indian business now going to foreign companies, as the British companies are likely to be left severely alone owing to political feeling. The success of a German company recently opened in India with Indian co-operation and joint Indian management makes us think that there is considerable room for American companies appointing Indian agents and accepting Indian management and some room even if branches of American insurance companies are opened. In this line reliable and experienced Indians are not wanting as the Indian managed and Indian owned companies are making more and more headway.

In the general assurance business 90 p. c. business being still in the hands of foreign companies, American insurance companies have a good chance of establishing themselves. As regards life business Indian

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companies are quite willing to re-insure with foreign companies and this is where there is enormous scope for American companies.

(B)
Banking

Another important opening for America is in banking. There are only two American banks in India and one of these does mainly a passenger agency work and very little real banking. The Indian banks do not get the assistance they should from our semi-Government banks or the British banks. It is an accepted theory today that banking should be international and international assistance alone can help to tide over the temporary depressions in certain countries which otherwise tend to affect the whole world's trade. Indian banks can work in co-operation with Amerian banks. American banks can also help to shift the centre of the more important Indo-American trades from London to New York and make direct trading between India and America possible. There are too many instances of jute going to American buyers *via* London or Glasgow, of tea mainly going *via* London or through English channels and of much raw produce from India paying double profit and going *via* London owing to want of banking facilities, and transport or shipping.

Only one American bank to finance the growing amount of India's export trade with America! Can it be a matter for surprise that the British banks dictate everything and Americans play second fiddle to the British even as regard their own purchases?

As regards imports to India 12 per cent. of her imports are in American goods and there is only one bank to do it with. The bulk of American goods therefore come through British banks and the result is that the distribution is restricted to parties the British banks support. The whole of the American trade is curbed and cribbed as these British banks would naturally restrict credit to Indians so that the British trade may not be injured.

British shipping and British banking, through the enormous help received from the Indian Government in the by-gone days, can now decide what particular trades should be successful in India. Most of the British exchange banks are also, now, with the help of the Indian Government, bankers to the Governments for such territories which were directly or indirectly under India and were opened out with Indian troops and Indian money. Thus one of our British exchange banks is the Government banker for Mesopotamia, another the Government bankers for Kenya in East Africa, where Indian currency once prevailed. Another is run under a royal charter. The enormous advantages these banks possess over Indian indigenous banks who hardly have any Government support make for their position and credit. Other foreign banks can compete on even terms, on the support they possess from their own national Governments and hence Japanese, Dutch, German, Belgian and other foreign banks which are semi-Government banks all do a thriving business in India, along with British banks. This is why American banking has also a great future in India, particularly when India will be reconstructed under some form of self-government, by Indians themselves, and will support international co-operation.

(C)
Shipping

Finally there can be considerable co-operation in shipping between India and America. As all the world knows, the laws of coastal trading in India are not what they should be. The British shipping have an enormous pull and all Indian and foreign shipping are at the mercy of the British shipping interests who have formed a Liners' Conference. Foreign shipping must join the conference or be prepared to fight the largest tonnage of this body, who with a system of freight rebate and a rate war could kill all competition.

Originally our Government-controlled Port Commissioners used to lease out dockyards to British companies; there being none other, and this indirectly led to a situation which made it impossible for Indian or foreign interests to obtain berths except as a favour from the British shipping companies. Today berths are obtainable as the Port Commissioners have enough docks and berths but the Liners' Conference has the effect of keeping British monopoly intact. No passenger steamer, I am told, can do the trip faster than the contracting mail boat line, by agreement, between Marseilles and Bombay. Their speed has to be regulated by agreement before election to membership of the Liners' Conference.

No liners except a certain line, I am told,

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can carry passengers between Calcutta and Rangoon if they wish to be members of the Liners' Conference. If they are not members they find they are not allowed to live. The American shipping lines can come to an agreement with Indian shipping lines for hiring their tonnage. They can also join the Indian shipping lines on an equitable basis for running passenger services and securing mail contract from India to all foreign countries, while not actively competing in the coastal traffic. Indian shipping is not on its legs yet but with help and co-operation on a fair and equitable basis it can, inspite of outside competition, stand on its legs and also conduce to an international economic *entente*. There could thus be born a truly Indian "market" in the place of the existing dumping ground for British goods.

S. K. S.

Government of India Despatch on Constitutional Reforms.

With the opening of the Round Table Conference in London, an important document in the shape of the Government of India's Despatch to the Secretary of State on proposals for constitutional reforms has been released for publication. As embodying the views of the Simla bureaucrats we draw the attention of our readers to portions of the Despatch in which we of this section feel particularly interested.

As .the Government of India view the situation, "there is a strong demand among those who are stirred by the rising feeling of nationalism that India should be allowed to manage her own affairs at the Centre, as in the Provinces, and above all, that she should have a chance of devising and pursuing a national policy in matters of finance, commerce and industry, which might improve the general economic conditions of the country. In recent years there has been an increasing volume of criticism directed to the poverty of India and her economic backwardness. For these features an alien government is held responsible. There is a widespread belief that the economic disabilities of India could be removed by a national economic policy, and an equally widespread suspicion that the interests of India and Great Britain in this matter do not coincide and that, as long as India's economic policy is controlled by Britain, India will not have a fair chance of developing her resources and raising the general standard of life of her people." It is consequently believed that the removal of a good deal of the discontent against the present system of government "depends on the possibility of an immediate transfer to popular control of the central administration of finance, commerce and law and order."

We thank the Government for this frank admission of facts. But then follows the usual mentality of distrust and solicitude for British interests.

The Government of India could not find any objection, on grounds of principle, to the transfer of the Finance and Commerce Departments to popular control, but stipulate certain reforms and demand compliance with certain conditions before such a transfer could be considered safe enough. The most important of the conditions are four, namely, (*a*) the establishment of a soundly-managed Reserve Bank, (*b*) the transfer of railway administration to a semi-independent statutory railway authority, (*c*) the assurance that India's financial credit in foreign money markets should be kept intact, implying thereby that there would be even no talk of repudiation or examination of public debts, and that those in foreign countries that derive annual incomes from the Indian budget, either by way of pensions and annuities or interests on investment of capital, would be completely secured against any pressure of a popular Assembly, and (*d*) devising some effective guarantees and statutory safe-guards to the interests of British merchants, shipping, and industries against unfair discrimination in the pursuit of their business in this country without restriction.

It will be noticed that a compliance with these conditions would not only be practically difficult, if not impossible, but will be directly opposed to any conception of financial autonomy. One is therefore inclined to remark that perhaps the Government of India would do well to save the country from this new joke about transfer of financial responsibility.

Imperial Economic Conference Closes

The Imperial Economic Conference came to a close in the third week of November. We had many speeches from the British as

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well as Dominions statesmen on the value of inter-Imperial co-operation, but few of the participating countries evinced any faith in a programme of Empire Free Trade. Speeches at the final sitting indicate that while the conference on the economic side had not borne fruits, hopes were entertained for greater economic unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The only tangible outcome of the conference appears to be in the report that the overseas delegates reciprocated the British undertaking by a similar agreement not to reduce preference to Britain for three years. The British Government undertook to examine carefully the proposal for a guaranteed proportion of wheat milled in the United Kingdom being of Empire origin, and consult in this regard the governments of the wheat-growing dominions and India.

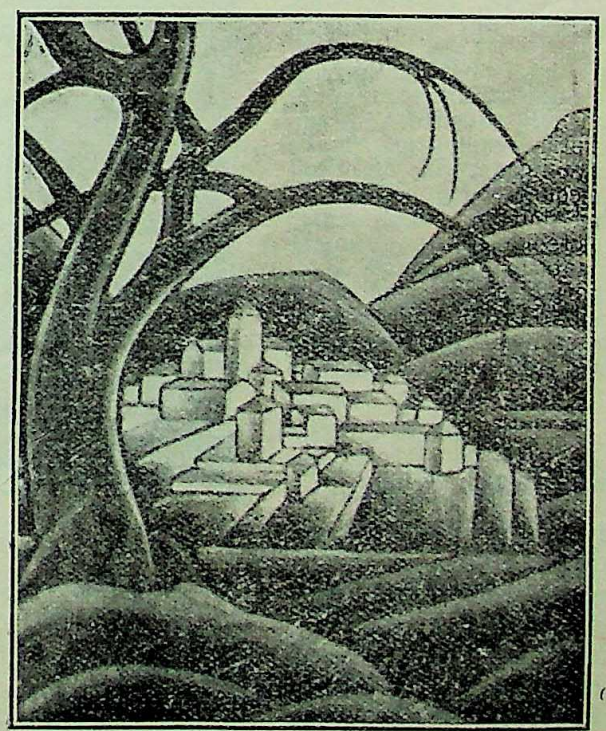
The economic part of the Conference adjourned to meet a year hence, if possible in Ottawa, where final decisions on inter-Imperial economic relations will be taken.

Imperial Bank Rate Raised

Contrary to all calculations of the market the Imperial Bank rate has been raised from 5 to 6 per cent on the 20th November last. The published statement affords no explanation whatsoever for this rise. Cash and cash percentage have in fact increased, and loans and cash credits have decreased, trade demand having had a falling off.

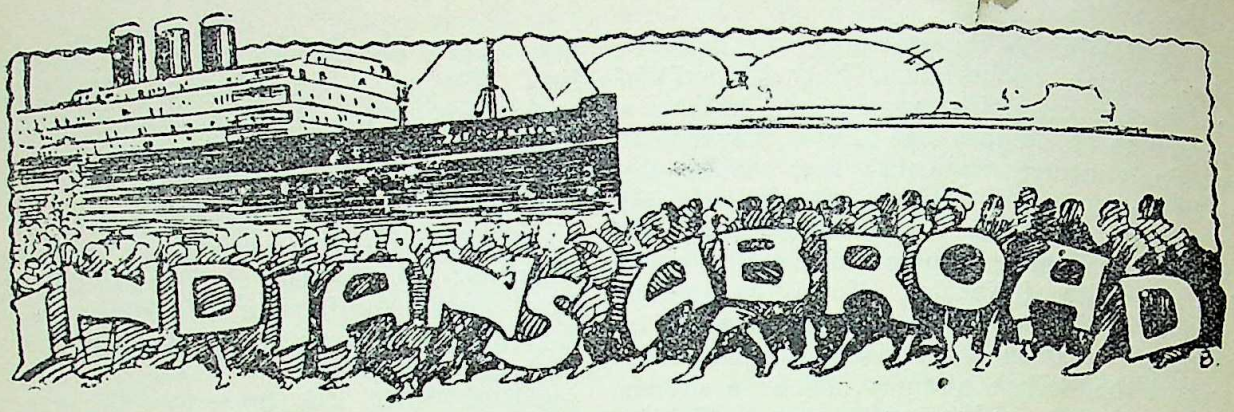
Perhaps the reasons are to be sought elsewhere. Government had received fairly large demand for Reverse Councils for a few days prior to the raising of the rate, and in fact was compelled to sell nearly £ 500,000 worth of bills. This made the Government nervous about the state of the money market, and particularly of the 1s. 6d. ratio, for the maintenance of which they were prepared to stake all. To prevent any slackness creeping in the money market they resorted to a further contraction of currency to the extent of Rs. 5 crores. This brings up the total deflation of currency during the present financial year to Rs. 29 crores, and since the last budget statement to Rs. 37 crores. The forced march of the bank rate seems to be due to the dire necessity of tightening up the money market. How long will such jugglery continue?

NALINAKSHA SANYAL



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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indians in Tobago Island

A correspondent writes from Tobago, South America :—

The Island of Tobago, is about 116½ squares miles, and is about 21 miles from Trinidad of which it is a ward.

There are not more than 50 East Indians on the Island, of whom there are two landed proprietors, the others are engaged as labourers and peddlars, while some are working as watchmen on the estates of the large proprietors, who are Europeans.

The economic condition of the Indians is the same as that of other inhabitants of the colony. There are no restrictions as to the exercise of their religions or political rights and the schools are open to their children under the same conditions as apply to the children of the other inhabitants. The social conditions are what the Indians make, and there is no interference by the government with their mode of living.

I have been resident in this island for the past fourteen years and as to the administration of the laws and the dispensing of justice I am positive in stating that there is nothing left to be desired. I cannot state any instance of descrimination or discourtesy on account of my nationality.

I have received nothing but fair treatment in all public meetings or on other occasions from the Europeans or their descendants in this island.

East Indians have never settled in numbers in Tobago though it has been desired by those in authority, as the East Indians make good colonists. They improve any land they touch on account of their thrift and industry.

An Indian Magistrate in British Guiana.

We congratulate Mr. Veerswamy on his appointment as a permanent magistrate in British Guiana. For some years past he has been officiating as a magistrate temporarily but now the government of British Guiana have recognized his worth and given him a permanent job. His appointment has been welcomed by all sections of people in that colony.



Mr. Veerswamy

The Indian Labour Problem in Malaya

An esteemed correspondent writes :

To-day the Indian labour problem in Malaya has reached a critical stage. In point of fact it has reached such a state as requires the immediate attention on the part of the Indian public and the Government of India.

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Malaya entirely depends upon India for her labour supply for employment in rubber estates, and in order to get a regular number of labourers periodically the Government of Malaya has entered into a sort of contract with the planters since a long time past. Thus, the Malayan governemnt assists the emigration of Indians to Malaya through agents known as the "Kanganis", who wander from village to village in South India coaxing the ignorant masses to emigrate. These Kanganis often give misleading accounts of rosy conditions in Malaya and not a small number of Indians—both men and women—who are thus trapped, are shipped to Malaya every week. In fact the number of such emigrants ranges from several hundreds to thousands, week after week.

From the time these labourers set foot on Malayan soil they begin to feel the local conditions entirely different from what they have been told at home by the "Kanganis." Nevertheless, they are obliged to stay in the country for some time and after a few years stay they return home in the same condition as they arrived, if not worse. This is the position of the majority of Indian labourers who arrive in Malaya.

Firstly, the Indian labourer in Malaya is not well paid. His wages are low though the cost of living remains high. He takes to such practices as drinking toddy after arrival in the country and toddy drinking has ruined a large number of these immigrants completely. The result is, many of them die and even those who return, do so with a repenting heart for having come so far apparently to gain nothing.

How long will this sort of affairs continue? When is the Indian labourer in Malaya going to receive tolerable conditions of life that are offered to the labourers of other nationalities in the country? I believe that the remedy lies with the Government of India.

From 1st August this year the Indian Immigration Committee of Malaya which is composed mostly of European planters and officials with only two Indians has suspended immigration of Indian labourers for six months and we are told that, that is because the country is in the throes of a trade slump. We are further told that they can come back when the country enters an era of prosperity but when—we do not know. These "come in" and "get out" orders are issued by the Indian Immigration Committee at whose mercies depend the lot of some lakhs of Indians in the Malaya Peninsula.

Apart from the stoppage of Immigration, the wages of Indian labourers already in service were also cut. The labourers' wages have been cut by 20 per cent since the Indian Immigration Committee came to that decision recently. Their employers now say "Take these reduced wages or leave our services and starve."

These wage cuts, we are told, would amount to a measure of economy which the employers of Indian labour are obliged to effect in order to cope with the trade depression in the country. But, never for a moment does the question of economy arise with regard to the fat salaries of European planters! After all, where on earth is the absence of trade depression? The world as a whole suffers from trade adversities and perhaps in Malaya they have just begun. However, the medium of economy as it struck the Malayan "experts" was to deprive the poor Indian labourer of one-fifth of his pittance.

One question might be asked in this connection. It is, what the Dutch East Indies have done in the matter of wages paid to employees in rubber plantations. Have they cut wages? So far as I am aware they have not rushed to such quick decisions like the "experts" in Malaya. Neither has Ceylon, which also grows some rubber trees, done anything in the way of cutting the labourer's wages.

Until 1928, the wage conditions of Indian labourers were of a very poor order and in that year a new lagislation came into force. An able bodied labourer became entitled to receive a standard wage of fifty cents for a male (*i. e.* about 13 annas) and forty cents for a female labourer (*i. e.*, about ten annas). This legislation was the outcome of the strenuous efforts of Rao Saheb Subbayya Naidu, the retired Agent of the Government of India in Malaya. Even that wage system was quite inadequate when compared with the high cost of living the labourer has to face in Malaya. However, the Indians were satisfied because they thought that half a loaf was better than a quarter and now even that is denied by the 20 per cent cut recently.

When the Indian Immigration Committee had before it the question of cutting the labourer's wages, practically all the members of that body were in favour of it and in fact the Committee would have passed the

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motion unanimously but for the vote of that patriotic Indian Dr. N. K. Menon.

In the Committee Dr. Menon in opposing the motion to reduce the wages stated that "fifty and forty cents were the least wages with which the Indian labourer could satisfy his animal needs." He was opposed to any reduction in the standard wages.

In this connection Rao Saheb Subbyya Naidu, the then Indian Agent did his best to save the Indian labourer from being deprived of his bread, also the weekly organ of Indians, the now defunct *Indian Pioneer*. Inspite of all the efforts put up by Indians the wage reduction was brought into effect.

I wonder if the high officials of the Government of India know any thing of this state of affairs. They should not forget that it is they who are really responsible for the sufferings of Indian labourers in Malaya, because it is the Indian Government that permits recruitment.

The immediate remedy to improve conditions of Indian labourers in Malaya, I would like to suggest, is this that the Government of India must insist on the payment of a living wage for emigrants—an amount that would be sufficient for their living together with a wife and two children. At present if the wife did not work, the husband can hardly pull on with his wages.

Indians Overseas and Indian constitution

An eminent countryman of ours writes from Geneva :

I wonder if you could make an investigation as to the attitude of overseas Indians to the future problem of the Indian constitution. I was very much interested when I visited Japan and was the guest at Kobe of some members of the Indian community, to find how very far the independence movement had gone, at any rate sentimentally. On an enquiry I found that Indian merchants have particular difficulties (at least these difficulties were alleged), in trade because of the lack of banking and shipping facilities which other nationalities seemed to enjoy. Japanese trade is invariably supported by their banks and shipping companies, so also is British trade, but I was informed that British banks and shipping companies, were very reluctant to give Indian traders any facilities. Furthermore, I was told that there are difficulties with the British consulates. Of course I was not myself able to investigate this. I am merely expressing to you the impressions that I received.

Whatever our view may be with regard to the Round Table Conference, I regret that the principle was not recognized that Indians overseas ought definitely to have been represented. More and more they are forming an important community."

Indians in Africa - the attitude of the Government of India

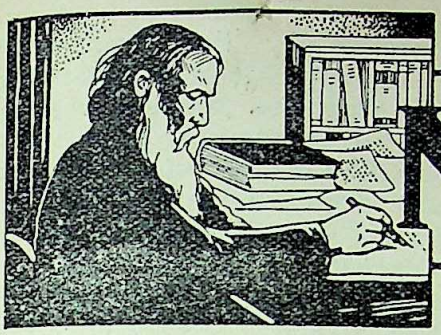
The reply of Sir Fazle Hussein, Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, to Mr. S. A. Waiz of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay shows clearly that the Government of India is keeping a close watch on the problems of our people in Africa. So far as the question of principles is considered there is not much difference between the views of the Government of India and those of the Indian public but when the time for action comes we find the Government halting and hesitating. Here are some pious sentiments of the Government of India :

"Though our task of safeguarding the interests of Indians overseas is one of very great difficulty and delicacy, it is one on which as a rule not only Indian opinion is united, but on which Indian public opinion is reflected in the views the Government of India formulate. Your Association may rest assured of our continued vigilance and of our determination to do all we can to promote the interests of Indians overseas."

It must be admitted that on several occassions the Government of India has tried to follow the lead given by public opinion on this subject but many instances can be given here—for example the suppression of the Report of the Fiji Deputation, and the appointment of Mr. Sastri's successor in South Africa—where the Government of India have paid no heed to Indian public opinion. Whenever there is any danger of wounding the susceptibilities of the colonial governments, the India Government, being only a subordinate branch of the Imperial Government, hesitates to take any decisive step. Even in such cases as that of the "Sutlej" tragedy, which was responsible for the death of nearly 70 Indians, the India Government failed to do its duty. It is not the fault of the members in charge of this subject. The real fact is that the subordinate status of the India Government makes it impossible for it to speak out its mind fully. Sir Fazle Hussein may feel 'astonished' and 'horrified' at some of the sentiments of Dr. Malan but he cannot afford to utter a warning to the South African authorities that the Indian Government may after all be forced to have recourse to retaliatory measures. Such a warning can only be given by those who are masters in their own country. So the whole question comes again to the central point *i.e.* the attainment of Swarajya, without which we can never properly protect the interests of Indians at home or abroad.

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NOTES

Satyagraha and the Cat

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and some provincial Governors have, more than once, declared their belief in the inevitability of *Satyagraha*, which is called 'civil disobedienc-' in official parlance, leading to violence (wheth·r on the part of the people or on the part of the police in the shape of the use of that indeterminate quantity bureaucratically called 'minimum force', being always left unsaid). It is, therefore, probable that, though its protagonist Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers believe that, like himself, *Satyagraha* is a true Vaishnava and a frugivorous and herbivorous being, British officialdom professes to believe that it is an animal of the feline species, of which the most familiar specimen is the cat. According to the English adage, a cat has nine lives. *Ergo*, the *Satyagraha* cat must also have nine lives. Hence, to kill its nine lives, nine Ordinances must be promulgated and put in force. If, however, these nine Ordinances fail to kill that perpetually weakening but never dying animal yclept the civil disobedience movement if additional measures, styled Ordinance or Law, be required to give it the *coup de grace*, it would be proved that it was not a ferocious feline creature. But it is not to be expected that even such demonstration would shake the bureaucrat's faith in his infallibility.

—

"India-in-Bondage"-o-phobia

On the 17th September last, the United States Post Office addressed the following letter to the American publishers of Rev. J. T. Sunderland's book, named *India in Bondage* :

Gentlemen :

For your information and guidance there is quoted below a communication received from the Postal Administration of British India, viz.,

"I am directed to inform you that the Government of India have prohibited the importation into British India of any copy of the book by J. T. Sunderland "India in Bondage, Her Right to Freedom" published by the Lewis Copeland, New York, United States of America, or any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproductions of the matter contained in that book."

Sincerely Yours,...

—

Rabindranath Tagore and the Indian Freedom Movement

Unity of Chicago, October 27, 1930, quotes at the top of its first page the following from Tagore's *Gitanjali* :

A Prayer for India—and all Countries !

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;

Where knowledge is free ;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls ;

Where words come out from the depth of truth ;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

A highly misleading report of an interview with the Poet having appeared in the New York *Times*, he sent the following contradiction to that paper :

To the Editor of The New York *Times* :

I cannot allow to remain uncontradicted some mis-statements of my view about the present Indian problem in the report of the interview with me which has appeared in your paper of this morning's issue. Let it be definitely known that, according to me, it is the opportunity for self-government itself which gives training for self-government, and not foreign subjection, and that an appearance of peace superficially maintained from outside can never lead to real peace, which can only be attained through an inevitable period of suffering and struggle.

The Editor of *Unity* interprets and assigns the Poet's place in the freedom movement as follows :

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The arrival in this country of Rabindranath Tagore, India's great poet, and one of the great poets of the modern world, is an occasion of impressive significance. He comes here at a moment when his native land is in the throes of revolt against the British crown. Of this movement for independence, long maturing in the heart of the Indian people, Tagore is one of the most important and influential leaders. He shares with Gandhi that predominance of intellectual and spiritual authority which has united India in aspiration and sacrifice, and lifted the nation to sudden consciousness of its high destiny. Tagore is different from Gandhi—as different as Erasmus was different from Luther. He is no politician; he could not touch the great masses of the people and rally them to revolution; he would not have marched to Dandi, and sought arrest and imprisonment in an English jail. Tagore does other things which Gandhi cannot do. He distills the spiritual genius of his people in a literature which has won the attention and reverence of all the world. He sings songs of love and liberty which find their way into the hearts of even the lowliest of Indians, and conjure there the dreams of a free and happy land. He roots deep in his native soil a system of higher education destined to produce teachers who, in due course of time, will turn the illiteracy of the Indian masses into culture and enlightenment. Today, in his world tour, he moves from country to country, an exalted symbol of India's integrity of soul, and an eloquent ambassador of her cause of freedom. When Washington was languishing at Valley Forge, Benjamin Franklin crossed the seas to Paris on a mission of goodwill to France. Franklin's work, quite as much as Washington's, won independence for America. So, while Gandhi lies in his prison cell at home, Rabindranath Tagore journeys in his old age to England, Russia, France, and the United States. What can the noble presence of this man not do to win sympathy and support for his hard-pressed countrymen!

—

The Revelations of Life

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Bose Institute Sir J. C. Bose gave an account of his discoveries beginning with the response of inorganic matter in 1900 to the unity of physiological mechanism in plant and animal. In the course of his lecture he emphasized the fact that nothing could have more effectively paralysed advance of knowledge of the underlying mechanism of life as the supposition that this is quite different in the two kingdoms. The perpetuation of this error has been due to: (1) narrow specialization that kept the advanced study of plant and animal physiology separate in Western and Indian universities, resulting in losing sight of the true significance of kindred phenomena; (2) the want of sufficiently sensitive methods of record of vital reactions, a defect which has been overcome by the invention and construction of super-sensitive instruments in the Institute; but the gravest error has been due to (3) concentrating attention on form and neglecting the far more important function of the organ. It is admitted that plants have digestive organs inasmuch as they dissolve and absorb organic substances such as captured flies, in spite of the fact that the forms of the digestive organs are different in plant and animal. In the same way the tissue which exhibits rapid contraction is a 'muscle,' be it in plant or animal. Even ordinary plants are found to exhibit contraction under stimulation. Again, the particular strand in the animal or plant which carries the invisible impulse of excitation and produces movement at a distance is the 'conducting nerve.' In extension of his previous results a very large number of plants has been found by his scholars to conduct excitatory impulse to a distance analogous in every way to the nervous impulse in the animal. The conduction of the impulses, moreover, is temporarily or permanently arrested by various physiological blocks which are found effective in arresting the nervous impulse in the animal. In regard to the possession of rhythmic pulsation, supposed to be confined only to animals, such activity has been discovered in *Cajanus* and other plants.

Successful repetition of these experiments requires acquaintance with the technique of the new methods of investigation. Hans Molisch of Vienna, and L. N. Rao, the plant-physiologist specially deputed to the Bose Institute by the University of Mysore, had not the slightest difficulty in successfully repeating the fundamental experiments on which the unity of physiological mechanism in plant and animal is based. Those obsessed by the old erroneous theory may have misgivings that the obvious interpretation of the fully established new facts are opposed to orthodox prinicples. But in progressive knowledge there cannot be any dogmatic principle constituting an unalterable standard of orthodoxy. The new facts and their interpretations are fully in accord with the principles of physiology in general, the tendency of which, following the recent discoveries, is towards increasing recognition of essential similarity of the vital processes in animals and plants.

A totally new line of investigation was initiated in detecting and recording the

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invisible internal changes induced in consequence of changes in the environment. Two batches of similar Mimosa plants were grown, one in the open and the other in a semi-shaded green house; the excitability of the plant grown in the open was four times greater, it was far more alert and reacted to stimulation three times more quickly, and finally, the speed of its nervous impulse was three and a half times greater. The invisible internal changes can thus be revealed by the new method of investigation.

The investigations pursued in the Institute establish the important generalization of the unity of physiological mechanism in all life. For, as in the animal, so in the plant, there is similar contractile movement in response to stimulus, similar cell-to-cell propagation of pulsatory movement, similar circulation of fluid by pumping action and similar nervous mechanism for the transmission of excitation. The supreme importance of the study of simple plant organization lies in the fact that by its means it would be possible to solve many perplexing problems in the far more complex animal life.

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Tagore's Interest in Russia Educational

"Rabindranath Tagore may be sixty-nine years old, but his clear smooth skin, his piercing brown eyes, and his nervous lithe hands belie such an age.

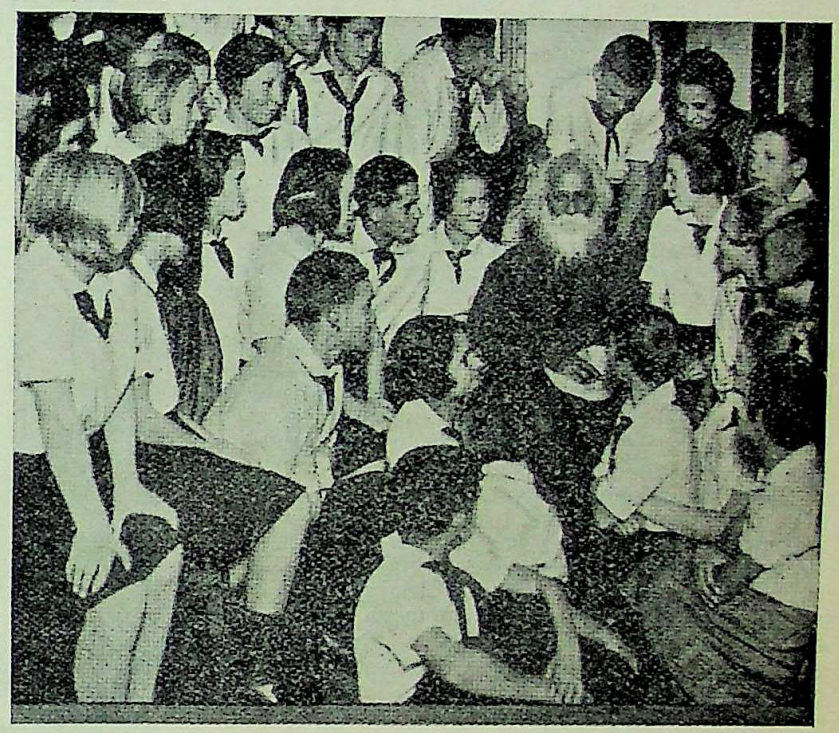
"Standing six feet and over, the long blue robe that reaches his soft-slippered feet gives him the appearance of a mountain peak, snow-covered with long falling hair."

That is *The Literary Digest's* pen-picture of Rabindranath Tagore in America It observes that "Politics and economics are not in his line; education and faith are his panacea for a troubled world." Interviewed on his arrival for the New York *American*, he is quoted as saying:

"Russia has wrought a miracle.

"I went to Moscow, and found that the sort of instruction that the Russian peasants and workers receive does not make them merely factory hands, but develops them culturally.

"I found these plain Russian people crowding concert-halls and museums, theatres, and all centres of cultural life. What has been done in Russia during the last eight or ten years past seems to us of India nothing short of a stupendous miracle.



Rabindranath Tagore among Russian Children at the Kinginia Home, in Moscow

"Under the Czar, the Russian masses were as ignorant and stupid as the masses of India are to-day. In India only 7 per cent. of the people are even nominally literate, not educated, just literate. Russia was no better ten years ago.

"But now I was vastly impressed by the spread of literacy and elements of true culture, the love for beauty, among the humblest Russians.

"Formerly, racial and religious conflicts were common in Russia as they are in India up to this day. Now, in Russia, all these conflicts have disappeared. Jews, Armenians, Christians, and Moslems have learned to co-operate.

"Of course, the Russian authorities use their educational institutions as a means to propagate their own economic and political doctrines. But with those views I have no concern. I shall not pass judgment upon economic teachings of anybody, since that is not my field.

"It is the Russian method of enlightening the people that interests me.

"Russians are not believers in old theologies.

"Service of mankind might be their religion."

According to the New York *Herald Tribune*, one interviewer suggested that "the mass education in Russia might be conducted for the purpose of propaganda and to influence their own people toward a certain system of government." But "Tagore was

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not to be concerned with such an idea." To him, and to his countrymen in general, such propaganda cannot appear as very novel and peculiar ; for, in India the British Government adopts such propagandist methods through such school text-books as "England's Work in India." "The Citizen of India," and through Empire Day celebrations in schools. So Tagore replied :

"Of course, they have their own propaganda, but that is quite natural. What must be realized is that there is a general interest in education. My object was to see the instruments used in their work.

"Their education is not entirely materialistic.

"They are not merely making peasants into factory workers.

"Creative art is thriving in Russia. The theatres are crowded with people who ten years ago had no opportunity to enter them. For the first time the lower classes have been able to take advantage of what the theatres and the opera offer them."

The western world has lost its faith, he declares, but its scepticism seems to him only temporary. Just now "its balance is somewhere lost, and the people are trying to get it back."

Quoted by S. J. Woolf in the New York *Times*, he affirms his belief that

"Those peasants in Russia to-day with their education and self-respect realize more fully than the downtrodden, illiterate serf of a Czarist regime that the multitude which moves in this ever-moving world is permeated by one Supreme Truth."

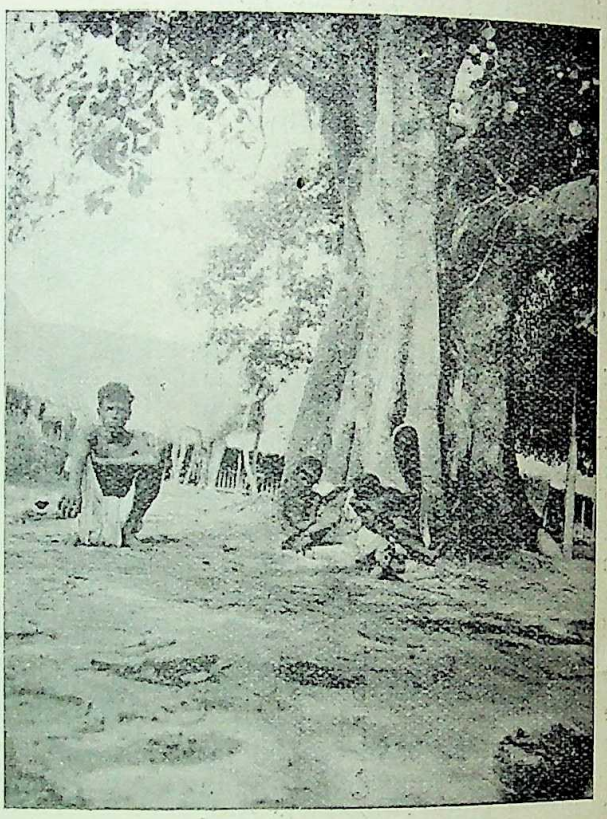
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Repression in Midnapur District

In some previous issues we have given extracts from the reports made by a reliable non-official enquiry committee after taking down evidence on the spot relating to the alleged violent methods used by the police to repress *satyagraha* in the Midnapur district in Bengal. We have since been supplied with a good many photographs of wounded men and houses devastated, etc., in corroboration of those alleged police methods. We refrain from reproducing the photographs of wounded persons; as everywhere the official explanation of such casualties is that the people took the offensive first and the police used 'minimum force' in self-defence, or that the police used 'minimum force' to disperse an unlawful, threatening or riotous crowd, and therefore, such casualties cannot be helped. The popular version is usually quite different and is the one believed in by our countrymen, and it is only an independent and impartial enquiry which can determine whether the official or the popular accounts are substantially true. But, the alleged 'casualties' to dwelling houses, granaries, etc., stand on a different footing. We have received a good many photographs of such houses, etc., looted, laid in ruins or burnt down ; and it has been alleged that the police were responsible for such devastation. We reproduce only a few. Regarding these pictures, one may believe that either they are forgeries or they are



A paddy granary at Gokulnagar alleged to have been burnt by the police



A family of Chapalia rendered Homeless as the result of alleged police assault on villagers in consequence of which five men were alleged to have been drowned

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A house alleged to have been looted, at Chaturbhujgaon

photographs of real objects. On the latter belief, one may ask, who did the work of destruction? Did the people themselves ravage or burn down their own dwelling houses, granaries, etc.? If so, what was their motive in doing so? The alternative is that,



A house at Raichak
alleged to have been burnt by the police



Another house at Raichak
alleged to have been burnt by the police

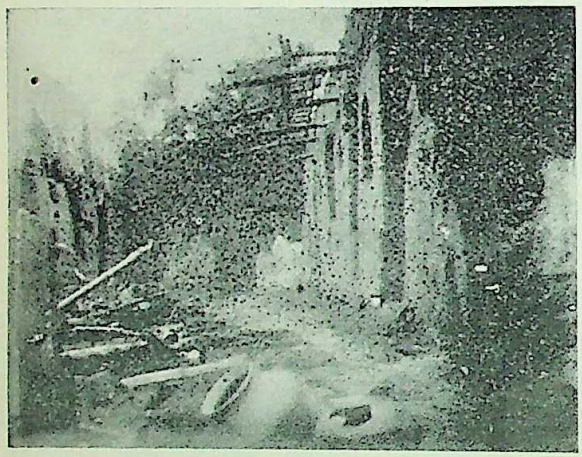
as has been alleged, the police did this work of destruction. If so, what could have been their motive or justification for using 'minimum' or maximum or any force at all against dwellings, granaries, etc., as these structures do not indulge in rioting or form

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living and sentient members of unlawful assemblies.

We think it is necessary for the Government to enquire into these matters and issue a communique definitely stating whether any such damage as alleged was or was not done to inanimate movable and immovable property; and if such damage was done, who did it and why. The alleged shooting or beating of such sentient beings as the human inhabitants of some villages, sometimes resulting in their death, should also be enquired into.



A house at Ismail Chak
alleged to have been burnt by the police

Governments in all countries may choose either to carry public opinion with them in their work of governance or to rule by force. Such choice lies before the British Government in India, too. If it desires, as it professes to do, to convince the public that its methods are just, reasonable and necessary, it should take note of all allegations—at least of all serious allegations—against its human instruments and tell the people in detail what it thinks of them. In such matters silence has no chance of being interpreted as silent contempt.

—

"Forgeries That Have Made History"

Mr P. W. Wilson, a former member of the British Parliament, has contributed to *Current History* for November an article on "Forgeries that have made history." He goes back even to the centuries before the Middle Ages for examples. He does not spare Britain. But, nevertheless, he does not quote any example from British-Indian history—Clive's or any later one.

Labour Legislation in India

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of Geneva has contributed an article on labour legislation in India to the *International Labour Review*, which is the organ of the International Labour Office, League of Nations. In it he indicates the nature of India's outstanding labour problems. These may be classified under two headings, namely, the legislative and the constitutional. The legislative problems relate to the adoption of regulative measures with a view to:

(1) consolidating divergent provisions of different labour Acts in various industries;
(2) extending the scope of the law to a larger number of industries and to a larger class of workers;
(3) improving labour laws in the light of the higher needs of the workers and in conformity with the rising sense of social justice.

The constitutional problems are more complicated. Those who are now busy in London with questions of Indian provincial autonomy, federation, etc., ought to attend to these labour problems also. Dr. Rajani Kanta Das observes:

While, under the auspices of the International Labour Organization, most countries are being brought under more or less uniform labour legislation, the different Provinces and States of India, which form a geographical, cultural, and industrial unit, cannot be guided by different industrial policies and systems of labour legislation without giving rise to provincial and regional rivalry and hindering the social and industrial progress of the whole country. It is essential for India to have more or less uniform labour legislation, which can be brought about only by creating an institution for the enactment of social legislation of national and international importance. For this purpose there is a need for readjusting the relations:

(1) Between the Central and the local Governments. There is not only a growing tendency to relegate some of the legislative measures to the local Governments, *e.g.*, legislation for maternity benefits and welfare work, but also a definite move to assign the residual power of the State to the Provinces in the scheme for the proposed Indian Federation. If this is carried out, there is likely to grow up a situation in which the proposed Federal Government will not, and may not, undertake legislation for regulating social and labour conditions for the whole of British India.

(2) Between the British Provinces and the Indian States. The labour laws of the various States differ not only from those of the British Provinces but also from one another in the States themselves. Commercial and industrial rivalry has already grown up between the Provinces and States, and this will in all probability increase as industrialization progresses. It has already been pointed out that because of their constitutional position the States cannot be directly brought under the scope of the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Conference. Moreover, under

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the present Constitution of the Indian Empire, they cannot be subjected to labour legislation enacted by the Government of India. A way must therefore be found to unify the labour legislations in both the Provinces and the States. Whether that is to be done by creating a Council for Greater India, containing representatives of the States and of the Provinces, as suggested by the Simon Commission, is a question that can be decided only by the next Constitutional Reform.

It is very incongruous that, while British Government policy enables some Indian ruling prince or other every year to pose at Geneva as a delegate of India to the League of Nations Assembly meetings, these princes themselves are not obliged to conform to any of the decisions or conventions of the League.

From his long residence in the United States of America Dr. Rajani Kanta Das is able to perceive what difficulties may arise from the relegation of some kinds of labour legislation to provincial governments. Says he :

> The relegation of legislative measures, such as those on maternity benefit and welfare, to the local Governments is a dangerous precedent, inasmuch as it is liable to create regional rivalry. The Government of India fully realized the pernicious effect of such a procedure as early as 1881, when it passed the first Factory Act for the whole of India, instead of for the Presidency of Bombay alone, where the necessity of such legislation arose. Moreover, once the precedent is established, the Central Government may find itself helpless to enact legislative measures of such a nature, when the need may arise. One must remember the difficulty of the Federal Government of the United States, which could not apply its child labour legislation to the States without violating its own Constitution. In India, as in the case of Great Britain, precedents may prove as obstructive as the written Constitution in the United States.

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"Mahatma Gandhi : His own Story"

Mr. C. F. Andrews has rendered good service to all the world and India by presenting to the public an abridged edition of Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography under the title, "Mahatma Gandhi : His own Story" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 12*s.* 6*d.*). Many Indians there are who know every detail of his life, and educated Indians in general know the most important facts relating to his public career. But even to his most devoted followers, a perusal of Mr. Andrew's book will be a joy and an inspiration ; while to those of his countrymen who are unfortunately very busy, this abridged biography of the Mahatma will be a boon.

As for members of the British race, most of whom are unhappily pitted against the national aspirations of India, they ought to thank Mr. Andrews for enabling them to know within a reasonably brief compass the kind of 'foeman' they have to deal with in Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

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"India and the Simon Report"

Mr. C. F. Andrews has published through Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., another useful and timely book, *viz.*, that on "India and the Simon Report" (3*s.*). It is not intended to deal with the technical political details of the Simon Report, "but rather to consider the causes of the resentment in India today against Great Britain which have led up to the present dead-lock. For this resentment exists very widely among the educated classes, and it is growing deeper." As we do not know every educated man in India, we cannot dogmatically assert that any kind of feeling against Great Britain is universal ; but our impression is that it is all but universal. And this feeling is not confined to the educated classes, as Mr. Andrews would seem to imply. It exists among the uneducated, the illiterate masses, too, to a very great extent. The number of those who among the educated and the uneducated silently cherish high national aspirations and hopes is very large. But even among those who have suffered for *satyagraha*, the number of the illiterate is by no means negligible. We do not mean to suggest that Mr. Andrews is not aware of this fact. We want only to make the situation quite clear.

Mr. Andrews proceeds to say in his preface :

> "The Commissioners have done painstaking work, but they have failed to meet Indian public opinion on its most sensitive side. The main reason for this lies in their not clearly appreciating what the National Movement has already accomplished under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi. For the awakening of the masses under his leadership has brought about a new India which is seeking by its own inner urge to find self-expression. It can never be forced back into an outworn and discarded mould. To fail to deal adequately with such a national upheaval as this, affecting millions of human lives, is almost like acting the play of *Hamlet* with the character of Hamlet left out. For, now at last, this new force is coming in like a flood, not only in India but all over Asia ; and those who fail to reckon with it

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are like children building castles on the sand which will be washed away by the next tide."

Like the practical man that Mr. Andrews is, he naturally and justifiably lays stress on the 'resentment' felt by Indians and their 'most sensitive side'. But supposing Indians had become too dehumanized to feel any resentment and had lost all national sensitiveness, there would still have been room for the promotion of a freedom movement in India by humanitarians in India and abroad.

Mr. Andrews closes his well-written book with a paragraph which is instinct with the spirit which pervades the work :

"On the moral plane, the Indian national volunteers have already risen to great heights. They have displayed an amazing moral fortitude. Surely the true meeting of East and West can be brought about on that plane! The often misquoted lines about the twain never meeting have this proviso added, that where two strong men meet face to face there is neither East nor West, but only a common humanity and a common respect for each other. The poet wrote those lines of his about physical strength; and it is quite easy for the Englishman and the Pathan to respect that kind of courage. But what is needed from either side now is to respect a moral courage that requires far greater nerve than mere physical prowess. If the Englishman is able to show the moral courage of meekness and humility; if the Indian is able to show the moral courage of high fortitude and manly suffering without striking a blow; then by rising to such heights as these, a higher friendship may be engendered. It will not be the old patronizing friendship of the nineteenth century, but the equal friendship of the twentieth. It will mean that rare brotherhood and sisterhood which Walt Whitman has called "the dear love of comrades."

—

"Partnership" Indeed!

The Government of India's despatch on the Simon Report has several times used the expression "effective partnership between the British Parliament and the Indian Legislature." When the reader has read this note to the end he will perceive that the kind of partnership which Lord Irwin's Government has in view would be very effective indeed for safeguarding British imperialistic interests but would not mean self-government or equality of status for India Under the arrangements proposed, one partner is to be clearly subordinate to and at the mercy of the other, having no ultimate powers of any kind in any matter. This will be evident when one knows that the paramount partner is to reserve to himself powers to intervene as regards the following matters.

Administration of the subjects entrusted to the Secretary of State; defence of India against external aggression; imperial interests, including foreign affairs; questions arising between India and other parts of the British Empire; international obligations, or any obligation arising from an arrangement within the Empire to which India is a party or which is otherwise binding on India; conditions of internal security; financial stability and credit of India, and fulfilment of existing obligations; protection of minorities; avoidance of unfair economic and commercial discrimination; rights of the Services recruited by the Secretary of State; and maintenance of the constitution.

We should like to know the name of the most moderate of Moderate Indian politicians who would support a constitution based on this sort of queer so-called partnership. The men who could propose such a constitution must have had a great contempt for the intelligence of politically-minded Indians and a greater disbelief in their power to win self-rule, if those officials thought such a scheme would pass muster.

—

Calcutta Municipal Gazette Annual

The sixth anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is a creditable production. Its contents and get-up are alike commendable. Mr. Amal Chandra Home, who has been editor of this weekly from its foundation, is to be congratulated on his power of maintaining his journal on a high level.

—

Unitary and Federal States

As there is much talk at present about "Unitary" and "Federal" States, perhaps without accurate knowledge of what the terms exactly mean, Mrs. Annie Besant has printed in *New India* the following passages relating to them, taken from the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and sent to her by Mr. Jinarajadasa :

The Unitary State has one Legislature, capable of making laws of universal validity for all its citizens and subjects; one Executive and one unified Judicial System to apply these laws. To this type belong amongst others the British, French, Belgian and Italian Governments. The Federal State, on the other hand, is "made up of several individual States, each of which preserves in principle its internal sovereignty, its own laws and government. But the Nation as a whole, comprising the total population of the individual States

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and leaving these States, as such, out of account, forms a united or Federal State, which also possesses a complete Government and of which the citizens of the individual States are also citizens." (Esmein, *Elements de Droit Constitutionel Francais et Compare*, Vol. I, p 6, 1927).

The difference between a Federal and a Unitary State may be put in another way by saying that whereas in a Unitary State all law-making bodies (other than the Central Legislature) have their powers of law-making defined for them by the Central Legislature, which gives them juridical existence, in a Federal State the law-making powers of the Central Federal Government are defined by the constitutional agreement between the several States of the Federal Union, by which it was created, whilst all such legislative or executive powers as were not by that Act expressly attributed to the Federal Government are retained by the States themselves. In practice this is the arrangement in the United States and in the Swiss Federation, and it was followed in the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900. But in the British North America Act of 1867, which gave Canada its Constitution, an attempt was made to define not only the powers of the Federal Government but also those of the Provincial Governments. The attempt was unfortunate, in view of the non-exclusive character of the powers so granted, and has resulted in much litigation which might have been avoided.

It follows from the existence of such a division of legislative power that the question must arise whether the Federal or a State Government has acted *ultra vires* in a given instance. One characteristic of Federal Government, therefore, is the lack of finality in the legislation of either the Federal or of a State Government. All legislation is subject to the terms of the Constitution, itself a result of the fact that the Federal structure arises from an agreement between hitherto Sovereign States, and the interpretation of the Constitution belongs by its terms to the Courts. Thus, in the United States the Supreme Court, in Australia the High Court, and in the case of Canada the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is constituted the interpreter of the Constitution, with the ultimate right to pass upon the validity of the legislation either of the Federal Government or that of a State or Province In Switzerland alone among Federations has this question been reserved for the decision of the Federal Legislature itself, thus exposing it to the charge of being a judge in its own cause. But even here the use of the Referendum provides another, though a different, Court of Appeal.

These extracts show that Federalism is compatible both with Independence and Dominion Status and that Federations are not all of the same type. Those who are trying to frame a Federal constitution for India will have to try to avoid the inconveniences arising out of the different types of federation as much as possible.

—

Opening of "Round Table" Conference

His Majesty King George V of England opened the so-called Round Table Conference on the 12th November last with a brief inaugural speech. There was no lack of pomp and circumstance to make the function impressive and perhaps also to conceal its real character.

—

Nobody "Represents" India

In the course of his speech, which, as usual, was no doubt written out for him by his Ministers, His Majesty said :

It affords me much satisfaction to welcome to the capital of my Empire representatives of Princes, Chiefs and people of India and to inaugurate their conference with my Ministers and representatives of other parties composing Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

That the Liberal and Conservative politicians who are members of the Conference are representatives of their parties is quite true ; for they were chosen by the party leaders. But the Indian members of the conference are not representatives of India. It goes without saying that Princes and Chiefs are not representatives of British-ruled India. Similarly, they are not representatives of the people of the Indian States ; for the millions inhabiting the States were neither asked to choose nor chose anybody to represent them at the conference—their existence has all along been completely ignored. Strictly speaking, the Princes and Chiefs and their officers who are attending the conference as delegates cannot be called representatives of even the whole body of Princes and Chiefs of the Indian States ; for the whole body or any number of these persons were neither asked to choose nor chose any representatives, though it is true that if they had been given any such choice some of these persons might have been chosen.

As for the gentlemen and ladies from British-ruled India who are attending the conference as delegates, they are simply the nominees of the British Government of India. As has been admitted even by the opponents of the Congress, the Congress is the most representative body in India. In fact, the representative character of the National Liberal Federation and other bodies pales into insignificance before that of the Congress. The Liberals and some other bodies have men of great distinction among

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them ; but they are practically leaders without any appreciable body of followers. So, to speak of such persons as the representatives of India is not at all true. Moreover, the Liberals who are attending the conference were not chosen even by the Liberal Federation ; they were simply invited by the Government. If the Liberal Federation had been asked to choose their men, the choice would no doubt have fallen on a few of the so-called delegates. Of the so-called delegates from British-ruled India the Muhammadans have some following worth speaking of. But even they were not chosen by any Moslem representative body ;—like the other Indian "delegates," they are nominees of the Government. Moreover, they have been chosen by the Government only from that section of the Muslim population which is communal in outlook. There is a large section of Mussalmans consisting of nationalists, not one of whom has been, for obvious reasons, invited by the Government to attend the conference.

Thus, it is plain that the Indian members of the conference cannot claim any representative character. It was wrong on the part of His Majesty King George's Ministers to make him utter what is practically an untruth. They ought to have remembered that His Majesty does not, according to British constitutional theory, represent any party.

—

"Ideas and Aspirations of Nationhood" To Remain in the Air ?

In the course of his speech the King said :—

> Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any nation, but this decade has witnessed not only in India but throughout all nations forming the British Commonwealth a quickening and growth in the ideas and aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time.

During the world war, Mr. Lloyd George said in the course of his great speech before the American Luncheon Club :

> There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. (Cheers).

Thus, King George spoke in a strain similar to that in which Mr. Lloyd George spoke about a decade and a half ago. There is, no doubt, this difference between the two utterances that, whereas Mr. George recognized that Russia had become a democracy from an autocracy in the course of six weeks, there is not the faintest inkling in King George's speech *when* India would have democracy in the place of autocracy. Perhaps, whereas the process of transformation occupied six weeks in Russia according to Mr. George, in the case of India it would occupy ages and years "which defy the customary measurement of time."

—

King George's Pious Hopes

His Majesty's vaguely worded brief speech concluded with the following passage :

> The material condition which surrounds the lives of my subjects in India affects me keenly and will be ever present in your thoughts during the forthcoming deliberation.
>
> I have also in mind the just claims of majorities and minorities, men and women, town-dwellers and tillers of the soil, landlords and tenants, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, of races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed.
>
> I cannot doubt that the true foundation of self-government is the fusion of such divergent claims into mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment. It is my hope that the future Government of India based on this foundation will give an expression to her honourable aspirations. May your discussion point the way to a sure achievement of this end and may your names go down in history as those of men who served India well and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all my beloved people. I pray that Providence may grant you in a bounteous measure wisdom, patience and goodwill.

It was good of the King to remember and to suggest to the conference to remember the "material condition" (without any adjective) of the people of India. But there was no express recognition of the fact that it is only complete self-rule which can improve that material condition.

The majorities in India must be very thankful that the King recognizes that even they have "*just*" claims ! In the enumeration of all the classes and sections which have just claims, there is no mention of capitalists and labourers. It is remarkable that a speech put into the mouth of the King by a Labour Ministry does not even mention Labour. It may be contended that the expression "the rich and the poor" includes Capital and Labour. But it includes landlords and tenants also. So seeing that they have been separately mentioned, it is a mystery why capitalists

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and labourers were not similarly referred to separately.

The enumeration itself is perhaps a clever, but not too clever, recital of the usual die-hard objections to self-rule in India—namely, that there are so many divergent claims to listen to and harmonize. But are there not other countries—independent countries—in the world where there are minorities and majorities, men and women (we hope the King's Ministers do not think India disqualified for immediate self-rule on the ground that its inhabitants are not unisexual !), town-dwellers and tillers of the soil, landlords and tenants, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor ; etc., etc. ?

It is undoubtedly true that "the true foundation of self-government is the fusion of divergent claims into mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment." But it is also as undoubtedly true that His Majesty's great servants in India have invited to the conference an unduly large number of men who attach greater importance to their sectional claims than to the claim of the whole of India to self-rule.

In consequence, the clever British bureaucrats have been able to present to the world the spectacle of a Conference which is misrepresented to be a miniature India. Divisions there are in India as in other countries. But there is unity, too. The Conference, however, has been called under conditions which have resulted in the exclusion from it of the most representative men of India, who stand for unity.

—

Mr. MacDonald's Speech at the Conference

After the King's speech, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference. In the course of his speech he said :

"Declarations made by British Sovereigns and statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare for self-government have been plain. If some say that they have been applied with woeful tardiness, I reply that no permanent evolution has seemed to any one going through it to be anything but tardy."

The Declarations referred to have been certainly very plain, and their practical non-fulfilment has also been plain to discerning men. Even such a would-be clever British propagandist as Mr. E. J. Thompson admits in the following passage that Britain has for "so long" *refused* to give Indians any *considerable* training in self-government :

"This is the penalty of having let resentment and wounded self-esteem fester through so many decades and grow to intolerable exacerbation, of having for so long refused to give any considerable training in self-government or any fair expression to promises often made and with special solemnity set forth by Queen Victoria and each succeeding King-Emperor."—*The Reconstruction of India*, p. 41.

—

The Claim that Britain Is Preparing India for Self-rule

When Rabindranath Tagore wrote on October 10 last in his letter of protest to the New York *Times* that "it is the opportunity for self-government itself which gives training for self-government, and not foreign subjection," he unconsciously answered Mr. MacDonald's plea that "Great Britain's work in India was to prepare for self-government."

It is a great delusion to think that one nation can teach another nation self-rule by holding the latter in subjection. Let us quote some English authors on the subject.

Lord Macaulay wrote in his Essay on Milton :

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as the self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery they may indeed wait for ever.

John Morley wrote in his Life of Gladstone, volume I, p. 360 :

Gladstone was never weary of protesting against the fallacy of what was called 'preparing' these new communities for freedom : teaching a colony, like an infant, by slow degrees to walk, first putting it in long clothes, then in short clothes In point of fact, every year and every month during which they are retained under the administration of a despotic government renders them less fit for free institutions--It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty.

Mr. John M. Robertson, one of England's ablest thinkers, argues that not alone civilized peoples, like those of India, should be permitted to rule themselves, but that all peoples, whether civilized or not, ought to be allowed to do so ; that absolutely none should be forced under the rule of others. In his work on "International Problems" (see pp. 41-45) he declares :—

There ought to be a general recognition of the fundamental fitness of self-government for all races. It is good for all men to be intelligent agents instead of recalcitrant machines. All countries should walk on their own feet. In short no argument ever educed against autonomy

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or self-rule for any race has any scientific value. As a matter of fact self-rule exists at this moment among the lowest and most retrograde races of the earth; and probably no experienced European administrator who has ever carried his thinking above the level of a frontier trader will confidently say that any one of these races would be improved by setting over them any system of white man's rule that has yet been tried.

The opinions of a few non-British thinkers may now be given.

Like the great philosopher which he was, Immanuel Kant expressed his opinion on individual and national self rule in the following general statement:—

If we were not designed to exert our powers till we were assured of our ability to attain our object, those powers would remain unused. It is only by trying that we learn what our powers are.

Professor Frederick Starr, than whom, among American scholars, there is no higher authority regarding Oriental peoples, says:—

A government adapted to the economic development of a people and working up from within, is better than the most perfect government forced from above. The Americans are doing far more for the Philippines than Britain is for India; yet it is my opinion that every day we remain in the islands, the Filipinos are less capable of self-government. They have all the while been better fit to rule themselves than we or any other foreigners are to rule them. The only way America can benefit them is by giving them independence at once.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the American historian and scholar, speaking before the American Historical Association in 1901, said:

I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest times until now, where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining or self-governing, or even put on the way to that result through a condition of dependency or tutelage. I might, without much danger, assert that the condition of dependency, even for communities of the same race or blood, always exercises an emasculating and deteriorating influence. I would undertake, if called upon, to show that this rule is invariable—that from the inherent and fundamental conditions of human nature, it has known and can know no exceptions. This truth I could demonstrate from almost innumerable examples.

Thus, as it is an illusion to speak of preparing a people for self-rule while keeping it in subjection, it is useless to speak of the "tardiness" of the process.

Let us now take some historial examples within living memory in support of our contention.

When, at the end of the Great War, Poland asked for freedom, Great Britain and other victorious countries readily consented to her having it, because none of them had been her rulers and exploiters (miscalled educators in self-rule). They did not tell Poland: "Dear Madam, first tardily evolve your powers of self-rule under your old masters, Russia, Germany and Austria, and then you will have self-rule when *they* consider you fit for it."

When the people of Czecho-slovakia wanted independence and freedom, they got it at once. The Allied and Associated Powers, Great Britain being among them, did not tell them: "First get a certificate from your ruler-educator, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, that you have acquired fitness for self-rule through a tardy process of permanent evolution, then you will have freedom."

Other similar examples may be given. But it may be objected that these are all from the history of European peoples. They are altogether different from Eastern races. Take a few examples, then, of Oriental peoples.

Turkey has set up a strong, progressive and efficient government without being tutored a single day by any foreign nation or by her despotic Sultans. She was long crippled and hindered by foreign nations; but being able to shake them off at last, she is now going forward with vigour and with promise of great things. But the Turks are not a more gifted people than the people of India. What the Turks are doing, India could do, if free.

Persia had been terribly injured and long held back by European powers. No foreign nation educated her for self-rule. But now that she is getting more freedom, she is pushing forward, and her future seems to be distinctly brightening.

Siam, long tyrannized over, exploited and robbed of her revenues by several foreign nations, none of whom educated her for self-rule, has of late recovered a new degree of independence, and is advancing rapidly under an enlightened Government of her own. Today she has more miles of railway, and more exports and imports, per capita, that India under Great Britain; and in proportion to her population she has three times as many of her children in school.

And lastly, Russia, which is both occidental and oriental, which has more nationalities, languages and religions than India and which is inhabited by some peoples who are having a written literature for the first time in history, is

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today making rapid progress, though no foreign nation taught that vast country or collection of countries self-rule. Russia has had a bloody history, as bloody as or perhaps more bloody than France during her revolutions. But just as France is condemned for this bloodshed and praised for whatever post-Revolution progress has been made there, so should Russia be condemned for the blood shed by the Bolsheviks and praised for her post-Revolution progress.

—

Mr. MacDonald's "Pledges"

Mr. MacDonald assured his audience :

I am never disturbed by people who say that I have not fulfilled my pledges provided I am fulfilling them.

Such bravado will not do. He has to show by his deeds that he *has fulfilled his pledges.* The speaker added :

We have met to try to register by agreement the recognition of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution.

This in plain language means that India will be advanced or seemingly advanced one step further in the bureaucratically advocated "progressive realization of responsible government" by stages. But India wants to be mistress in her own household, and if, as is certain, there is to be gradual progress as in other countries, she wants to register it herself without any extraneous help or hindrance.

—

"Progress," "Co-operation" and Civil Disorder

Mr. MacDonald told the members of the oval table Conference :

Men who co-operate are pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys social mentality wherefrom all constitutional development derives its source and whereupon all stable internal administration is based.

Men who co-operate are undoubtedly pioneers of progress when there is real co-operation. Co-operation is reciprocal. Lord Irwin wanted the co-operation of Mr Gandhi and his colleagues on his Lordship's own terms, which in plain language means subordination of India's welfare to British interests. This cannot result in progress. In the case even of those who have gone from India to attend the oval table conference, it is found that, not to speak of the British Tory and Liberal delegates, even the Labour Premier has been responding to the demands of the Indian members, not with definite promises or hopes but with words, words, words.

Civil disorder is never desirable for its own sake. But there are numerous instances in history of progressive constitutional development and stable internal administration being reached through civil disord r. The Civil War during the reign of Charles I of England was civil disorder, and being of the violent kind, was more subversive, for the time being, of law and order than the present-day non-violent satyagraha in India. Did it destroy 'social mentality' for ever ? The American War of Independence was another case of civil disorder, which, as disorder, was worse than Indian satyagraha. Did it destroy social mentality ? Has it not led to constitutional development stable internal administration in America ? The civil disorder which preceded the Meiji era in Japan did not destroy social mentality or prevent constitutional development and stable internal administration, but was, on the contrary, the precursor of constitutional development in that country. The civil disorder in Persia which led to the new state of things in that country has not been reactionary in its results. So, while it is true that civil disorder as such is not desirable, history shows that civil disorder arising out of endeavours to remedy grave maladies in the body politic or to destroy what is rotten in order to replace it by some thing better or to introduce radical reform, is not what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald describes it to be.

—

"Difficulties," "Conflicting Interests"

As in the King's speech, so in his Premier's, "difficulties," "stubborn diversities of view," "conflicting interests," etc., are emphasized, probably in order to magnify the results of the Conference. As the Indian members of the Conference are the nominees of the British Government, which has never worked whole-heartedly for the promotion of self-rule in India, it was to be expected that men who would have laid the greatest stress on the common interests of all Indians would not form the majority or even a very strong minority of the Indian members.

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"Representatives of British India"!

As in the King's speech, so in Mr. MacDonald's, the British-Indian (what a word !) members of the conference were referred to as "the representatives of British India." Mr. MacDonald ought to know that there is not much truth in such language.

—

Foreboding of Future Agitation

With reference to the future Mr. MacDonald told his "Indian colleagues" :

"You will have to go and face public opinion in India. You will have to go and face agitation in India. You will have probably to go and face those black flags, which bade you godspeed and which may be displayed in order to give you India's welcome."

This appears to show that the Premier expects that the Indian members will have to return to India with empty hands or with something less than the "substance of independence," which Mahatma Gandhi wanted. For, should they return with the "substance of independence" in their pockets, why should there be agitation and black flag processions for them to face ?

—

Speeches at the "R. T. C."

At the oval table conference in London many of the Indian members made striking speeches. But as it is for them only to propose but not to dispose, we do not think it necessary to draw attention to any of them in detail. We think, however, that it has been good for them and for Britain that they went to London and spoke there. Britishers are finding that so far as reasoning goes, they cannot over-match the Indians.

It is said of a kind of sweets of Delhi that both those who have tasted them and those who have not, have to express regret. It is good that co-operating Indian orators will not have to express any regret in future that they or their like were not present at the Conference to make speeches. They are doing their best in the way of speech-making and proposal-making, and some perhaps in the way of raising difficulties.

—

Premier's Closing Speech at Plenary Session

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's concluding speech at the plenary session of the oval table conference seems to have a ring of hollowness in it—particularly sentences like,

"Ah, my Indian friends, we have listened to remarkable speeches, speeches displaying the mind of India. Ah. my Indian colleagues, there has been a great influence on the public opinion here by your speeches. Every time you spoke you have had effect."

What sort of effect, pray ?

Mr. MacDonald must be a great believer in repetition. Not content with making the King say that the Government nominees from India were India's representatives, not content with himself saying so, he said in his concluding oration, "This surely is the union of India." As surely as the Ramayan without Ram is Valmiki's great epic ; as surely as the play of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark is Shakespeare's immortal tragedy ! It would sorely tax the powers of the most patient statistician to discover what small fraction of the Indian population is represented by the Government nominees who have met in London.

Surely there ought to be a limit to the terminological inexactitudes of a British Prime Minister. Mr. MacDonald said :

"You have listened to the speeches—and it is impossible for me to individualize and particularize them—from the representatives of practically every interest, every community and every differing group in India."

There is much virtue in your "practically" !

—

What Ought to Make Indians Proud !

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has peculiar notions of what ought to make Indians proud. For he told the Indian Government nominees :

"This is not only a historic conference in the sense in which I used the word, but it is historic in other senses that ought to put pride into the hearts of everyone of you here."

Of course, the presence of subject Indians, nominated by the ruling British Government, at a conference held in the capital of the ruling country, for laying their proposals practically as suppliants before their British masters, ought to make the Indians proud. It is undoubtedly a proud privilege for persons belonging to an ancient country with a population of 320 millions practically to seek the favour of the citizens of a country inhabited by 45 millions. We do not deny that, in the opinion of some persons, it may be a hard and unescapable necessity to play such suppliants' role. But we cannot guage the

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depth of degradation which would lead any Indian to consider that necessity a matter of pride.

We know prayers are called demands. But they can be felt to be or spoken of as demands only because of the sacrifice and sufferings of the few famous and the numerous nameless men and women in India who, according to Mr. MacDonald, *do not* represent India, but whose existence haunts the minds of himself and his "Indian colleagues."

—

States' Status in Indian Federation

The following extract from the speech of H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal at the London Conference gives an idea of the conditions on which the ruling princes would agree to become members of an all-India Federation :

Nothing in the system of federation connoted interference with the internal affairs of States, whose treaties with the Crown would remain unaltered except by mutual consent, and the Federation would concern itself solely with matters of common interest to be defined by mutual consent. There could also be no question of the status of the states being in any way subordinate to that of the rest of India. On those conditions he entirely agreed with the principle of federation. Among the princes there was no rift as between Muslims and Hindus and in Indian states communal tension was practically non-existent. The reason why it had arisen in British India had been solely political.

We do not think it would be good for the States' peoples if those territories continued to be as autocratically governed as now. Change for the better, in the direction of representative government, there must be. The question is, how that change is to be brought about.

No politically-minded Indian, to our knowledge, wants the Indian States to be subordinate to the rest of India. But why should not every and all the States agree to conform to the will of the whole of Federated India (including the States), duly ascertained and expressed in proper form by the all-India Federal Council ? We do not appreciate the desire of the ruling princes to be subordinate to the British Crown or its Viceroy while rebelling at the idea of being controlled in any way by the united voices of their own countrymen. This is servile snobbery. No constitution can be satisfactory which would leave for ever a wide way open for the British Government to interfere in the affairs of India through the pliant and acquiescent princes, who would be content to be tools in Imperialistic hands so long as they can play the autocrat in their own States.

We are not against a Federation as such. But we want a strong government at the centre. Without it India cannot become strong and remain free after winning freedom. India has lost her freedom repeatedly, because among other reasons, of the parts not acting as a whole. We look with strong suspicion and great distrust upon the zeal with which the Federal idea is being boosted by the Britishers and others. We endorse *The Tribune's* following observations on this subject :

We cannot disabuse our mind of the impression that the strenuous attempt that is being made in England and at the Round Table Conference to over-emphasize the claims of "federalism" is the result of an unholy combination among three parties, each with its own axe to grind,—the forces of British conservatism and die-hardism, the Indian Princes and the ultra-communalists. The first want that whatever else may be done in India Britain should have all ultimate power and as much actual power as would enable her to carry out her policy in respect of all matters on which she is keen. The second want that nothing should happen to interfere in any manner or degree with their freedom to act as they please in their own affairs, while they should continue to enjoy all the advantages they at present have on account of their association with the Government of India. The third want that in the Provinces in which they constitute the majority they should be able to follow whatever policy they like without let or hindrance on the part of the Central Government. All three realize that a strong national Government at the centre responsible to a popularly elected Indian Legislature, not only performing certain vital functions on behalf of the country as a whole but exercising some measure of general supervision and control over the Provinces and States and in particular claiming the right to interfere with them in cases of grave emergency and in matters of controversy between Provinces or between a Province and an Indian State, would not serve their purpose. That is why they are so desperately anxious to set up and have bent all their energies to and joined their hands in securing for India a sort of nebulous federal constitution based upon the negation of such a Government.

—

Montessori Classes in Calcutta

Montessori classes have been opened in Calcutta in connection with the Brahmo Girls' School under trained teachers, where little boys and girls are receiving goood education. Not only are they learning more quickly than when taught according to ordinary methods, but with greater pleasure. They are

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being trained also to be observant, methodical and cleanly in their persons, dress and surroundings. Different kinds of hand-work are also taught to them. We were glad to note that there has been already some adaptation to Indian conditions.

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The Buddhist "Jatakas" in Bengali

After sixteen years of labour and at an approximate cost of ten thousand rupees Babu Ishan Chandra Ghosh has been able at length to finish and publish in six volumes his Bengali translation of the Buddhist *Jatakas*. The English translation is the work of several scholars, but Babu Ishan Chandra Ghosh has done the whole work himself. A University bore the cost of publication of the English translation ; Babu Ishan Chandra has been his own financier. His translation is enriched by introductions and numerous notes. Taking all these facts into consideration, one must say that his is a remarkable achievement. The only form in which the Bengali-reading public can show him the gratitude which is his due, is to buy and read his translation. The stories are all interesting and convey moral lessons. They may be read with pleasure by young and old alike. The cultural and social history of ancient India may be re-constructed, in part, from the Buddhist *Jatakas*.

—

80,000 Peasants Have Migrated

While the no-tax campaign is going on in different parts of India, including Bengal, it shows the greatest vigour and determination in Gujarat. From and near the vicinity of Borsad 80,000 peasants have already migrated to the adjoining State territory. According to the *Free Press of India* :

The district officers of Kaira have been touring from one place to another and persuading the people to pay up revenue and return to their homes, as then they say, there would be no harassment.

At Ras and Bochasen the people went to them, and heard them, but refused to agree to what the Commissioner said. At Sunav and Anklev, people even refused to see these officers. They said : "We do not know your Sahib. Why should we come to see him ? We should come at once if Gandhiji or Sardarji wants us." It was only after a great deal of persuasion that Shrijut Tulchibhai, the leader of the Anklev people, met the Commissioner. He said : "Unless Mahatmaji and other leaders are released and direct us to pay revenue, not a single pie shall be paid. We are happy here and shall stay here till God desires us to stay here. We are afraid of nothing ; for God is here to watch this fight for freedom."

The Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Garrett, the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Jetley, the Collector Mr. Master, the Police Superintendent, Mr. Wilkins, the District Deputy Collector, Mr. Bhadrapuri, and the Deputy Police Superintendent, Mr. Billimoria, and the Mamlatdra, Mr. Shah, with four circle inspectors were camping in Borsad. They were concentrating there as they perhaps thought that if they could subdue the Borsad peasantry, the whole district would give in. Eighty thousand persons have migrated to the adjoining State territory. The Mamlatdar of Borsad took the Commissioner, Mr. Garrett, and Mr. Bhadrapuri to Gandhinagar, where the people of Ras have migrated. The Commissioner advised the people to pay the revenue, return to the villages and forget the past. He talked of dismissing and punishing those of his officials who thereafter committed illegal actions.

The people thereupon pointed out the Mamlatdar and asked the Commissioner to punish him, as he was at the bottom of the trouble. The Commissioner evaded this request and reverted to another topic. "Why have you migrated to this place ?" He asked. "Officers and police harassed us so much that we had no other option left but to migrate and come here," was the reply. "Your leader Dadubhai Desai has paid up Rs. 2,000 towards revenue. Why don't you pay up ?" The men replied, "We do not know anybody who has paid revenue. We have money, but are not going to pay even if the whole country pays up, unless Mahatmaji is released and directs us to pay the same. We have suffered all that we have to suffer ; our houses have been broken open and goods removed. Our fields have been confiscated and under the guise of attachment, they have been raided and crops destroyed."

—

Attempt to Record Smaller Number of Hindus ?

The Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, has issued the following circular :

"It appears that, under instructions from the Commissioner of Census in India, Provincial Superintendents have issued supplementary instructions to the enumerators to the effect that Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Arya Samajists, Brahmos and others should not be entered as Hindus, even if they so desire. Kindly take early steps to ascertain definitely what instructions have been given by the Census Superintendent of your province to the Supervisors in this connection, and if you find that the instructions given in your province are calculated to affect the numerical strength of the Hindus adversely, I would ask you to take early steps to enter a strong protest against such instructions and ask the authorities concerned to enter the Hindus and their sects just as is provided for Mussalmans and Christians, that is to say to enter all Hindus first as such and their sect as stated by them afterwards."

We think Census officers should record declarations of religion exactly as made by the persons enumerated. They have no rihtg to determine what profession of faith men should make,

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Bombay Meeting in Condemnation of Police Methods

On the 20th of November last the citizens of Bombay held an open air public meeting to protest against "the unchivalrous, brutal and inhuman treatment" of Indian women by the Bombay police at the flag salutation ceremony on the 26th October. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Deshumkh, ex-Mayor of Bombay, and was representative of all shades of political opinion. Persons of all creeds and communities were present at the meeting. They numbered 75,000 to 100,000 according to different estimates. Among the speakers were persons belonging to all communities. The principal resolution, which was moved by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and seconded by Mr. Meyer Nassim ran as follows :

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay emphatically protest against the unchivalrous, brutal and inhuman treatment accorded to the Indian women who had assembled on the Azad Maidan for the flag salutation ceremony on Sunday, October 26, and strongly condemns, in particular, the action of the police in taking a number of women outside the city limits and leaving them there, uncared for and unattended. That this meeting considers this act of the police as an insult to India's womanhood and is in defiance of all canons of decent and civilized behaviour."

In a powerful speech Sir Purshottamdas charged the Bombay police with beating and having taken the women to a distant place "in the hope or expectation that some one would pick them up and, perhaps, harass them in a manner which would prevent them from participating in such activities again." Official apologists may deny that that was the object of the police. But no one has yet said on behalf of the Bombay Government what the object or justification of the police was for what they did.

The women of Bombay had already held their protest meeting. Among those who convened that meeting were several ladies whose husbands are Knights, decorated by the Government. Lady Jagmohandas presided over the ladies' meeting and made an excellent speech. It is necessary to know these details to understand that in Bombay rich and poor, titled and untitled alike feel for the honour of womanhood and give public expression to that feeling. Some months ago at Lucknow the police took away women assembled at a meeting to a distant field and left them there unprotected in the dark. Various surmises were then made as to the further treatment they received in the field. But there was no outburst of public resentment as there has been with regard to the treatment of the women at Bombay. Some women in the Midnapur district were similarly taken to a place some miles distant from their homes and left there uncared for. There was no public protest like that in Bombay. In the Contai Enquiry Committee's Report, signed by Mr. J. N. Basu, Member of the Round Table Conference, Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A., and other trustworthy public men, there were allegations of worse treatment of women. But there was no public meeting of protest.

—

The Separation of Burma

British officials and non-officials and Burmese separationists have tried their utmost to convince the world that all Burmans are unanimons in demanding separation from India. It has, however, been known all along that that is not true. Nationalists like the Rev. Bhikshu Ottama have all along opposed separation. Recently the G. C. B. A., which claims the allegiance of the large majority of Burman Buddhists, has cabled to the Secretary of State for India : "This Council condemns Simon Report *in toto*, particularly immediate separation. This Council will not accept any scheme of government which does not satisfy the majority of the masses whose ultimate goal is independence."

The publication of a pamphlet by the G. C. B. A. at this juncture, explaining how Burma would suffer if she were to be separated from India, has been very timely. Other Burmese Nationalist associations which are against the separation should do the same and educate public opinion in the country. Europeans want Burma to be separated from India in order that it may be exploited and domineered over by them, unchecked by Indian public opinion and criticism.

—

Thundering Sentences in Calcutta Bomb Case

The Calcutta Bomb case, tried by a Special Tribunal, has ended in the conviction, on unconvincing evidence, of eight of the accused and the acquittal of two. Three had been tendered pardon for their turning

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approvers in the case. Of the convicted eight two have been sentenced to 20 years' transportation, two to 15 years' transportation, three to 12 years' transportation, and one to ten years' transportation.

Surely Calcutta must be in the throes of a most bloody revolution, though we are not aware of it. Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise. God forbid that there should be any bloody revolution. But if all the thunderbolts are hurled before there is any, what terrors would be left if it ever really came to pass?

—

Ordinance Prisoners in Buxa Fort

In round numbers there are some four hundred persons in Bengal who have been deprived of their liberty without any trial, ordinary or special, open or secret. This has been done under the Bengal Ordinance. They are to be in confinement for an indefinite period. As their guilt has not been proved, the public will take them to be innocent. In any case, as they are only suspects, they should not suffer any deprivation of the ordinary amenities of life except freedom of movement and correspondence, etc.

Their physical environment should not be such as would be very likely to affect their health and shorten their life. But we find that Buxa fort in the Duars on the borders of Bengal and Bhutan has been chosen as the place of their detention. The locality is believed to be a hotbed of malaria, black water fever, etc. Such a place is ill-fitted to be the dwelling place of Ordinance prisoners. Political detenus, so far as we are aware, have not attempted to escape. Why should a fort be necessary for their detention? And a fort in such an unhealthy place? Should there be no room in the ordinary jails, surely other vacant or semi-vacant Government buildings could have been found for the purpose of their detention.

Recently rules have been published in relation to these prisoners. Among them there are provisions making the use of fire-arms, swords, etc., to prevent their escape, legal. Even a policeman of the rank of constable would be justified under the rules in using fire-arms or swords against them if he had reasons to believe that the escape of a detenu could not be otherwise prevented. There is no express direction that aim should not be taken at any vital organ of the upper part of the body. This should have been given, as the object is to prevent the escape of the detenus, not their slaughter. In the absence of such direction, the rule as to firing, using a sword, etc., may become practically tantamount to giving even a constable the power to inflict capital punishment without trial.

We are reminded in this connection of an innovation which is going to be introduced in Bengal jails. Inside these prisons there is going to be wire fencing charged with electricity. Probably the authorities apprehend that they are in for some violent revolutionary outbreak in the jails and outside. If they have any grounds for such apprehensions, they perhaps prove the excellence of British rule and the cussedness of those who are subject to it.

—

Tagore's "Spectator" Letter on R. T. C.

Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the London *Spectator* on the "Round Table" Conference is available too late for publication *in extenso* in this issue. In it he shows elaborately how the calling of this conference is in effect an acknowledgment of the same soul-force to which Mahatma Gandhi appeals. Then he goes on to state his belief that "it would have been worthy of Mahatma Gandhi if he could have accepted unhesitatingly the seat offered to him, even though the conditions were not fully acceptable to himself."

"This present age waits for a new and noble technique for all reparations of national maladjustments. Mahatma Gandhi is the one man in the present age who has preached it and shaped it through his movement of non-violent resistance in South Africa and India. And now he has had the opportunity to introduce the moral spirit of the movement into a Conference which only he has made compelling possible and which only could have used as a platform wherefrom to send his voice to all those all over the world who truly represent the future history of man, a history that has to be built upon the foundation of numerous immediate failures and futile sufferings. Any such Conference can never be from the beginning a ready-made apparatus into whose rigid narrowness one must squeeze and torture oneself for accommodation. It waits for a man of genius, as he surely is, to turn it into an instrument for giving expression to the spirit of the age in the field of political inter-communication. I feel sad that such an opportunity has been lost for the moment, for India and for all the world. For to-day is the age of co-operation in all departments of life, including politics, the age of the creation of the continent in which all the human islands are to merge their isolation for a grand festival of civilization."

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After giving his reasons thus far for thinking that Mahatma Gandhi should have attended the Conference, the Poet pulls himself up, saying :

But here my pen stops, for I have suffered, and my suffering has been too cruel and too recent for me to leave it aside and think of a millennium that is still remote. I have known what has been done in Dacca, and from the light of that I can read the story of the Peshawar tragedy.

The poet tells the reader why his pen stops.

These people, the rulers of the world, are afraid of the judgment of their own peers, but are not afraid of the suffering caused by themselves The time made safe for the weak will be slow in its journey through a long moral path which is still in the making. In the meanwhile the mothers' tears are flowing in our neighbourhood, and the wretched dumbness of the desolated homes is a burden we find difficult to remove from our hearts. There are wounds that cry for the immediate healing of their pain, and I am silenced by my own shame as I try to talk of an age when the tedious ceremony of exorcism is completed by which the devil is made to slink away for his own safety and self-interest. Those of our brothers who have suffered, till their hearts are ready to break, cry to me angrily : 'Stop that discussion about the future ; it is natural and therefore healthy for us to struggle through the process of the suffering which we have undertaken on our own soil, and instead of appealing to the world to take our side, let us, unarmed and resourceless, stand up and defy the mighty power and say : 'We fear thee not. We do need redress of our wrongs, but we need even more our self-respect which nobody outside our own selves can restore to us.'

I do not know how to answer them, and say to myself : 'Possibly they are wiser with the natural wisdom of the sufferer.'

Rabindranath Tagore concludes his letter with a well-deserved tribute to the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi, with a disposition to "believe in his firmness of attitude, and not in my doubts" :

It was the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi which inspired this courage, under persecutions frankly brutal or cowardly insidious, into the heart of the dumb multitude of India, suffering for ages from the diffidence of their own human power. I myself have too often doubted the possibilty of such a sudden quickening of life in a country whose mind has remained parched under a long drought of education. But a miracle has happened through the magical touch of Mahatma's own indomitable spirit and his courageous faith in human nature. And after this experience of mine I hesitate to doubt his wisdom when he holds himself aloof from the invitation that seems to offer the opportunity for at least the beginning of an endeavour which, through the usual path of diplomacy, with its tortuous bends and sudden pitfalls of reactions, may at last lead us to our goal. Let me believe in his firmness of attitude, and not in my doubts.

An Optimistic View of "R. T. C."

As we are critics of the oval table conference, it is but fair that the readers should know what optimists think of its prospects. The London correspondent of the Allahabad *Leader*, who is probably Mr. C. Y. Chintamani himself, sent a special cablegram to that paper on the 21st November part of which runs as follows :

The Premier's speech is generally welcomed. There is all encouragement and the delegates proceed hopefully to work out details in the Federal Relations Committee.

It is wholly untrue that the principle of Dominion Status with temporary safe-guards and responsibility at the centre has been side-tracked by the appointment of the Federal Relations Committee with wide terms of reference. All such suggestions are wilful perversion of facts and evidence of dishonest tendencies.

On the contrary, the united front has been amazingly well-preserved by all communities and sections agreeing to the common demand without diminution and with emphasis.

Faced with this unanimity, the officials of the Government of India here have asked for fresh instructions, especially on the proposed federal solution.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the present system of government is as doomed as an iceberg in the warm Gulf Stream.

—

Prof. Raman and the World's Respect for India

A Free Press message, published in *the Amrita Bazar Patrika*, runs as follows :

Bangalore, Nov 17.

"National awakening has got other fields than politics in which it can show itself," declared Sir C. V. Raman in an interview to a press representative.

He added, "I think scientific endeavour has certainly a national value, and I have heard it said that what Indian scientists, particularly physicists have done, has helped more to raise the estimation of India in the world than recent political events."

Newspaper reports of interviews are sometimes inaccurate and misleading. Hence, one cannot be quite sure that Prof. C. V. Raman said exactly what he is reported to have said.

It is undoubtedly true that when there is true national awakening, it manifests itself in increased activity in all spheres of human endeavour—art, literature, science, philosophy, politics, etc. And scientific endeavour has also a national as well as a world value. This *Review* has upheld this view throughout its career, both in theory and practice. Remarkable scientific discoveries certainly raise India in the world's estimation.

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We are, however, reluctant to discuss what kind or sub-kind of work has raised India most in the estimation of the world. It would be best if the question did not overmuch engage the attention of the workers themselves, and if it were left to school debating clubs.

We do not in the least under-estimate the value of any scientist's work. But, *as a matter of fact*, "the world" is interested in and understands and is therefore in a position to appreciate endeavours to solve problems of human status requiring heroism, sacrifice and endurance, more than endeavours to solve recondite scientific problems which do not closely touch everyday human existence. When the present writer travelled outside India four years ago, foreigners asked him more about what Mr. Gandhi was doing than about any other Indian thing or person. Probably the curiosity of "the world" continues to take the same direction. Possibly some piece of scientific research ought to be considered by the world more valuable than Mahatma Gandhi's and his comrades' *sadhana*, but unhappily "the world" is not yet learned and wise enough to take that view.

—

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Convocation Address

There is much that is valuable in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's address at the Allahabad University convocation.

Athenian patriotism was literally parochial patriotism, because Athens was a small city state. But as India is not a small city state, those who want India to be free and are prepared to suffer even unto death for making her free, cannot be logically accused of parochical patriotism, though wise men are quite at liberty to call them foolish. If the peoples of the comparatively small countries of Japan, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Persia, Siam, etc., are not guilty of parochial patriotism in choosing to remain independent and in not choosing to be British subjects, why should Indians be considered guilty of the same offence if they want to be free? In any case, there are men who would prefer to be parochial and foolish with the free countries of the world than 'universal' and wise with British-Indian Empire Day orators.

In the course of his speech Sir Jadunath said:

We know that when *an Athenian boy* reached the age of eighteen the State took complete charge of his training; he was enrolled as an *ephebos* and had to swear in a temple (a) to fight in defence of his home and religion, (b) to leave his country better than he found it, (c) to obey the Magistrates and the laws (d) to oppose any violation of the constitution, and (e) never to disgrace his arms or desert a comrade. Cannot the Indian youth who enters a college be inspired by a similar sense of the sacredness in his new vocation? Can he not be properly fitted for civic life and taught to do his part in leaving his country really better than he found it? This is the most vital problem with us today.

There are some slight differences between ancient Athens and modern India. Boys of most Indian provinces have no chance of learning to fight. Those who have the chance to fight, have to fight for keeping India in her present condition of a *Zamindari* of Britain, not in defence of their home and religion. Many Indian boys do want to leave their country better than they found it; but if they want to do it in any way not prescribed or approved by Britishers, it becomes a crime. Athenian magistrates and laws were Athenian; Indian magistrates are British, British-controlled, British-made, or British-Indian-made. We have no information as to whether Athenian magistrates were obliged to imprison or whip Athenian boys for telling their fellow-Athenians not to drink or not to wear non-Athenian clothes. The Athenian constitution was made by Athenians; whereas India has either really no constitution but the will of the rulers or a constitution made by Britishers. Athenian boys had arms; it is practically a crime for Indian boys to have or use arms.

Professor Sarkar's address contains certain misconceptions and half-truths relating to what the best political leaders of India have told the youth of the country to be and do. These could have been avoided if he had been half as diligent a student of modern events and utterances as he is of the things of bygone days.

—

Ajit Bhattacharya's Death

Even the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, who is an Englishman, has said that the death of Ajit Bhattacharya was due to police assault. But hitherto the Bengal Government and the local executive and judiciary of Dacca have not granted the deceased student's brother's prayer that there be an open judicial enquiry into his death in some form or other.

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Patna University Convocation Address

The address delivered by Prof. Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Patna University Convocation dealt mainly with how research is and ought to be conducted. As he is himself a distinguished research-worker, this address will be specially valuable to students who are or wish to be engaged in original work. Regarding what constitutes a University, Prof. Sarkar truly observed :

"Neither bricks and mortar, nor books and scientific apparatus can in themselves constitute a University. These are necessary requisites of a University, no doubt, but not its life and soul. The moving force, the source of inspiration of a University must be within it, namely, the ability, the idealism and the enterprise of its highest teachers and students. It is only through its sons that a University finds recognition in the society of scholars. That society is one brotherhood of equals, throughout the world ; it knows no distinction of creed, race or climate ; it submits all to the same test, regardless of inherited wealth or paternal influence, and it welcomes true merit with a cordiality and fullness stronger than personal relationship. The best fruits of original investigation into Nature's secrets or into the truths about human endeavour and human experience in the past, satisfy this supreme universal test and become the unquestioned current coin of the entire learned world, irrespective of the country of their origin. They form additions to the common heritage of civilized man.

We are also at one with Professor Sarkar in his observations on the debt of the East to the West in the matter of oriental learning. Said he :

"We sometimes read of cheap sneers being flung at European scholars under the notion that their knowledge of Oriental classical languages is shallow. But a little close examination will dispel this flattering delusion. Facts well known to scholars should induce a humbler and more truthful mental attitude on our part in this matter. No searcher after truth can forget that even in specially Oriental studies our debt to Europe is immense, and we Indians shall be merely hiding our heads in a sand-heap like the ostrich if we ignore this fact. It is the European libraries that have accumulated the best MSS. in Sanskrit and Arabic, Pali and Persian,—some of them being the only copies or the oldest copies known to exist in the world. In practically no subject relating to Asiatic history, literature or language can one find elsewhere even half so complete a collection of the available data as in Europe. And the Europeans have not only saved these MSS., but they have also rendered priceless service to serious students all over the world by publishing fully descriptive catalogues and learned editions of the texts. For several works in the Sanskrit, Arabic and Pali languages the only editions that scholars can use with confidence and ease are those that we owe to editors and printers in Europe. Even where an ancient classic, such as the *Brihad-devata* or the *Lalita-vistara* was first printed in India, the subsequent European edition is so vast an improvement as to have entirely superseded the original Indian editors' production. In addition to these, Europe has supplied us with the best dictionaries, glossaries and word-indexes on the classical tongues of the East. Even in respect of such mechanical aids, scholarship in the East is a debtor and not a creditor.

—

League of Nations and Financial Assistance to States which are Victims of Aggression

In the 11th Assembly of the League of Nations which met in Geneva last September, some proposals came up for discussion which show the dangers of trying to secure peace by piling up measures for security. Preparedness for war, the old militarists said, was the most powerful guarantee for peace. We do not say that the League belongs to this school of thought, but constituted as it is of Great Powers who have for ages been used to look upon war preparations as the most effective means for ensuring national security, the League has allowed itself to be too much enmeshed in the old ways of thinking—to think of peace in terms of war, to be able to devise a novel or more fruitful means of securing peace than those we are already familiar with.

This came out very well in the discussions on the draft "Convention on Financial Assistance and the Communications of Interest to the League in times of Crises and Facilities to be Accorded to Aircraft, etc.," by the Third Committee of the Assembly.

Ever since 1927, the Arbitration and Security Committee of the League was engaged upon the work of considering "measures capable of giving all States the necessary guarantees of arbitration and security." This Committee, among other proposals, adumbrated a scheme for giving financial assistance to States which were victims of aggression. A resolution of the Committee also emphasized the necessity in case of emergency for the League's safe-guarding its communications by special means independent of general system of national communications.

Both these proposals, justifiable from one angle of vision, contain germs of grave risks, inasmuch as the terms "aggressor" and "victim of aggression" are almost impossible to define, and the present dominance of the League by a group of two or three Great Powers makes it very probable that the offensive powers of the League, if any, will not be impartially used. All these points were brought out in the discussions of the Third Committee in its successive sessions.

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Delegates of the minor Powers, naturally interested in a proposal which would help them in case of war, followed the debate with the closest attention as they would be probable borrowers from the League war chest in case of trouble.

Lord Robert Cecil, representing Great Britain as the chief money-lender for munitions, steered the discussion out of the tight corners when objections were made.

Dr. Göppert of Germany fired a double broadside into the project and hinted that the Reich would not accept the convention as drafted.

"There are two great dangers in granting financial assistance before war actually breaks out," said Dr. Göppert. "First, by granting a loan the Council definitely takes a position as being in favour of one party and thereafter the other party would not be likely to recognize the impartiality of the Council. After the loan would be made, the mediatory action of the Council no longer would be employable.

"Second, once the loan is granted, the beneficiary state may use funds to complete its armaments and perhaps take the offensive against the other state—it might even become the aggressor. It is inadmissible that the fund for the maintenance of peace should be used for forging arms for aggression."

In a later speech Dr. Göppert said,

"that the German delegation had regarded the financial aid principally as a means to prevent war but thought it would be dangerous to grant a loan before war had broken out. In granting such a loan to one of the parties, the Council would compromise its activities as a peace-maker. Further the State benefiting from the loan would feel itself to be greatly strengthened and might become the aggressor."

The final cold douche to the scheme was, however, administered by the Swiss Government which entered its formal reservation concerning the participation in financial aid for attacked States and permitting foreign or League aircraft to fly over its territory in time of war.

M. Gorge, representing the Berne Government asserted that Switzerland cannot permit the League to undertake any commitments that would endanger the Helvetian Federation's neutrality in accordance with the declaration made in London on February 13, 1920, when the League was being organized.

The Swiss Government believes participation in any international loan aid to a menaced or attacked State might juridically be considered a breach of neutrality and would give the opportunity to another power to violate her territory. Despite the informal assurances given by certain great neighbouring powers. Switzerland remembers the fate of Belgium, whose neutrality was guaranteed by all powers concerned in the Great War by the treaty of 1839. Therefore, the Berne Government remains deaf to all promises.

The Swiss Government is even firmer regarding the League's project eventually to establish an aviation force—beginning with a squadron of fast aeroplanes to transport investigating committees in time of trouble and also mail planes to carry communications to the various capitals when the railway, mail, telegraph and other ordinary communications might be cut.

It is recalled that Switzerland only agreed to the League's establishment of a powerful wireless plant for radio communication of members under the strictest conditions and safe-guards. The Swiss veto of the aeroplane transportation scheme, if it is maintained, will stifle the project, which is strongly supported by France, Spain, the Little Entente and numerous other States.

Even Germany favours the adoption of the plan, although in reality it is aimed against the Reich. The Versailles Treaty prohibits Germany from having any military, naval or police planes.

The extreme touchiness of the Swiss over neutrality rights re-aroused the delegates of certain powers, who launched several campaigns in the last 10 years, since the League was established on Lake Geneva, urging a change in the location of the Secretariat. Although the plans for the League building were approved and the corner-stone laid a year ago, no further work was done toward constructing a permanent home here.

Brussels, The Hague, Vienna and Monaco were mentioned in the past as available stations and the latest suggestion is that Holland should cede a narrow strip of territory on the south bank of the Scheldt where it empties into the North Sea, which has been a bone of contention with Belgium since the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, to the League, giving the international organization complete autonomy over the zone for the construction of the permanent headquarters.

It is pointed out that this possesses the advantages of facing the sea and also of easy communication with London and all European capitals *via* Antwerp or Rotterdam. The disposition of the strip of territory would also automatically solve the principal dispute between Holland and Belgium.

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Diaries

We have received a copy of Everyman's Diary and a copy of each of two kinds of Ghosh's Gem Diary, for 1931, from Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons. They are well got-up and contain a variety of useful information.

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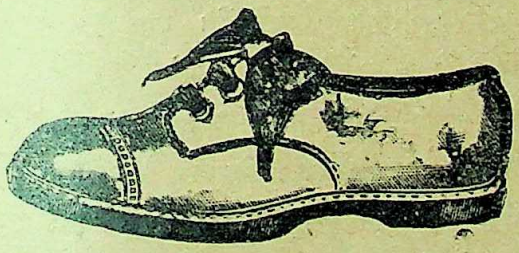
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बिलकुल नया उपन्यास

छप गया ! **'कुमुदिनी'** छप गया !!

खूब बढ़िया मोटे एन्टिक काग़ज़पर और सुन्दर टाइपमें छपी हुई "कुमुदिनी" की सुन्दर सुनहरी ज़िल्द जिस समय आप हाथमें लेंगे, उस वक्त सहसा आपके मुंहसे निकल पड़ेगा—"ओफ़्फोह !"—"बड़ी सुन्दर है !"

उपन्यासके भीतरी भागकी तारीफ़ करना व्यर्थ है ! जिन्होंने एक बार भी रवीन्द्रनाथका कोई उपन्यास या कहानी पढ़ी होगी, उन्हें समझानेकी ज़रूरत नहीं कि 'इसमें क्या है।'

अनुवादक—धन्यकुमार जैन। पृष्ठ ४००। जिल्द सुन्दर और मजबूत। मूल्य ३) तीन रुपया।

"....'कुमुदिनी'—उपन्यासका महत्त्व हमारे कार्यालय तक ही परिमित नहीं, बल्कि वह ऐसी वस्तु है, जो शीघ्र ही हिन्दी-संसारकी प्रेरणापात्र बनेगी। कवीन्द्रके अनेक उपन्यास पढ़नेका सौभाग्य हमें प्राप्त हुआ है, पर 'योगायोग' यानी 'कुमुदिनी' ने हमारे हृदयपर जो प्रभाव डाला, वह अन्य किसी उपन्यासने नहीं डाला। यदि इसे कवीन्द्रका सर्वश्रेष्ठ उपन्यास कहा जाय, तो अत्युक्ति न होगी। हृद्गत भावोंका जैसा सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण इस उपन्यासमें किया गया है, वैसा बहुत कम देखनेको मिलता है। इस उपन्यासके पात्र बिलकुल सजीव हैं, उनका अपना व्यक्तित्व है। वे सब प्रश्नोंपर निजी दृष्टिसे विचार करते हैं। स्वयं कविवर पूर्ण-स्वाधीनता देनेके पक्षपाती हैं, उनके आश्रम शान्ति-निकेतनकी नींव ही पूर्ण स्वाधीनतापर निर्भर है; फिर भला वे अपने उपन्यासके पात्रोंको स्वाधीनता क्यों न देते ? विप्रदासके चरित्रमें तो मानो कविवरने अपने ही गुणोंका समावेश कर दिया है। विप्रदासकी बातोंमें कविवरका हृदय बोल रहा है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उनके दिलको गम्भीर चोट लगी है, क्योंकि वैसे भाव बिना चोट खाये हुए दिलसे निकल ही नहीं सकते।

लगभग सत्तर वर्षके वृद्ध कविवरने अपनी प्रभावशाली लेखनी जिस उद्देश्यसे उठाई है, उसका वर्णन उपर्युक्त पंक्तियोंमें आ गया है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि उनका यह उपन्यास स्त्रियोंपर होनेवाले अत्याचारोंकी ओर जनताका ध्यान आकर्षित करनेमें वह काम करेगा, जो सैकड़ों उपदेशकोंके सहस्रों व्याख्यान भी नहीं कर सकते थे।

जब 'कुमुदिनी' का आरम्भ हुआ था, तब मैंने कविवरको एक पत्र भेजकर प्रार्थना की थी कि अनुवादक महोदय आपकी सेवामें उपस्थित होकर कुछ बातचीत करना चाहते हैं। वे उन दिनों बीमार थे और अपना घर छोड़कर आर्ट-स्कूलके प्रिंसिपलके यहां इसलिए चले गये थे कि मिलने वाले उन्हें तंग न करें। फिर भी उन्होंने अपने अमूल्य समयका लगभग एक घंटा देनेकी कृपा की। बहुतसी बातचीतके बाद उन्होंने कहा—'इस उपन्यासमें मैंने आध्यात्मिक दृष्टिसे असवर्ण स्त्री-पुरुषका विवाह कराया है और उसके दुष्परिणाम दिखलाये हैं। क्या हिन्दी-जनता मेरे इस उपन्यासको अपनावेगी ?'

इस प्रश्नका उत्तर तो हिन्दी-जनता ही देगी। इस उपन्यासमें एक स्थलपर विप्रदासने कहा है—"मैं तुमसे कहे देता हूँ, कुमुदको जिसने गढ़ा है, उसने शुरूसे अन्त तक बड़ी श्रद्धासे गढ़ा है।" इसके साथ-ही-साथ यह भी कहा जा सकता है—कुमुदिनीके चरित्रका निर्माण भी कविवरकी अमर लेखनीने अत्यन्त श्रद्धाके साथ ही किया है। हमें दृढ़ विश्वास है कि उनकी यह आशा कि हिन्दी-भाषा-भाषी जनता उनके इस ग्रन्थको अपनावे, शीघ्र ही पूर्ण होगी।"

—बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी।

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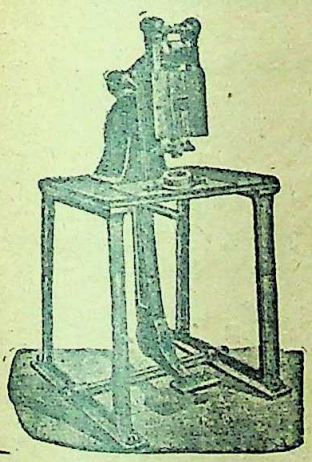
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